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The Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XIX. *January, 1913.* *No. 1.*

"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit, c. 6.*

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CONSTANTINE'S EDICT OF TOLERATION.

Early this year there will be celebrated the sixteen-hundredth anniversary of the promulgation of an edict in the city of Milan bearing the names of the Emperors Constantine and Licinius, by which a formal and definite check was placed on the pursuit of the followers of Christ by Roman imperial officials. This decree is usually referred to as Constantine's "Edict of Toleration," because the credit of publishing it must be assigned to him rather than to his colleague. The changed status of the Christians, which it established, is called the "Peace of the Church." If the Edict of Milan dealt merely with a religious dispute between the Roman imperial administration and a body of worshippers within the Empire, it would long since have lost interest and significance; but it involved a question of political theory and constitutional forms which affects all forms of social organization. With the publication of this Edict the human race for the first time in its history had a formal official pronouncement from a constituted political authority of freedom of conscience. Such a pronouncement was revolutionary. It contained the germ of all subsequent progress. Hence its interest for humanity at large. As the credit for having secured this change belongs to the Christian church it is eminently proper that the sixteenth centenary of the event should not be allowed to pass unnoticed.

On January twenty-fourth of last year, His Holiness Pius X

in a letter of the Cardinal Secretary of State appointed a Supreme Council under the active presidency of H. Exc. Prince D. Mario Chigi, and of which the eminent archaeologist and historian Prof. Orazio Marucchi is Secretary, to take the necessary steps for the due and fitting commemoration of this portentous event. As outlined in a circular of March first, 1912, the program of the Supreme Council is as follows.

"1. The erection of a sacred monument near the Milvian Bridge, where the Emperor Constantine defeated Maxentius, which will serve as a memorial of glorious deeds to future generations, and at the same time minister to the spiritual needs of the population in that new quarter.

"2. The promotion in Italy and elsewhere of solemn acts of thanksgiving to God, and of special festivities, together with publications, learned as well as popular, so that all may know the importance of the great religious and historical fact that is being commemorated.

"All Catholics, therefore, are invited to take part in this celebration, through the constitution of local committees under the direction of their Bishops and in touch with the Supreme Council of Rome, so that everywhere there may be a common commemoration of so great an event in the manner best suited to each individual place."

Vital interest attaches to the celebration this year and in this century because the point at issue in the decree of Constantine is again waiting for adjudication and because the parties to the suit are the same. Now as then the paramount subject of political discussion is that regarding the extent and limits of state or social control, and now as then the question at stake is whether the individual shall be absorbed in the social organization, and which of two essentially opposite views of human life, the collectivist or the individualist, the secularist or the Christian, shall prevail. Constantine merely gave the Christians the right to be Christians without molestation, but the act by which this right was conferred involved the acknowledgment of a principle which gives to the Edict of Toleration the significance of a social revolution. In order to understand the magnitude of the victory won by the Church,

it will be necessary to trace the course which the conflict between the Christian religion and the pagan Roman state had followed for nearly three centuries, and to take into account the circumstances which made it possible for one man to bring about such a sweeping social and political change.

Looking at the Edict of Milan merely as an act intended to regulate the relations of church and state it may be considered the termination of a bitter warfare which had been carried on, though not continuously, since the establishment of the Christian religion. The causes of this conflict are to be found in the essential opposition between Christianity and the prevailing views of human life. When Christianity was first preached human thought and conduct were colored by a system of belief to which, for want of a better, the name paganism may be applied. As the Christian religion touches human life at all points, it necessarily came into contact and conflict with paganism. In this conflict organized society or the state was on the side of paganism; for, because of the collectivist character of ancient civilization, all human effort culminated in the social group whether despotic, republican, oligarchic or imperial. Thus paganism or the pagan state, a collectivist social organization with national deities, was directly at variance with the Christian view of individual worth and responsibility, with Christian universalism or charity, and its exclusiveness in repelling all other forms of belief and worship. In addition the Christians possessed an exalted moral code which revolted against the general corruption and licentiousness, the disintegration of family life, social injustice and oppression. Thus as a working theory of human relations no compromise or agreement was possible between the œcumenical view of life found in Christian doctrines, practices and philosophy of history, and the constricted nationalism of pagan religions, the cruel and despotic absolutism of the pagan state and the narrow and oppressive intolerance and egotism of its philosophy.

There are three well-marked stages in the history of this conflict between Christianity and paganism as represented by the imperial Roman government. In the first, which lasted

down through the reigns of the Emperors of the Flavian dynasty, the Christians were looked on as constituting a schismatic Jewish sect too insignificant to cause any apprehension in the official mind. The traditional hatred for the Jews and the newly born distrust of the Christians originating principally in economic motives, received point and direction in the dastardly and murderous assault made on the Christian community in Rome by the Emperor Nero in the year sixty-four. Even though public opinion in Rome revolted against the cruelties of Nero, his action formed a sufficient basis for any proceedings which provincial governors in other parts of the Empire might choose to institute against the followers of Christ. They were henceforth a proscribed race.

The next stage commenced in the reign of the Emperor Trajan. A well-meaning dilettante, Pliny the Younger, was made provincial governor in Bithynia-Pontus. With the instinct of the courtier and the literary fop he obtained permission from his imperial patron to consult him when difficulties arose in his administration. Pliny wrote many letters. In one of them he called attention to the difficulty he had experienced in dealing with the cases of Christians who were brought before him and who were very numerous in his jurisdiction. He made a very thorough presentation of the case, outlined the procedure which he had followed, and begged for instruction from the Emperor for his future guidance. The answer, in the form of a Rescript, was concise and to the point. The Emperor decided that anybody might charge another with being a Christian, and if the charge was proved, the accused, unless he recanted, was to be put to death. This Rescript settled definitely the mode of procedure for the whole Empire. It made the mere profession (solum nomen) of the Christian religion a statutory offence. Its rigor was, however, somewhat softened by the restriction that the officials themselves were not to hunt the Christians down. This provision seems to have been revoked by Marcus Aurelius in whose reign a systematic effort was made to arrest and punish them. Thus during the second and down to the middle of the third century a Christian had no standing before the law.

He might at any time be dragged before a magistrate, and if he refused to offer sacrifice to the pagan deities, he incurred the death penalty.

The Christian apologists in a series of appeals which appeared at different intervals in this period, protested against this anomalous and cruel position. They begged that the crime for which they were made to suffer should be defined. It is probable, however, that no man in the Empire could have defined that crime, though no Roman official could have failed to realize the incongruity between the assumptions on which his position rested and the religion of those whom he sentenced. In the case of some Emperors and many governors persecution ceased no doubt because no motive could be found for its continuance. Alexander Severus was eclectic enough to place a statue of Christ in his private oratory. What is notable, however, in all this period is that while the Christian religion was looked on as being utterly at variance with paganism, and its profession as being incompatible with patriotism, all official action was directed against individuals and not against the church.

Side by side, however, with the political attacks on the Christians there went on a literary propaganda in which the origin, nature and purposes of the Christian religion were submitted to the most searching and hostile criticism. All its claims were discussed and set forth in a manner to terrify good pagans. In its whole history the Christian Church has never had a set of opponents who assaulted it more bitterly nor presented the grounds for their opposition more forcefully than those whose activity falls in the period between the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Diocletian.

These assaults bore fruit. Fanaticism was aroused. In the year two hundred and forty-nine the legions in Pannonia raised to the purple a man who was qualified by habit and temperament to turn the teaching of the philosophers and the passions of the mob into a systematic campaign of annihilation. The Emperor Decius, a provincial by birth, had been trained in the army, a school not yet affected by the cosmopolitanism of

the capital nor the scepticism of its fashionable circles. He was a bitter pagan. Two purposes filled his short reign,—to crush the enemies of Rome, and to restore ancient Roman discipline and morals. To effect this latter purpose nothing less than the extirpation of Christianity would suffice. An Edict was issued a few months after his accession, which embodied his schemes. It ordered that all Christians should be compelled to apostatize by performing some act of pagan worship. The enforcement of this edict was mandatory on all Roman magistrates in all parts of the Empire, and removed from them the discretion which they had hitherto exercised in their dealings with the Christians. Even the method of procedure was carefully defined. A day was fixed on which all who were suspected were summoned before the magistrates. Those who remained firm were made to feel the extremes of suffering. Decius died in a little over a year after he had issued this decree. His death brought the Christians a short respite. No Emperor had so far inflicted such sufferings on the Christians as he had; but the point of greatest significance in his dealings with them was, that he opened another stage in the relations between Church and State, from which there was no possibility of receding except by the annihilation or radical change of one or the other. Christianity and the pagan Roman state were declared to be mutually exclusive, essentially and inherently hostile. This Decius inscribed on the statute books, and this became the settled policy of his successors.

If there were breaks in the compaign of extermination inaugurated by Decius, it was through no lack of good will on the part of his successors. The only one of these who showed any disinclination to be the heir of the anti-Christian projects of Decius was the cynical Gallienus, and the only one between Gallienus and Diocletian who had the power to execute them was Aurelian. Death alone saved him from emulating the father of the policy. The issue was well-defined, but dynastic changes, constant wars and the confusion and disorder incident to wide-spread plagues and famines during the greater part of

the third century, made it impossible to urge the question to a final settlement.

Conditions changed with the accession of the Emperor Diocletian (284). Peace and order were restored, government resumed its regular functions, and the ravages of nearly half a century of anarchy and disorder were gradually repaired. Persecution of the Christians did not commence immediately: but it could not be long deferred nor obviated.

Diocletian ascended the throne with a well-defined policy adapted to the needs of the Empire. He was preëminently a reformer, and he impressed his purposes on all departments of public life. His most notable innovation was the division of the Empire, for administrative purposes, into two sections, and the choice of a colleague Maximian, first as Cæsar (285), then as Augustus (286), to whom was committed the Western portion of the State. This partition of power while maintaining unity of government was still further elaborated when two Cæsars were chosen (293), to share the burdens and inherit the dignities of the Augusti. Constantius Chlorus was assigned to Maximian and Galerius retained in the East. This scheme effectually ended the long-standing rivalry between the military and the senatorial factions which had been a prolific source of disorder for nearly a century. The project of satisfying the pretensions of both parties, by having an Emperor in Rome and one on the frontiers, which had been mooted at an earlier date had not proved feasible. Diocletian settled the difficulty by a plurality of rulers thus preventing any military assassin from removing the head of the State and at the same time deprived Rome of its position as capital by setting up four new capitals in Nicomedia, Sirmium, Milan and Trier.

Almost twenty years elapsed before Diocletian took up the case of the Christians. His reluctance to do so can be explained on various grounds. He was more Oriental than Roman in his schemes and sympathies, and perhaps did not consider himself bound to pursue the policy of his predecessors nor to imitate their methods. Practical considerations may have

convinced him that Christianity could no longer be dealt with in the old way. A long period of peace had just passed in which the number of the Christians had increased enormously, and it was in the provinces where Diocletian had fixed his capital that they were most numerous. "In Phrygia, Bithynia, and Pontus there were districts which by this time were practically Christian all over; also there were now towns and villages which contained but few or no pagans." It is impossible to state what percentage of the entire population was Christian; but there were provinces "(1. All that constitutes our Modern Asia Minor; 2. All that portion of Thrace which lay over against Bithynia; 3. Armenia; 4. Edessa), in which Christianity numbered nearly one-half of the population, and represented the most widely spread or even standard religion." Other places—"Antioch and Coele-Syria, Cyprus, Alexandria, together with Egypt and the Thebais, Rome, Lower Italy and certain portions of Middle Italy, Africa Proconsularis and Numidia, Spain, Southern Gaul, Greece and Macedonia, in which Christianity formed a very material portion of the population, influencing the leading classes and the general culture of the people, and being capable of holding its own with other religions.[1]" In other portions of the Empire, Christianity was more sparsely scattered, but its adherents were found everywhere in the Roman dominions "and behind the tiniest isolated church stood the Church collective, and this, so far from being a fanciful idea, was a magnitude supremely real."[2]

This rapid diffusion of Christianity created a critical situation for the adherents of paganism and the upholders of the old Roman ideas of State. Paganism was disintegrating under the solvent influence of Christian ideas, and the alternative was offered of allowing the transformation to go on and have the State become Christian by the Christian method of "conversion" or to restore paganism by the pagan method "coercion."

Paganism died hard. Never did it find voice in a more

[1] Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, Vol. II, p. 457, seq.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 465.

potent appeal to patriotic fanaticism than in the Neo-Platonic system, which in its religious aspect, "was an attempt to restore and regenerate paganism by means of philosophy." Never did it express its hatred of Christianity more violently than at this time in the pages of Hierocles and Porphyry. These men were but types. The animosity and intolerance to which they gave expression were equally potent in other quarters. Wherever possible they harassed and annoyed the Christians. In the army pagan officers insisted that the Christian soldiers should take part in idolatrous rites. Some revolted rather than comply. At the court a powerful cabal was formed under the leadership of Galerius. His mother protested because the Christian officers and soldiers would not attend her pagan festivals. The Haruspices complained that the omens failed because of the presence of Christian officers at the divination ceremonies. Diocletian was thoroughly aroused. He ordered all the members of his suite, and his whole household to offer sacrifice under penalty of scourging. Letters were sent to the military commanders ordering them to compel the soldiers to do likewise. These measures were too mild to suit the implacable Galerius. He visited Diocletian in Nicomedia in the winter of 302 to urge him to take a harsher course. The old Emperor was deaf to his importunities for a long time alleging "that it would be pernicious to raise disturbances throughout the world and to shed so much blood: that the Christians were wont to meet death with eagerness: and that it would be enough to exclude persons of that religion from the court and the army." [3]

Galerius persisted. A council of imperial officials, civil and military was summoned. All shared the views of Galerius but their pleas failed to move Diocletian to take harsher methods. He would not shoulder the responsibility for a war of extermination. His scruples were finally overcome by the ingenious device of making him appear not as the author, but as the instrument of the vengeance of the gods. Messengers were sent to consult the Oracle of Apollo at Miletus, and the reply was,

[3] Lactantius, *De Mor. Per.*, Chap. x.

no doubt such as Galerius had provided for. An answer purporting to come, not from the priestess, but from the god himself, announced that if the Christians "the righteous ones" were permitted to exist, the oracles would henceforward be silent. This was final. Diocletian consented to the persecution, but he adopted a middle course. He aimed at the extinction of the Christian religion without bloodshed.

The first step was taken early in the morning of February 23rd, 303, the feast of the Terminalia. A body of police officials, under the command of the Prefect, was sent to the great Cathedral of Nicomedia, which was in plain view of the palace. While Diocletian and Galerius watched the proceedings the Church was entered, and the sacred books and utensils and all the furniture seized and burned. Galerius wished to commit the whole edifice to the flames. Diocletian fearing a general conflagration, had it razed to the ground.

A general Edict was published on the following day. It ordered that all the Christian churches should be demolished, all the sacred books burned, and that the Christians should forfeit all civil rights. Furthermore that no Christian slave should enjoy the right of emancipation.

As might be expected these terms did not suit Galerius. He used all the means at his disposal to induce the Emperor to adopt harsher measures. The ill-considered action of a Christian, in tearing down the Edict, which he subsequently expiated in the flames, gave color to the accusations which were cast on the Christians a few days later as being the authors of two mysterious fires which broke out in the palace. Galerius left Nicomedia in a hurry, saying he did not wish to be burned alive. Diocletian was now thoroughly aroused. He ordered the Christians of his own household, among them his wife and daughter to offer sacrifice under penalty of death. The clergy and congregation in Nicomedia were next attacked and those who refused to worship the pagan gods were burned at the stake, drowned, or shut up in the dungeons. A second Edict was published ordering the summary arrest of the bishops, priests, deacons, lectors and exorcists throughout the Empire,

who were to be incarcerated without the usual privilege of gaining their freedom by apostasy. These cruel measures were promptly enforced everywhere, except in Gaul and Britain, where the Cæsar, Constantius Chlorus, contented himself with destroying the churches while sparing the persons of the Christians.

In the course of the same year Diocletian commenced the celebration of his Vicennalia or twentieth anniversary of his accession. The prisons were filled with the Christian clergy. It was customary, on such joyous occasions, to issue a general amnesty. Diocletian did not depart from the custom, but in order that the Christians might not escape, he published another Edict in which he ordered that they were to be liberated if they offered sacrifice, and tortured if they refused.

The apparent moderation of these Edicts did not save the great mass of the Christians from the most atrocious sufferings, and they show that Diocletian having once engaged in a campaign of oppression was ready to proceed to harsher measures, if mild ones failed. An easy means of recantation was offered to the Christians, but as they had now no civil rights any opposition on their part exposed them to the full fury of their oppressors. Diocletian, Maximian, and of course, Galerius enforced the law with indiscriminate ferocity. Constantinus Chlorus still acted with mildness and moderation. He is said to have shown more consideration to those who refused to sacrifice than to those who yielded.

A severe illness which Diocletian contracted while on a journey from Rome to Ravenna in the winter of 303, so seriously threatened his life after his return to Nicomedia, that he was unable for a long time to take any part in public affairs. While he was in this condition Galerius procured the publication of another Edict, which from the point of view of Roman official despotism, left nothing to be desired. In substance it ran:—be a pagan or die. None were spared. Except in the West a thorough war of extermination was commenced, and lest any of the faithful should escape, such methods as consecrating all the food in the markets to the gods, of allowing no business

to be transacted and no water to be taken from the public fountains without a preliminary act of idolatry, were resorted to. All the constitutional guarantees were suspended and all the machinery of government set in motion to exterminate the followers of Christ. They were hunted like wild beasts, and it was no unusual sight to have groups of ten, twenty, thirty, forty or even a hundred put to death at the same time. All the inhabitants of a city in Phrygia were slaughtered in one day because they were Christians. The constancy of the martyrs is hardly less astounding than the ferocity and persistence of their enemies.

Galerius had other ambitions than the restoration of paganism, and though for a long time he had been the real ruler, he coveted the form as well as the substance, and in March, 305, the two Augusti, Diocletian and Maximian were persuaded to retire. Constantius Chlorus and Galerius took their places, and the latter without consulting his colleague and against the advice of Diocletian appointed as Cæsars a drunken soldier named Severus who was sent to the West, and an ignorant barbarian Daja who was Romanized by the addition of Maximinus to his name, who was sent to the East. A fresh division of the Empire was made, by which the territory of Galerius was considerably enlarged, and by which Spain was added to the dominions of Constantius Chlorus.

Galerius, however, had overshot the mark by forgetting the claims of heredity. Though he and Diocletian had no legitimate male heirs, Constantius and Maximian had sons, Constantine and Maxentius, who were both ambitious and capable. Constantine was thirty-one when Diocletian abdicated. He had spent twelve years at the court of Nicomedia as a hostage. After repeated requests Galerius gave him permission to return to his father, but Constantine thought it safer to start before the time appointed and to maim the post-horses on the route he followed in his flight. He joined his father in Boulogne and embarked with him for Britain, and on the death of Constantius, July 25, 306, was acclaimed Augustus by his father's troops. About the same time Maxentius, the son of Maximian,

assumed the purple in Rome, and in a short time gave evidence of his capabilities by corrupting the army of Severus who had been sent against him and who, by desertion, reduced their leader to the extremity of committing suicide. These soldiers had formerly been commanded by Maximian, who now left his retirement and presented himself again as Augustus. Galerius would have avenged the death of Severus but could not count on the loyalty of his troops. Maximian, who had joined forces with his son, Maxentius, soon quarrelled with him and proceeded to Gaul where he joined Constantine, to whom he gave his daughter, Fausta, in marriage. In the following year another Augustus appeared in the person of Licinius, who was chosen by Galerius and who thus brought the number of rulers in the Empire up to six.

These dynastic quarrels were not without a profound influence on the condition of the Church. Constantine, who governed Britain, Gaul and Spain, was even more tolerant than his father had been and under him the Christians enjoyed comparative peace. Severus had neither time nor opportunity to enforce the Edicts in Italy and Africa, over which he held sway, and Maxentius was less cruel than might be expected from one of his licentious and corrupt nature.

In the Orient, meanwhile, conditions were growing worse from day to day. The check to the plans and ambitions of Galerius in the West seems to have urged him to greater cruelties. But even the persecutors at times seemed to grow tired of their grewsome task. They paused occasionally, or adopted new methods only, however, to return to the old with increased ferocity. Fresh Edicts were issued, urging the magistrates to greater activity or cruelty. In 307 a systematic search was made for all the followers of Christ. Officers were sent to track them down and drag them to the temples. Even death was not considered to have sufficient terror and in the last years of Galerius, penal servitude was resorted to, as being more severe. Before being sent on their way, the condemned had to endure the frightful torture of having the right eye torn from its socket, and of being maimed by cauterizing the tendons

of the left leg. Those who could not sustain the long march to the quarries or the mines in the Thebais, Cilicia, Palestine or Cyprus, were beheaded. It might seem as if diabolical cruelty had exhausted all its resources and yet a fresh Edict appeared in 308, "which," as Mason says, "began a perfect reign of terror, not to be concluded till two full years had elapsed. These two years were the most prolific of bloodshed of any in the whole history of Roman persecutions." In this last phase in addition to oppression of the Christians, an effort was made to restore paganism. The temples were rebuilt and the cult and ceremonies of paganism were resumed. A network of traps and restrictions was prepared for the Christians, so that even the performance of the ordinary duties of life was interdicted, except by being guilty of some act of idolatry.

Christian bravery proved superior to anything paganism could devise. It is not surprising that having suffered and endured for God's sake, that His persecuted followers saw divine intervention in the manner in which their trials ceased. Early in 310 Galerius was seized with that frightful malady which has been called the disease of the persecutors. Gangrenous abscesses of the abdomen and intestines reduced him to a loathsome condition so repulsive that fear of death alone induced the pagan physicians to minister to him. They failed to bring him relief and he turned to the gods, but Apollo and Aesculapius were powerless. His sufferings lasted eighteen months. Then without any change in his pagan beliefs, he conceived the strange idea of asking those whom he had hated and tortured to pray to their God for him. On April 30th, 311, he published an Edict putting an end to persecution. Five days later he died.

This famous Edict of Toleration was characteristically pagan. "Among the other things which we have ordained for the public advantage and profit," the Emperor writes, "we formerly wished to restore everything to conformity with the ancient laws and public discipline of the Romans and to provide that the Christians also, who have forsaken the religion of their ancestors should return to a good disposition." He accuses them of arrogance in forsaking the national religion

of their ancestors and stupidity in attempting to form one of their own. He admits that the measures he took to compel them to abandon their faith had failed, and he adds: "And since many continue in the same folly, and we perceive that they neither offer to the heavenly gods the worship which is due, nor pay regard to the God of the Christians, in consideration of our philanthropy and our invariable custom, by which we are wont to extend pardon to all, we have determined that we ought most cheerfully to extend our indulgence in this matter also, that they may again be Christians, and may rebuild the conventicles in which they were accustomed to assemble *on condition that nothing be done by them contrary to discipline.*" After some further observations he concludes: "Wherefore on account of this indulgence of ours, they ought to supplicate their God for our safety, and that of the people, and their own, that the public welfare may be preserved in every place, and that they may live securely in their several homes."

Though this document put an end to the actual persecution of the Christians it was far from satisfying their hopes or giving them any assurance of peace. It was merely a confession of failure by a man who sought the prayers of those whom he would neither pardon nor spare could he help it. It was an admirable summary of the traditional attitude of Roman officialdom and from that attitude Galerius had not receded. To his mind the state had the right to dictate the religion of its citizens. If the Christians were tolerated, in spite of the fact that theirs was not the national belief, it was only on condition that they did nothing *contrary to discipline.* They were merely on sufferance. Their position before the laws was the same as it was prior to the outbreak and as it had been for three centuries. The Edict was a concession of a fact not the acknowledgment of a principle. So far was it from religious toleration that Maximinus does not seem to have regarded it as having any bearing on his attitude. It was a victory for the Christians to have wrung such a concession from Galerius. They compelled the acceptance of a fact: the admission of the principle came two years later.

While Galerius during the last years of his life was devising fresh methods of attacking the Christians, Constantine was busy with the affairs of Gaul. The old Maximian, who fled to him, after quarreling with Maxentius, proved extremely troublesome, to such an extent indeed that he tried to supplant Constantine with the army, and afterwards to murder him. Constantine condemned him to death for his treachery and ingratitude. A sufficient pretext was found in this act of justice for a war which had long been brewing and which was to afford Constantine the means of becoming master of the whole Roman world. Maxentius affected to be deeply grieved by the death of his father and demanded satisfaction from Constantine. It came with astounding suddenness. With an army much inferior numerically to that which Maxentius had collected Constantine crossed the Alps and in a victorious campaign which has been compared to Napoleon's first campaign in Italy, he made himself master of Susa, Turin, Milan, Brescia, and Verona, defeating the troops of Maxentius wherever they opposed him. He was assured of victory in a vision which he himself and his whole army saw as he related to Eusebius. "He said that about noon when the day was beginning to decline, he saw with his own eyes the trophy of a cross of light in the heavens above the sun and bearing the inscription, Conquer by This. At this sight he himself was struck with amazement, and his whole army also, which followed him on this expedition and witnessed the miracle."

Maxentius had gone out a short distance beyond the city to meet him and stationed the main body of his army at the Milvian bridge which crosses the Tiber a few miles north of the city. Constantine met the outposts of Maxentius at Saxa Rubra and drove them back on the serried rows of troops drawn up in battle array at the Milvian Bridge with the river in their rear. The soldiers of Maxentius were no match for the veteran troops of Constantine, the defeat became a rout, and in the crush of fugitives Maxentius was forced into the river where he perished. The Labarum or standard of the Cross had led the troops of Constantine to an overwhelming victory. (Oct. 28th, 312.)

Rome received the conqueror with jubilation; but the hostile attitude of Maximinus and the needs of the Empire drew him to Milan for a conference with his colleague Licinius with whom he had already formed an alliance. The most important result of this conference was the publication early in the year 313 of an Edict not only of Toleration but of Peace for the Christians. This famous document is preserved entire by Eusebius in a Greek translation and without the Preamble in the original Latin by Lactantius. As is well known Constantine was not yet a member of the Church, in fact he did not receive baptism until just before his death, but the tone of the document and the grasp of Christian principles which it shows, proves it to be the product of a mind already Christian. The subsequent career of the two men by whose authority it was issued makes it manifest that Constantine was the author. The wording of the document, its comprehensiveness, and its exactness, show the care and consideration which were devoted to its composition.

Even after the publication of the Edict of Galerius in 311 that ended persecution for the time being, the condition of the Christians was still precarious. They were not permitted to make converts and they were exposed to fresh outbursts at the hands of any ruler who had the will or the means to persecute them. The Edict of Milan was final. By it the Roman state formally and definitely abandoned its despotism in matters of religion.

In a preamble to the Edict the reasons are set forth which led to its publication. These are: 1. the conviction which had grown in the minds of the Emperors that "each individual should have the right to perform his religious duties according to his own choice," and 2. to remedy the defect in previous Edicts which imposed conditions at variance with that choice. Then follow the clauses which give the Edict its peculiar character and great importance. "When we, Constantine and Licinius, came under favorable auspices to Milan and took under consideration everything which pertained to the common weal and prosperity, we resolved among other things, or rather first of all, to make such decrees as seemed in many respects

for the benefit of every one; namely, such as should preserve reverence and piety towards the Deity. We resolved, that is, to grant both to the Christians and to all men freedom to follow the religion which they choose, that the Divine Power in Heaven may be propitious to us and to all that live under our government. We have, therefore, determined with sound and upright purpose that liberty is to be denied to no one to choose and to follow the religious observances of the Christians, but that to each one freedom is to be given to devote his mind to that religion which he may think adapted to himself, in order that the Deity may exhibit to us in all things His accustomed care and favor. It was fitting that we should write that this is our pleasure, that these conditions being entirely left out which were contained in our former letter concerning the Christians (the Edict of Galerius bore the names of both Constantine and Licinius), everything that seemed very severe and foreign to our mildness may be annulled, and that now everyone who has the desire to observe the religion of the Christians may do so without molestation. Since freedom and full liberty is granted to the Christians to observe their own religion, liberty is granted to others also who may wish to follow their own observances: it being clearly in accordance with the tranquillity of our times, that each one should have the liberty of choosing and worshipping whatever deity he pleases. This has been done by us in order that we might not seem in any way to discriminate against any rank or religion."

After this long and explicit statement of what may not unfitly be called a "constitutional amendment" there come certain clauses of an administrative character in which the corporate nature of the Church is recognized and orders are given for the restoration of all places of worship and all ecclesiastical property which had been confiscated, and the indemnification of the persons into whose possession such property may have come. "In all these particulars," the document concludes, "for the behoof of the aforesaid society of Christians, you are to use the utmost diligence, to the end that our command may be speedily fulfilled . . . . and it is expected that this which we have written will be published everywhere and brought to

the knowledge of all, in order that this gracious ordinance of ours may remain unknown to no one."

Viewing the constitutional portion of this Edict merely as an instrument by which the future policies and action of the Roman government were to be regulated, it can be regarded in no other light than a complete abandonment of the theory on which all the civilizations of antiquity rested, that the State and its religion were one. This decree established the complete separation of state and religion. It was the adoption of a principle, first enunciated in the Christian religion, that there were spheres of human action over which the State should have neither supervision nor control. In its political bearing, it meant the end of State absolutism, and it made possible the establishment among men of groups and societies entirely independent of national restrictions, and in this sphere of thought and theory, it was a recognition of the common nature of mankind.

In theory as well as in practice, the ancient world had committed itself to the doctrine that the maintenance of the State was the supreme end of human existence, this Edict of Milan was based on the principle that no earthly power should intervene between the individual human soul and God, and that to that extent, at least, the individual salvation was superior to social welfare. In other words Individualism triumphed over Collectivism. Finally this Edict was the enunciation of the doctrine of religious liberty, of freedom of conscience. It may seem almost incredible that this principle, which to the modern mind seems essential to civilization and progress, was first formally and officially promulgated by a civil ruler only sixteen hundred years ago. It was taught and practised by the Christians three hundred years before, they went to death cheerfully and willingly rather than surrender it, the apologists had pleaded for it and expounded it, but never in the history of humanity was liberty of conscience proclaimed as a working theory of government, until Constantine issued the Edict of Milan in 313.

The publication of the Edict was a victory for Christianity,

but it was none the less a victory for humanity. The reforms implied in this decree first found expression in Christianity and their establishment is due solely and exclusively to the courage and constancy of martyrs and confessors. The act of Constantine put the seal on a victory which was won through the irresistible diffusiveness of Christian doctrines. His Edict was the epitaph of Roman state absolutism and of ancient pagan civilization.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

THE SYMBOLISM OF FRANCIS THOMPSON.

"The note that comes most majestically from Thompson is that of reconciliation of the two natures and destinies of man. To that literal oneness Wordsworth groped in his merely 'kindred points of heaven and home.' Of that oneness Rossetti has the hint and Coventry Patmore the full vision." These words of a critic in "The Academy" furnish the best means of approaching the poems of Francis Thompson, for his thought derives immediately from Rossetti and Coventry Patmore. Like theirs his poetry is essentially 'sacramental.' To Rossetti beauty was mainly symbolic, valued for its suggestive quality, its hint of something beyond, of which it was but an outward sign or expression; he sang of Beauty

> "Whose speech Truth knows not from her thought,
> Nor love her body from her soul."

Patmore precises its character, which to Rossetti was vague and undefined, by regarding it as a broken light of the divine. Beginning as the graceful poet of wedded life he ends as the laureate of the Marriage Sacrament. Earthly love which, though enskied in "The Blessed Damosel" had yet remained human and pagan, becomes spiritual in "The Wedding Sermon" and in the odes of "The Unknown Eros." For, blown upon by some breath of heaven, it comes to shadow forth, through the medium of the myth of Eros and Psyche, the bridals of Christ and the soul, the mystic union of Christ and His Church. Thompson, the heir of these poets, shows still further how things of sense may be made the means of ascent to the divine, how through the lamp Beauty may be seen the light, God. In this quest paganism is pressed into service as a means of furtherance. "The beautiful fables of the Greeks," writes Emerson, "being proper creations of the imagination and not of the fancy, are universal verities." Similarly,

Thompson regards the pagan myths as foreshadowings of Divine truth:

> "For all the past, read true, is prophecy,
> And all the firsts are hauntings of some Last.
> And all the springs are flash-lights of one Spring.
> Then leaf and flower, and fall-less fruit
> Shall hang together on the un-yellowing bough."

Thus, with a strange fusion of Christian and pagan imagery, the mission of the poems is to teach how

> "the crucifix may be
> Carven from the laurel-tree,
> Fruit of the Hesperides
> Burnish take on Eden-trees,
> The Muses' sacred grove be wet
> With the red dew of Olivet,
> And Sappho lay her burning brows
> In white Cecilia's lap of snows."

Not without pain and trial however had such a vision been won, and of this ordeal *The Hound of Heaven* remains a touching record. It is the history of a soul which had loved greatly but wrongly, and was lessoned by disillusion into the truth. He whose sense of beauty was his religion was here to learn, through what strange ways! the only sense in which 'Beauty is truth, Truth beauty!' So the poem may be called the palinode of neo-Paganism or Humanism—of the attempt to seek in love of Nature or love of man, the peace and satisfaction which are to be found only in the love of God. For one resolved to live in the True, the Good, and the Beautiful it offers the inevitable solution in its tender closing appeal:

> "Ah fondest, blindest, weakest
> I am He Whom thou seekest!
> Thou dravest love from thee who dravest Me."

Thompson's view of Nature is subjective:

> "O Nature, never-done
> Ungaped-at Pentecostal miracle
> We hear thee, each man in his proper tongue."

It is interesting to trace the gradual process of his change

of attitude towards it. He had begun indeed with the pagan interpretation, and sought to find content in the beautiful nature-myths. These he re-creates with a faculty of make-believe allied to the mythopoeic instinct of the Greeks, or to the 'Renascence of Wonder' in later English poetry. Like the appointed knight who can wind the elfin horn which hangs at the portal of Nature, he holds the open sesame of its inner secrets. Its hidden presences straightway reveal themselves; its common appearances take on personality; to his undimmed vision the earth becomes in reality

> "Swift Tellus' purpled tunic, girt upon
> With the blown chlamys of her fluttering seas."

With Keats and Shelley, he can draw exquisite genre-pictures of the Seasons, and evoke the shy genius-loci who informs the wind, or cloud, or stream. The changes on the face of Nature he interprets in terms of the moods joyous or sad, wilful or wistful of these unseen habitants. Thus he revels with a child's glee in the beauty and wonder of life. Yet it is because he realizes so intimately those gracious presences that he cannot rest in their finite, concrete expression of Nature. Gradually they lose form and semblance and fade from his vision:

> "Why withers their lament?
> Their tresses tear-besprent
> Have they sighed hence with trailing garment hem?
> O sweet, O sad, O fair
> I catch your flying hair
> Draw your eyes down to me, and dream on them!"

They have become a spectral *corps de ballet* on the empty stage of Nature, vague and insubstantial because of no account for the cares and sorrows of life. His creed has failed him because, as he confesses,

> "Nature, poor step-dame, cannot slake my drouth
> Let her, if she would owe me.
> Drop yon blue bosom-veil of sky and show me
> The breasts o' her tenderness:
> Never did any milk of hers once bless
> My thirsting mouth."

The *Ode to the Setting Sun* marks the passing of the pagan, and the *Orient Ode* the coming of the Christian mystic. The pagan conception is made to yield up its spiritual implication. The poet has not foregone his attitude towards the sun as for him 'a god, not dead,' but discerns in such reverence the key to its real significance, its true *raison d'être*—in sole posuit tabernaculum suum. He addresses it:

> "Light out of Light!
> Resplendent and prevailing Word
> Of the unheard.
> Not unto thee, great Image, not to thee
> Did the wise heathen bend an idle knee;
> And in an age of faith grown frore
> If I too shall adore,
> Be it accounted unto me
> A bright sciential idolatry."

He has learned to read off the outward expression of its splendors with a vision in which the eye borrows of the ear, and to translate the mysterious import of its

> "Heavenly harping harmony
> Melodious, sealed, inaudible."

And the burden of this music can be expressed only in terms of God. The relation of the sun to the earth symbolizes that of God to His Church:

> "Thou to thy spousal universe
> Art Husband, she thy Wife and Church;
> Who in most dusk and vidual curch
> Her Lord being hence
> Keeps her cold sorrows by thy hearse.
> The heavens renew their innocence
> And morning state
> But by thy sacrament communicate."

Thus in the poet's dealing with Nature everything has become mystery and hieroglyph. By him as by the Apostle the invisible things of creation are clearly seen, being perceived by the things that are made. The book of Nature is like one of those illuminated missals of the Middle Ages wherein each

season has its special rubrical colour—the vivid green of spring, the golden summer, the russet tints of autumn, the white winter. He sees God figured alike in the blood-red of the setting sun:

> "Thou art of Him a type memorial
> Like Him thou hangst in dreadful pomp of blood
> Upon thy Western rood."

as in the benediction of the dawn, and the white ministry of the snow-flake. Thus do the heavens declare to him the glory of God, nay the whole earth swings as a fragrant censer before 'His embannered throne':

> "Reintegrated are the heaven and earth!
> From sky to sod,
> The world's unfolded blossom smells of God."

If Thompson discovered glimpses of Heaven in earth he likewise caught the reflection of God in man. In this province he is notably influenced by Coventry Patmore. The latter hymns the body as a

> "Little sequestered pleasure-house
> For God and for His Spouse"

so Thompson, in *Any Saint,*

> "Lo, God's two worlds immense
> Of spirit and of sense
> Wed
> In this narrow bed"

And the senses are for him outward signs, sacramental symbols of the spirits. The fair shows of sense are, as it were, the key on which God modulates throughout the universe. In *Her Portrait* this view receives noblest expression:

> "The immortal could we cease to contemplate
> The mortal part suggests its every trait.
> God laid his fingers on the ivories
> Of her pure members as on smoothèd keys
> And there outbreathed her spirit's harmonies."

Hence his sense of the sacredness of the body as being the

true Shekinah, the temple of the in-dwelling God. Hence, too, his singular elevation of tone in dealing with the themes of chidhood and love. Children he reverences, like Wordsworth, as the links which connect us most nearly with heaven. *Sister Songs* and *The Making of Viola* celebrate adequately their flower-like charms as of the Spring, and their white innocence as of Heaven. Their every unconscious trait has for him a suggestive character; their appealing littleness contains a hint of greatness unspeakable; their lisping becomes broken stammer of the skies. Like childhood, love haunts him with the sense of something beyond, of which it is an expression:

> **"An incidental greatness characters**
> **Its unconsidered ways."**

His realization of the dignity of human nature imparts to his treatment of love that spiritual exaltation which recalls Plato and Dante. He sifts its golden musics out and finds them starry babble of heaven. The tone of the poems *Love in Dion's Lap* suggests not so much the knightliness of the Cavalier poets, as the devotion of one

> **"in very lowlihead of love—**
> **Too shyly reverencing**
> **To let one thought's light footfall smooth**
> **Tread near the living, consecrated thing."**

Outside the "Vita Nuova" the appeal of the "ewig Weibliches" has not received such idealistic expression.

The *Mistress of Vision* marks the point of transition in the development of Thompson, the stage when disenchanted with his bright Hellenism, he learns the lesson of renunciation. He has discovered the impermanence of all that is fair:

> **"Whatso looks lovelily**
> **Is but the rainbow on life's weeping rain"**

and, with Keats, has experienced the melancholy that dwells with beauty,

> "Beauty that must die
> And Joy whose hand is ever at his lips
> Bidding adieu; and acting Pleasure nigh
> Turning to poison while the bee mouth sips."

His love of Nature and love of man had failed to steady him beneath the burden of the stern facts of life. Then his seer-like vision helped him to confront them and find even in the grim fact of death its sufficient compensation

> "Pontific Death, that doth the crevasse bridge
> To the steep and trifid God."

and catch therein the note of a larger mercy. His metaphysical subtlety of mind led him to trace the analogy that exists beneath things dissimilar:

> "All things by immortal power
> Near or far
> Hiddenly to each other linkèd are"

and to resolve apparent evil in a higher good:

> God's fair were guessed scarce but for opposite sin.
> Yea, and His Mercy, I do think it well
> Is flashed back from the brazen gates of Hell."

Disciplined into asceticism, he comes to know at least the inwardness of tribulation, and to refer it to the mercy of God, for is it not after all but "Shade of His Hand outstretched caressingly"? Thus with his quickened insight the poet has arrived at a new reading of life which he finds interpenetrated at all points with marks of the Divine purpose. The poem *In no Strange Land,* which is poignant with memories of his dereliction in London, reminds us, if this meaning of life escapes us,

> "The angels keep their ancient places:—
> Turn but a stone, and start a wing!
> 'Tis ye, 'tis your estrangèd faces
> That miss the many-splendoured thing."

FLORENCE MOYNIHAN.

LITERARY TRUTH AND HISTORICITY IN THEIR BEARING ON THE BIBLICAL GENEALOGIES.

The confusion of the two ideas, literary truth and historicity, is responsible for many a misunderstanding of Holy Writ and for much of the obscurity enshrouding current Biblical discussion. To say the expressions are synonymous may well do when one is sure he is in the domain of genuine history; but to maintain that they are in all cases identical and therefore interchangeable, is erroneous in etymology, logic, theology and metaphysics.

What is literary truth? What is historicity? Absolutely speaking, truth is the conformity or agreement existing between a concept and its object. Literary truth is the agreement between the presentation of the concept in literary form and the object of the concept. It is more complex than simple truth since the latter implies only two terms, the object and its concept; while literary truth involves at least three, the object, its concept, and the description of the object in accordance with the concept.

Historicity is nothing else than historic truth, and may be defined as the correspondence of fact to the narration of fact. As a species of literary truth it can never connote fewer than three terms, in which case the writer must be an eye-witness of the facts narrated; while the highest possible number of terms cannot be fixed, since it depends on the number of intermediate channels through which the truth has passed.

The fidelity of concept to its object has been investigated most searchingly by philosophers and need not be delved into here. It is one of those basic principles which hermeneutics takes for granted. But the same cannot be said of the relation between the description of an object and the object described. This is something which hermeneutics must establish and not postulate.

There are many kinds of literature. There are many kinds

of literary vehicles by which a knowledge of truth may be conveyed to the intelligence. It is not because truth is variable, but because of the variability of the medium through which truth is communicated.

The senses perceive and their impressions are real and true. The mind abstracts and the abstraction is correct. But an error may easily creep into the mental judgment about what has occurred, and be manifested outwardly in a proposition. Error, in its simplest analysis, is the assigning of a concept to an object not its own, or, conversely, the assigning of an object to a wrong concept. Now what the mind does by its interior operation is reflected in literary composition as in a mirror. The content of literature is just as certainly a reproduction of concept as concept is a reproduction of object. The whole function of literature is to convey ideas and judgments, be they true or false, in exactly the same condition in which it receives them.

Falsity in literature stands for falsity in the mind dictating it; truth in literature for truth in the mind expressing it. Biblical veracity is therefore not distinguishable from the veracity of the inspired authors, and since this in turn bespeaks the veracity of God inspiring, one of the chief effects of inspiration, after the impulse to write and the awakening of ideas, is so to illumine the writer's mind as to make it impossible for him to mistake one concept for another. Correct judgment is thereby assured and every possibility of error removed.

Yet it is at this very point that the variability of the literary medium comes into play. Even after the inspired author has determined to consign the truth to writing, there is much left to be done. He must, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, choose between poetry and prose, between the oratorical or sermon form and that of plain instruction. He must decide whether he shall clothe his thoughts with simple narrative or with parabolic, allegorical, or apocalyptic expression. These are so many *kinds* of literature, each having laws, properties, and licences of its own *from usage,* and independently of his making. But no matter which he prefers, the truth he intends to impart will always bear or be accompanied

by certain authentic marks to make it recognizable. Without these he would fail in his purpose and such a contingency is incompatible with the idea and nature of inspiration.

The literary medium, precisely *as a medium,* with all its properties and characteristics, is a thing to be distinguished from the divine message it contains. So true is this that if the medium is to a certain extent artificial, as in the parable, the truth it has been adopted to convey will not suffer thereby. All those competent to pass judgment on the matter will see at a glance that the artificial element belongs to the medium and has its sanction *from usage,* while the message derives its authenticity from the veracity of God.

To be more concrete, our Saviour is known to have woven into a pathetically charming story a number of incidents concerning "a man who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho and fell among robbers, who also stripped him, and having wounded him went away leaving him half-dead." [1] Did these incidents really occur as related? Perhaps they did and perhaps they did not. At any rate, we cannot tell from the way in which we are told of them. Our Lord would not have been at fault even though they had not, since He makes no pretension at narrating historical facts. He is using parable, a *kind* of literature which did not require historicity in its presentation and which for that very reason could never guarantee it. Whenever parable is historic this quality has to be discerned through sources other than the parable itself before it can be affirmed.

Yet the Biblical parable—for we are dealing with no other—is none the less true. There is not the slightest grain of fiction mingled with the deep religious truth embodied in it. Even its artificial elements are made to serve a high purpose, being chosen, as they are, because of an external similarity with the truths revealed. They are more than mere literary embellishments. As in the parable above referred to, they are faithful reproductions of our Lord's concepts. If Christ had not represented to Himself the national exclusivism of the Jew,

[1] Lk. x, 30-35.

a traveller, a priest, a Levite, a good Samaritan, the road to Jericho and the inn, He would not have described them for us. On the other hand, these concepts were not wrongly taken by Him for others, albeit of a higher order. There were in His mind two groups of concepts, which He was very far from confusing. The one described related to the topography, customs, and ethnography of Palestine; the other soared aloft in the supernatural world and represented the loving-kindness and mercy of His heavenly Father, who would consider and have all men to be neighbors.[2]

The psychic process which transpired in originating the parable was to compare these two orders of ideas and then, on perceiving the adaptability of the first to the second, to determine to use the first in portraying the second. Clearly the first group, *as combined* in the story could no longer lay a necessary claim to objectivity, since the combination, *precisely as a combination,* was designed solely *as a medium* for the conveyance of higher truth. This, its function, once performed in accordance with approved usage, the author would not and could not be held accountable for the historicity or non-historicity of the things related. His purpose was aloof from that.

But there are already four links in the chain, nay, five. At bottom are the divine attributes eternally existent in the Godhead; secondly, there are the concepts immediately begotten of these in the mind of Christ; thirdly, there is the group of pictoral concepts; fourthly, there is the parable as enunciated by our Lord. To these should be added fifthly, the literary form in which this whole process has been crystallized by the Evangelist.

In the realm of Biblical hermeneutics it is required that the particular literary production under analysis agree with all four antecedent terms in virtue of a twofold influence of inspiration. This influence, as affecting the parable proper, is both extrinsic and intrinsic. Extrinsically, the parable is referred back to Christ as to its author; whence, the veracity of the Holy Spirit and St. Luke is pledged to have the fifth

[2] St. Bonaventure on Lk. x, 36-37.

term harmonize with the fourth, by reproducing the words or meaning of Christ without substantial alteration. After that our Saviour Himself becomes responsible instead of the Evangelist.[3]

But besides this influx which infallibly characterizes the giving of the parable as an historical incident in the life of the Messiah, the doctrine intrinsic to the parable is at the same time visibly commended by the Evangelist who makes it, so to speak, his own. This is proof irrefragable that it has received in advance the approval of the "Conscriptor" or Spirit of God, as it were, independently of the authority of Christ, and so it comes to us doubly divine.

In other words, that the parable was uttered is a historic truth distinct from the truth of what was uttered. It needed therefore to be testified to apart from the latter. The distinction is important for there are many passages in Sacred Scripture that are affected only extrinsically by inspiration, and many others that are affected only intrinsically.[4] The majority, however, are affected both ways whenever they are of a nature to permit it.

From the definitions and illustrations so far developed, it follows that a narrative may convey truth without being historic, although no narrative can be historic without being in some sense true. Historicity is truth, but truth need not be historicity. Accordingly, the historical character of certain Biblical passages may on solid grounds be called into doubt without detriment to inspiration. Indeed, with the exception of those cases in which the Sacred Writer has been manifestly impelled *to write history,* historicity must be established through tradition or by other means aside from inspiration. Were this not true the whole Bible would be history and nothing but history for "all its parts are inspired."[5] Now nobody upholds this

[3] Lk. x, 30.

[4] Examples: The denial, "There is no God," is *extrinsically* inspired in Ps. xiii, 1; lii, 1, where it is voiced as the correct expression of the thoughts of a fool; Ps. cxvi, (Laudate Dominum), is *intrinsically* inspired.

[5] Conc. Vat. Sess. iii, cap. 2, and can. 4.—Denzinger, 1787 (1636) and 1809 (1656).

absurd conclusion for nobody is prepared to deny that allegories, parables, proverbs, hymns and canticles constitute a very large part of the Bible.

The query, "Is a given passage historic?" is not then equivalent to the question, "Is that same passage true?" If it were, Catholic scholars would desist from proposing it, except in a hypothetical way. Yet it is equivalent to asking, "*What kind* of truth are we to look for in this passage, *historic,* or some other *kind?*"

As there is a variety of mediums so is there a variety of truths. For a starting-point we may take theological, philosophical, scientific and historic truths outside the Bible, their classification being due to the diversity of their respective objects, as considered in themselves and *independently of all description.* In the concrete order these truths may frequently be found overlapping and intermingling, as a result of which, they are bound to overlap and intermingle in literature. That is why the magnificent synthesis of Catholic theology would be supremely ethereal without the saving substructure of revealed and philosophic truth. That is why the dogmatic presentation of the Incarnation, the Holy Eucharist and Mariology would be more fitting for an esoteric Christianity than for that which is our priceless heritage, unless they were, as we know them to be, based on historic truths that are unquestionable.

But the alliance binding truths of different orders together, or the genius that juxtaposes or compares them does not deprive them of their respective natures. That the Son of God became incarnate remains always a revealed truth whether we read of it in the Inspired Word, in a religious novel, or in the treatise on essence and existence in scholastic philosophy. Similarly, the typical sacrifice of Isaac can never be disrobed of a historic character, nor the theorems of Euclid of a mathematical, nor the principle of contradiction of a philosophical, even though these truths were to find their way into liturgics, dramatics, Semitics or the motley advertisements of a street-car.

In the same way, Biblical truths will preserve their several

are attired. Historic facts and divine revelations may be poetically presented, as in the Psalms. Profound theological truths, such as the reality of divine providence, may be developed in historical narratives like Esther and Tobias. Prophecies may be simply related as in the Gospels, or drawn out into sermons as in the Minor Prophets; while the fundamental truths of supernatural religion may don an humble primitive, popular garb, as in the first three chapters of Genesis. All this is fact. The mistake would lie either in the disparagement of the truths thus arrayed, as modernizing exegetes are wont to do, or in the denomination of the truths from the medium or the medium from the truths. The first error has led to the relegation of a large part of the book of Genesis to the domain of myth and unreality, while the second has reduced the sublimely historic Gospel of St. John to the level of a rhapsody setting forth the theological aberrations of a mystic in a purely fictitious framework of history.

The literary kind cannot be overlooked by him who would know precisely and understand what an author has to say. Yet too much importance should not be attached to it. It may often prove insufficient to justify either an affirmation or a denial of the authenticity of what is said. If the dramas of Shakespeare do not cease to be dramas just because Cæsar, Henry VIII, or Richard II are known to have existed, it is equally true that if the history of these personages were not found elsewhere, the dramas themselves, although furnishing a strong persuasion, could hardly certify us of it. Once more, if Ben Hur does not become genuine history in virtue of its historic setting, neither does the divine Leprosy-healer introduced into it cease to be historic because of the rôle He is made to play in a novel. Outside the Bible as well as within it, the literary *kind* with its properties, limitations, and functions is one thing, while the information, theory, plot or doctrine it bodies forth is another. It is an instrument or subject in hermeneutics, not a sovereign. Its office in the world of literature is somewhat like that of the senses in serving the intellect. Just as these latter, without perceiving intellectual truth, carry it nevertheless to the mind bundled up, characters, regardless of the literary apparel in which they

as it were, in a covering of color, fragrance, taste and the like, so is the literary *kind* a channel for the reception and transmission of truth without either tainting or assimilating it.

Now in dealing with mankind God's action has always been one of condescension. As at the Incarnation the Uncreated Word took upon Himself our lowly human nature with all its infirmities and apparent unbefittingness, so in the communication of His created Word through the prophets and apostles, God chose only those ordinary mediums with which men were already familiar. Now the virginal body of Christ, although perfected, did not lose its human qualities by being united to the divinity; neither does a literary medium lose its peculiar characteristics by contact with the divine message. Inspiration governs the choice of a medium, the capacity of which it may raise to the highest for the sake of perfect transmission, but it does not metamorphose the medium into one of another kind.

These observations are calculated to shed light on the study of the Biblical genealogies. It may be desirable, however, before treating of these directly, to sum up in canons the results arrived at in this section.

1. If the literary medium employed by the Sacred Writer under the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, is not of a nature to guarantee historicity outside the Bible, it cannot guarantee it within the Bible, since the medium receives its sanction entirely *from usage.*

2. Since the action of the Holy Spirit in inspiring continues until the writing is over, it must so influence the inspired agent as to make him choose that kind of literature best suited to *his* ability for the correct transmission of the message received.

3. If God decrees to impart the knowledge of historical facts *as such* through *given* passages, whether the passages be isolated or consecutive, He will provide that the passages or their context be so worded as to certify the reader to that effect.

4. The presence of historical facts among unhistorical literary features does not thereupon rob the facts of their historicity, but it leaves them open to proof or apparent disproof *from other sources.*

5. Any narration of human occurrences is presumed to be historic until the contrary is proved, since narative of this sort has belonged, according to the usage of all ages, to the historic kind of literature.

II.

The Genealogies.

The motive in singling out the Biblical genealogies in their relation with the principles set forth in the previous section, is, to place before the reader a problem that is commonly regarded as unsolved, at least in many matters of detail.

We may begin with the genealogy of our Lord as contained in the first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, treating only that phase of it which bears on the present question.

In verse 8 it is signified that "Joram begot Ozias." The word "begot" (ἐγέννησεν) would naturally lead us to think that Joram was the father of Ozias, but such was not the case. Three generations are known to have separated them, thus making the former the great-great-grandfather of the latter, and not his immediate progenitor. Historically, Joram begot Ochozias;[6] Ochozias begot Joas;[7] Joas begot Amasias;[8] and Amasias begot Ozias.[9] Farther on, the name of Joachim should be inserted between those of Josias and Jechonias, for Josias begot Joachim, and it was Joachim, not, as stated, Josias, who begot Jechonias and his brethren.[10]

This part of the genealogy is evidently at fault. It cannot be alleged that the omissions have occurred accidentally. The missing names have been purposely suppressed, for a subordinate idea in producing the genealogy was, according to verse 17, to show that "*all* the generations from Abraham to David, are *fourteen* generations; and from David to the transmigration

[6] I Par. iii, 11.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*, v. 12.
[9] II Par, xxvi, 1, Ozias = Azarias in I Par. iii, 12.
[10] Jer. xxii, 18, 24.

of Babylon, are *fourteen* generations: and from the transmigration of Babylon to Christ are *fourteen* generations."

To complicate matters still more, the author of the genealogy who, by using the Jewish method of calculation, includes the two extremes in his count for the first and third cycles, should consistently have done the same thing in numbering the generations of the second. But the spell of equality in the threefold division would then be broken, for he would have fifteen in the second part instead of fourteen. Yet even fifteen would fall short of the enumeration according to Old Testament data, which is nineteen.[11]

Overlooking this inaccuracy, it will be enough to confine our attention to the omissions.

Quite beside the mark, for sufficiency, is the explanation volunteered by Fr. Knabenbauer. This eminent exegete seems not to have observed that Joachim is passed over unnoticed. He devotes a fair amount of space to traditional views concerning the triple omission of the kings between Joram and Ozias, and then, after eliminating these one by one, he favors that preferred by Maldonatus. He is not thoroughly satisfied with it, but recommends it as one with which "we must be content until a better one is found."[12] According to this opinion, *St. Matthew* (!) designedly left out the names, understanding doubtless that, "by a divine judgment, they had been destroyed out of Israel and the genealogy of Christ." Touching more particularly upon the cause of the "divine judgment," he relies on "the ancients" including St. Jerome, as furnishing collectively "the real reason" for the omission. It was this. "The memory of Joram to the third generation is banished from the holy Nativity because of his marriage with the race of the impious Jezabel."[13]

[11] See table XXIV in the Concordantiarum Thesaurus of the Jesuit Cursus.

[12] Knabenbauer, *In Genesim*, Pars I, pag. 39.

[13] This opinion is thus worded in an erudite commentary of uncertain authorship formerly ascribed to St. Chrysostom: "Sed juste usque ad tres generationes ex eo (scil. Joram) sanctus Spiritus per Matthaeum pracepit de numero regum tollere de immundo et maledicto semine natos, in generationibus Christi spernens connumerare."—M. PG. 56, cc. 623-4.

As a matter of fact, it is Joram's memory that is perpetuated, since both *his* name and lineage appear. The genealogy contains not the slightest insinuation that he was so accursed. Rather is he presented as the progenitor of the twenty generations leading up to Christ. And how can even his immediate descendants be considered as "banished out of Israel" here, when they enjoy such prominence as is accorded them in the Old Testament? It would not indeed have been astonishing if Joram's posterity had received more scrupulous attention, and if, with them, the foreign wife of the king, Jezabel's daughter, had been introduced to keep company with Thamar, Rahab and the wife of Urias.[14]

Commenting on these last names, St. Jerome says: "It is to be observed that, in the pedigree of the Saviour, no woman is chosen from among the holy, but only those whom Scripture reprehends. That is done to show that He who came for the sake of sinners, in being born of sinners, would destroy the sins of all." [15]

Congruities like this in their proper place have a value all their own and far be it from us to spurn them. Yet they are evasive for the present and can have no determinate value until the problem proposed is settled. However, in answer to this one it may be pointed out that the same line of reasoning which applauds the needless insertion of reprehensible women, is equally cogent in its demands for the reprehensible kings. Hence, Salmeron, striking out on a course opposite that of Fr. Knabenbauer, maintains that the kings "have not been excluded because they were sinners, for others worse than they are enumerated." [16]

What then becomes of St. Matthew's genealogy? To say the least, it is defective; and if the word "begot" is to preserve its natural signification, it makes Joram the father of Ozias, and that is unhistoric. Again, if nineteen generations are

[14] Mt. i, 3, 5, 6.

[15] Knabenbauer, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[16] Allen sees in the mention of the females a preparation by contrast for the presentation of the Virginal Birth at the end, vv. 18-25.—*Intern. Crit. Comm.*, p. 6.

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counted as fourteen, it is in error, and that is the more unpardonable if the writer promises us a correct list.

But let us look again. Have we actually been promised that much, or is it the inspired author, St. Matthew, who promises? The introductory verse runs more like a title than an inspired promise. It reads: "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham." The Evangelist makes no observation on the authenticity or the contents of this so-called "book." He takes the first for granted and gives us the second as he finds them. Now the contents embrace the genealogy as contained in the sixteen verses that follow. The "book," therefore, terminates with verse 17.

From this it would seem that St. Matthew was availing himself of a little genealogical book already in existence, which *in its composition* need not have been either Matthean or inspired. To employ a distinction explained in section I, so long as the book remained of human origin and unaltered,inspiration cannot be considered to have affected it *intrinsically*. Yet it was grounded on the Old Testament record which contains most of the progenitors named. It might perhaps originally have been intended for a *summary* of historico-prophetic information about the beginnings of Jesus. In a summary the repeated use of the word "begot" could be tolerated as denoting progeniture in a direct line.

The suggestion here advanced is derived from St. Luke's list[17] which, more normal in its construction, assigns twenty-one generations corresponding to St. Matthew's second cycle of fourteen (= nineteen); and twenty-three corresponding to St. Matthew's third cycle. Although the third cycle cannot be verified or disproved by comparison with extant documents, this remarkable divergence in numbers with St. Luke eminently justifies the suspicion that it is not any more reliable than the second cycle. The much longer period it is presumed to have spanned, six hundred years as against four hundred, confirms this unfavorable impression. In short, so long as the

[17] Lk. iii, 23-38.

composition of this unique pedigree is attributed to an inspired author it will bristle with harassing difficulties. On the one hand, the scholar will be left to lament with Euthemius: "Nullus ante nos hanc solvit questionem," [18] while on the other, he will find St. Chrysostom's apology somewhat too serious to admit of pleasantry: "I leave the question to be solved by yourselves, for it is unnecessary to solve everything for you. Such a course would engender nausea." [19]

In the hypothesis that "The Book of the Generation" is only a summary, and that it never purported to be more than a summary, it seems permissible to venture the belief that it was designed by its author *for popular use.* That would easily account for the arbitrary suppression of certain obnoxious names and the retention of others in making up three generations each composed of two times seven generations. The supposition gains additional plausibility from the prominent rôle played by the mystic numbers, three and seven, in Old Testament and Christian symbolism.

To the minds of Origen, St. Jerome, Blessed Albert the Great, Cornelius à Lapide and others, the three fourteens seemed pointed and significant as bearing a *secret* allusion to the forty-two traditional stations made by the Israelites in the desert on their way to the Land of Promise. Curiously enough, both calculations end with the advent of a Jesus (Josue = Jesus = savior) who leads his followers into a permanent inheritance.[20]

In this comparison the relation of type to anti-type is too patent for controversy; but the correctness of the equation, 42 O. T. = 42 N. T. is of so *secret* a nature, that it runs the risk of belonging to a class almost undefinable. It appears too far fetched to be unduly urged. Besides, it is based on a purely extrinsic and possibly accidental equality in the mathematical totals, to the overlooking of the triple division so express and compelling in the Matthean idea.

[18] M. PG. 129, c. 126.
[19] Hom. iv in Matt., M. PG. 57, c. 39.
[20] Knab., *op. cit.*, p. 50.

It is more than likely that the Christian author of the Evangelist's register was influenced by a more picturesque consideration. The remarkable identity of names and numbers between Abraham and David in all the Biblical pedigrees imposes the conviction that there was no independent extra-Biblical source available for that epoch at the time the Gospels were written. Hence, any manipulation in that part of the extant list must be ascribed to ancient Hebrew chroniclers. Now since Abraham and David were the two great luminaries of Hebrew Messianism, the Christian author of the Matthean pedigree was apparently prompted to regard the unusually low number of twice seven or fourteen generations separating them, as typical and sacred. The mysterious agreement between this number and the sum of the numerical letters in David's Hebrew name at the end, דוד (4 + 6 + 4 = 14), was doubly suggestive—fourteen generations leading up to a fourteen that was crystallized, personified and transfigured in the Prophet-king! Why not then prepare for the introduction of David's anti-type, the Messiah, by a fourteen? Better still, to honor the name of the Psalmist, which is made up of three letters, why not construct the whole pedigree of three fourteens? If Abraham and David were luminaries, the Messiah, "who enlighteneth every man coming into the world, was a greater one, and He had risen, so to speak, after a total eclipse of the first two; namely, the Babylonian captivity. According to this theory which is partly developed from a conjecture advanced by G. H. Box, the literary *form* of the genealogy has its *raison d'être* in being a kind of acrostic formed after the name David.[21] The licenses belong to the form.

Apart from the scientific advantage there is in not having to appeal to an unauthenticated revelation concerning a "divine judgment," as do Maldonatus and Knabenbauer, the explanation of St. Matthew's "Book of the Generation" as a summary designed for popular use, also dispenses us from impeaching either the doctrine of inspiration or the integrity of the Evangelist.

[21] See "Interpreter," Jan., 1906. Allen, *op. cit.*

Inspiration renders infallible all that and only that of which St. Matthew was the author. But St. Matthew, as inspired, was not the author of the book in question. Therefore, he is not responsible for its defects.[22] Inspiration affected the book *extrinsically* only, not intrinsically. As author, St. Matthew's part consisted in the decision to incorporate this particular pedigree into his Gospel, and to give his readers a *true* and faithful *copy* of it. Having done this his work was over.

But let us suppose for a moment that the title, "Book of the Generation," had been omitted. What then? Would not St. Matthew have made himself responsible for the whole list and all its parts?

In other kinds of literature he might be so compromised, but scarcely in the genealogical kind. Genealogies, by their very nature, are founded on records, and their truthfulness can rarely exceed that of the records. "The Book of the Generation of Jesus," as has been noted, was built largely upon the Old Testament. All through Jewish history like records were kept, and by far the majority of them were not inspired; perhaps none of them were. If then a Sacred Author should choose to use them, he would have no alternative but to reproduce them just as he found them. His veracity would be at stake if he meddled with them, and that would be incompatible with inspiration. Truth in the premises would depend exclusively on the exact correspondence of his copy with *the accepted* traditional form. As a Sacred Writer, he would be the author, not of the genealogies themselves, but of the particular *use* they were made to serve in his work.

In a word, "salvis sensu et judicio Ecclesiae," Biblical genealogies bear the stamp of citations. So long as they preserve their simple ordinary form, there is no room in them either for originality, alteration, or embellishment. When they are artificially tampered with, as in the Βιβλος γενέσεως, they become proportionately untrustworthy. Moreover, they

[22] Cfr. Cornely's rule: "In historicis textibus attende ne ipsi auctori narrationem aliquam attribuas, quam ipse tamquam ab alio factam refert." —*Introd. Gen.* I, no. 220, b, γ, pag. 599.

refer in most cases to the distant past, a time beyond the control of eye-witnesses and contemporaries. As a result, they are open to a two-fold division: they are explicit citations when their source is mentioned; they are implicit citations when it is passed over in silence, but in any case an author should not be presumed to advance them on his own authority except in so far as he is a witness to the traditional form they have acquired in his time.

But, it may be argued, in the presence of two divergent documents, like St. Matthew's "book" and the testimony of the Old Testament, is not the inspired writer free to make corrections? Beyond a doubt he is, and his freedom will become necessary if he venture to compose a genealogy anew. But St. Matthew did not do that. Such work had been done for him in advance by others, even anterior to the birth of Christ. St. Luke intimates as much when he tells us that, on learning of the decree of Augustus, Mary and Joseph went "up to Judea, to the city of David, which is called Bethlehem," to be enrolled, "because he (Joseph) was *of the house and family of David.*" The genealogy had been already traced.[23]

Yet for all that, is St. Matthew excused for not having adopted a perfect list when one was obtainable? There is nothing to excuse in what is done under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Views to the contrary need to be modified, for an ounce of fact is worth a ton of speculation. The Evangelist realized that the book of his choice reflected closely enough the complete genealogy as found elsewhere; and since they for whom his Gospel was intended, namely, Christian converts from Judaism, would not be over-exacting in the exposition of a truth they had never dreamed of doubting, he deemed it unnecessary to play the critic.

To pave the way for belief in the Virginal Birth which was so dimly yet so unmistakably foreshadowed in the marvellous begetting of Isaac and a royal line by Abraham in his advanced age, it was enough if the "Book of the Generation" were an authentic *reminder* of the Abrahamic and Davidic origin of

[23] Cfr. Lk. ii, 4, and Josephus on the diligence of the Jews in saving their pedigrees.—*Life*, 1; *Apion*, i, 7.

Christ; that is, if it were so constructed that nobody could accept it without making an act of faith in that phase of the Messiahship. The work did not need to *prove* the article of faith directly. It was used rather as a legitimate literary medium deriving its efficiency first, from its more or less general fidelity in mirroring traditional belief; and secondly, from its sources. Inspiration anointed it externally to bear its holy and momentous message down the ages.

In comparing St. Matthew's " Book of the Generation " with St. Luke's list,[24] we find an astonishing diversity of names. Between David and Joseph, the foster-father, the genealogies agree in only two places, namely, at Salathiel and Zorobabel. In the light of the leviratical law, the divergences can be and actually have been explained by Julius Africanus.[25] St. Matthew's " Book " presents the natural lineage, and St. Luke's Gospel the legal. Two anomalies mark the line of descent at Salathiel and Joseph. The origins of both are presumed to have been similar, so that, in comprehending that of Joseph the reader will be in a position to grasp that of Salathiel.

Joseph's mother, Estha, had successively two husbands, Heli and Jacob. The first had died without issue, whereupon the second, Heli's brother (or near of kin), was required to " raise up seed " to the deceased. St. Joseph was the fruit of this union. Yet Heli and Jacob were not brothers german. They had a common mother, but their fathers belonged to different

[24] Lk. III, 23-38. For the historical reliability of the list see Plummer: " It is therefore an empty objection to say that Lk. *could* not have obtained this genealogy from any authentic source . . . . if Herod made the attempt, he did not succeed in destroying even all public records. . . . Throughout his reign he took no precaution against Davidic claimants; and had he been told that a village carpenter was the representative of David's house, he would possibly have treated him as Domitian is said to have treated the grandsons of Judas the brother of the Lord—with supercilious indifference (Eus. H. E., III, 20).—*Intern. Crit. Com.*, St. Luke, p. 102.

[25] Knab. In Luc., p. 175; also, Cornely, *Introd. Gen.*, III, pp. 198-9. This explanation is highly recommended by its antiquity. The alternate solution which sees in one Gospel the pedigree of Mary and in the other that of Joseph is, comparatively speaking, modern and less apt to be historically true. It was first propounded by Annius of Viterbo, about A. D. 1490. See Plummer, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

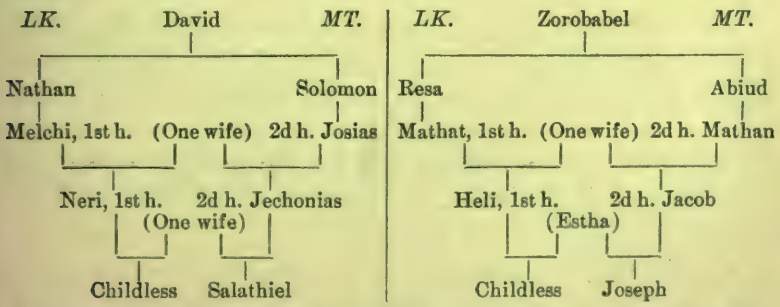
families. For that reason St. Luke's line which runs backwards, through Heli, the legal albeit childless, father, necessarily differs from St. Matthew's which, beginning with Jacob, gives none but the natural progenitors.[26]

Leading up to David from Abraham, the lists harmonize perfectly. Exactly fourteen generations are assigned in each, though the period intervening between the sturdy patriarch and the saintly king is roundly a thousand years. Now if fourteen generations can scarcely span four hundred or six hundred years, can it be hoped that they will suffice for a thousand? St. Luke's list shares in the same shortcomings as St. Matthew's for the periods of the Judges and the sojourn in Egypt. It is worth just what its sources are worth, and these, Ruth and Paralipomenon, are apparently incomplete.

St. Luke does not stop at Abraham. He mounts upwards through Noe and the ante-diluvians to Adam "who was of God." [27] By so doing he may be treated in this study as a stepping-stone to the patriarchial genealogies contained in Genesis. Once they are correctly understood there will be nothing left to explain in St. Luke.

In the Old Testament there are two genealogical tables overtowering all others. The first is embraced in what is styled "*The Book* of the Generation of Adam," [28] and purports to cover

[26] Allen prefers to regard the Matthean genealogy as the legal one (*op. cit.* in note 16 above), but without apparently sufficient reason. Following is the solution offered by Julius Africanus:



Thus Jechonias and Jacob were natural fathers; Neri and Heli legal. Salathiel and Joseph were heirs to Neri and Heli respectively.

[27] Lk. III, 38.

[28] Gen. XI, 10-26.—Holzinger observes that these words read as here

the space between Creation and the Deluge. The second extends from Sem, the son of Noe, to (Abram) Abraham.[29] Although the latter is not designated a "book," it bears the appearance of having been borrowed unchanged from a non-Biblical source. Under the caption, "These are the generations of Sem," it proceeds without interruption to the end, where it is followed by a shorter table with a similar heading, "These are the generations of Thare." It is noteworthy that Thare's immediate family including Abram, which terminates the Sem-table is needlessly repeated at the beginning of the Thare-table, as if two distinct lists already in existence and known by the titles assigned them, had been juxtaposed without alteration. This being true, it follows that the principles involved in the treatment of St. Matthew's defective lists are equally applicable here.

Fixing our eyes on the contents of the "The Book of the Generation of Adam" and the less formally presented "Generations of Sem," we are struck not so much by the individuals themselves as by their astounding longevity. Complications multiply when we examine the three highly discordant channels through which the knowledge comes to us.[30]

To confine ourselves to general results, it may be stated that the period from Adam to the Deluge extended over 1656 years according to the Hebrew, 1307 according to the Samaritan Pentateuch, and 2242 according to the Septuagint. From the Deluge to Abraham, the time is measured at 290, 940, and 1170 (1070) years respectively.

By placing these genealogies in the chronological setting they intrinsically claim, we arrive at the conclusion that the protoparent lived sometime between 4000 and 5000 B. C. Unfortu-

presented, viz., "like the title of a book." His theory is accepted only in so far as it is expressed.—Genesis erklaert.—See Skinner, *ad loc.*, p. 130, *Intern. Crit. Com.*

[29] Gen. XI, 10-26.

[30] For a tabular arrangement of the matter, see Hummelauer, *In Genesim*, pp. 201, 342; Mangenot in Vigouroux, DB. s. v. Chronologie Biblique; Skinner, Genesis, p. 134 ("Holzinger's" table) and p. 233, where a fourth group of dates, those furnished by the Book of Jubilees, is added; Curtis in Hasting's DB. s. v. Chronology of the O. T.

nately for this computation, it has been discovered by Orientalists that the Semites, *as a people*, existed as early as 5000 and perhaps as early as 6000 B. C., at which time they migrated from Mesopotamia and conquered the civilised Sumerians of Babylonia, who themselves had previously penetrated into the land from Central Asia. Furthermore, by 4000 B. C., the two races are known to have been living side by side in Babylonia, while in Egypt, at Memphis and about the mouths of the Nile, were still other distinct pre-historic peoples. If time be allowed for the ethnological, political, linguistic and religious conditions and differences of this remote epoch to develop, the proto-parent is forced back far beyond the earliest period that any Biblical figure will warrant. Is it then reasonable to attach anything approaching historical completeness or accuracy to the lists under discussion?

This is saying nothing of the extraordinary and almost incredible ages of the patriarchs taken individually. Over half of the antediluvians are represented as having outlived 900 years. One life alone falls short of 700. After the Deluge the ages moderate, yet not so as to meet the requirements of contemporary history. If, according to the Sem-list, Sem be the progenitor of all the Semites, and his descendants be the same as the extra-Biblical Semites, then the ten generations between Sem and Abraham must bridge over the centuries beginning before 5000 B. C. and reaching to about 2000 B. C. Even the Deluge would then have to ante-date the traditional date of Creation and 300 years would be the minimum average length of the successive generations. But the Septuagint will not justify anything higher than 135 years as a rule; neither will the Samaritan Pentateuch; while the Hebrew uniformly subtracts a whole century from that allowance, thereby making the age of progenitors range in seven cases out of ten, from twenty-nine to thirty-five years. How astonishingly normal!

Formerly it was alleged that God could prolong human life to a thousand years and beyond, and that in primitive times such an anomaly was called for. Scripture testifies merely that God supplied the demand. Nowadays the subject of controversy is: does the Bible so testify?

The lineal descendants of Sem up to Abraham are presented

to us at a time that can be quite satisfactorily controlled by historians. It was a time during which there was no dearth either of individuals, races or religions; a time in which longevity was neither the rule nor a common exception. Although the same cannot be affirmed of the antediluvians, they are nevertheless imprisoned in such an impervious antiquity that nothing short of miracle could bring it to pass that accounts concerning them would be more authentic than records produced in later historic times.

It has been shown above that genealogies may be doctored and manipulated artificially without that fact interfering with their subsequent introduction into the Bible. Now if such a thing can happen "The Book of the Generation of Jesus," why could it not for a stronger reason have happened "The Book of the Generation of Adam"? Outside the Bible no one would take the Genesiacal genealogies *as they stand* to be rigidly historic, at least in their mathematical calculations. Why should they be taken for such in the Bible? The Inspired Author *used* them it is true, but he *did not compose* them and his character and prestige hinges on his fidelity in reproducing them in their traditional form.

Yet it would be a mistake to place all genealogies in one and the same class. Those preceding Thare and Abraham have evidently a foundation in fact as regards the names, "tongues, families, nations," and occupations enumerated; but the ages, dates and rudimentary mathematics connected therewith are, to say the least, unlikely. Later genealogies are more normal.

To view the primitive genealogies in a theological perspective, they were, under divine guidance, the most natural product of human ingenuity in its efforts to fulfill the high and supernatural mission confided to it in the beginning. Creation by God, the unity of the race, the state of original justice, the first sin and its penalty, the promised restoration of mankind to supremacy over the serpent—all these were facts of undying import that alone could solve the riddle of life and so promote the interests of monotheism. They made men think and believe and be hopeful.

But men were not then what they are now and, as scholastics

pithily express it, "*quidquid recipitur ad modum recipientis recipitur.*" In the uncultured condition of primitive society, even when civilized, truth would hardly have been assimilated in its abstract form. The skeleton had to be filled up with flesh and blood. Truth needed to be handed down from father to son in a popular way. All could realize the reality of Eden's curse, for all, like Adam, were condemned to labor in the sweat of their brows, to gather a few thorns and thistles, and then die. They were truly "his seed." What then was more natural than to remember at least the more important links in the chain of descent from him?

To sum up the results of this study, as related to the canons of the preceding section, the following conclusions are offered:—

1. All Biblical genealogies are historical in form and should therefore be accepted as history in all their parts, until their unhistorical character has been proved. (Canon 5.)

2. The patriarchal genealogies antecedent to Abraham, contain in their present condition many features which appear to be unhistoric. (Canon 1.) Yet that is not sufficient to prove that the personages named therein are not historic. (Canon 4.)

3. Since the genealogy furnished by St. Matthew is artificially arranged in several places, and is thereby rendered proportionately untrustworthy, it follows that the Author Inspiring, namely, the Holy Ghost, did not intend to give in the first Gospel a critically historic list, but one *already in use* which the Evangelist, enlightened by Him, perceived to be sufficient for his purpose. (Canon 2.)

4. It was the intention of the Holy Spirit to certify mankind of the historicity of this genealogy and at the same time of its imperfections through the Old Testament, whose descriptions of the more important progenitors were composed, in many cases, by contemporaries. (Canons 3 and 4.)

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FRAY LUÍS DE LEÓN AND HIS PUPILS.

In the ode "*Las Sirenas, á Cherinto*" we have an excellent example of the university poetry of the sixteenth century. Fray Luís de León stands without question at the head of the Salamancan school of poets, which down the ages to almost the present day has ever found distinguished representatives and champions in the literature of Spain. There are greater poems than this among his works,—serene word-carvings in the spirit of the sculptures of the Parthenon,—exquisite lyrics on the delights of contentment and solitude, and the loveliness of nature, songs pure and crystalline as the musical rivulets of Chopin,—penetrating canticles on the profoundest themes of dogma and mystical theology,—splendid pæans to the glory of heroic Spain, to Santiago, the Ascension, the Feast of All Saints, and tender, seraphic praises of the Mother of God.

There are two poems, however, that seem particularly to give voice to the real spirit of Salamanca in her age of gold; *viz.*, "The Sirens, to Cherinto," and "To Juan de Griál." The latter, we are told, was written while Fray Luís lay in the secret prisons at Valladolid, awaiting his acquittal by the Holy Office of the charges against the orthodoxy of his Bible teachings. In its lines he seems to evoke in memory some chill October day after the opening of the schools on the Feast of Saint Luke; on these lofty plains of Castile the night falls swift and frigid, and it is easy to imagine his frail form in his Augustinian habit hastening home to the golden-brown city on the hill above the Tormes River. With the young *licentiado* and poet Juan de Griál, whose name, if we may translate it, can read "John of the Graal," he is apparently returning from some expedition on the plains, and night and the bells of the Angelus have speeded them across the long Roman bridge, and up the steep ascents to the University, or the Monastery of San Agustín.

One catches at once the classic note harmonizing with the poet's direct emotion,—that welding of the personal and the traditional for which Fray Luis is preëminent among the modern poets of all countries. Two of these stanzas may be rendered thus:

"By dim horizons go the cranes
Of Ibycus migrating with their cry
Portentous; now the bullock strains
Against the yoke his shoulders high,
And turns the patient furrows to the sky.

To noble studies would the hours,
Grial, convene us; and the voice of Fame
Call upward to her sacred towers,—
Yea, to her summit bid us aim,
Where never yet the breath of passion came."

The almost Flemish atmosphere of this little etching may not agree with certain preconceived notions of Spanish landscape; but the country surrounding Salamanca, the long stretches of slender poplars following the stream of the Tormes across the otherwise treeless plains, show more of the northern soulfulness of the *primitifs,* than of the romantic splendor of the renaissance.

In the other poem, "The Sirens, to Cherinto," we have what seems a work of earlier composition. Confusion and controversy reign among the Spanish critics regarding the dates of Fray Luís' poems; he himself tells the great churchman Don Pedro Portocarrero, to whom he dedicated them:—"In the course of my studies, from my youth, I may almost say from childhood, I happened to turn off these lighter things, having applied my hand to them rather through the inclination of my stars than of any set purpose or desire,"—a statement that must be modified in the light of certain references in the poems which show that some of them at least could not have been written much before his thirtieth year.

We have also to consider every judgment passed upon the poems of Fray Luís with caution, knowing that they were not printed until forty years after his death, when in 1631 Quevedo

prepared the first edition. Even to-day in spite of the researches of Merino in his "*Obras de Fr. Luís de León*" (Madrid, 1885), and of later scholars like Fray L. G. Alonso Getino, the Dominican, and the late Padre Blanco García of the Augustinians, we are without a definite work such as the latter had projected, but which his untimely death, and that of Menéndez y Pelayo, have indefinitely postponed. That Fray Luís himself was aware of this confusion regarding the authenticity of his poems, we may see in his quaint apology where he writes:—

"But as it sometimes happens that urchins who are strictly treated by their parents or teachers, will make themselves friars, so also these youthful works of mine, being harshly treated by me, betook them likewise to the shelter of religion and assumed a name more honorable than they merited, and in this manner have masqueraded before the public for some time, to the detriment of a monastic person—to whom, because of our close friendship in the past, the authorship of them has been attributed,"—referring, it is said on rather unconvincing evidence, to the great Biblical scholar Arías Montanus (1527-1598).

It would not be altogether presumptuous to classify as earliest among Fray Luís' works those poems that show most clearly the phrasing and turns of thought of the Greek and Latin authors upon whom his style and very manner of feeling were formed. "The Sirens," therefore, for want of other evidence than internal, may be attributed to his early years as professor of the chairs of San Tomás and of Durando. We know, that for all his high appreciation of the Castilian tongue, he could find it "*indecente*" when employed in solemn exercises of the university. It seems to have been easier for him to acknowledge his poems when they were versions out of the classics; but if he treats his own metrical compositions lightly, there is no lack of affection displayed, indeed at times one feels an actual tenderness in his handling of the verse.

A magisterial air accompanies the ready freshness of the classical illusions in "The Sirens," and even though we are

aware that Fray Luís signed himself as instructor in 1550, when in his twenty-second year, a ripeness in the scholarship, and a force, as well as discretion in conveying this poetical warning, inclines one to place its date of authorship between 1566 and 1572. During this period Fray Luís was rector of the *colegio menor* of San Guillermo, an Augustinian academy at Salamanca, although entirely independent of the great monastery of San Agustín where Fray Luís seems always to have made his home.

As to the identity of Cherinto or Asensio, we are also without more precise indication than may be found in the care with which Fray Luís presents his picture of the seductions of the world, so that no aspect of his poem can suggest anything but what will serve his virtuous purpose. Here Fray Luís is not only the poet and professor, but also the director and spiritual adviser of one still in tutelage, for the tone seems too direct to allow of the poem being merely a literary exercise.

It is indeed full of beauties for him who has not forgotten his *Odyssey,* his Vergil, Ovid, and Horace; it might serve for a test of one's taste and reading, and should charm, in spite of the uneven mirror of a translation, the university minds of to-day. How far the world seems fallen from the serene culture of sixteenth century Spain, when we consider the means of edification chosen for his pupils by the sublime author of "The Names of Christ" and the poem on "The Sirens."

THOMAS WALSH.

FRAY LUÍS DE LEÓN OF SALAMANCA, 1528–91, TO HIS PUPIL, CHERINTO, IN WARNING OF "THE SIRENS."

Let not the flagon's golden lip,
Nor aught of fragrant nectar it can bear,
Entice thee to its fatal sip;
Nor in a fluttering bosom e'er,
Cherinto, seek solution of thy care.

Asensio mine, withhold thy hand
Too ardent; see how with the purple rose
And lily where serene they stand,
When touched, their witching beauty goes,
And leaves the soul embittered at the close.

Step warily,—the meadow holds
For all its flowers the serpent's mortal sting;
Where most its loveliness unfolds
There most of caution shouldst thou bring
To avoid the trap and dangers threatening.

Thy bloom of springtime past, the years
Maturing ask of thee some harvest fruit
Of honest glory for their shears;
Alas, then from unclean pursuit
Hold back, and follow but the noble route!

Ere Circe, foul enchantress, gains
Dominion o'er thee, plying thee with wine
That poisons to the very veins,
Till heart and spirit grow malign,
Thou too shalt wallow mid her drove of swine.

Never to him who stays is given
To rise from out the slough of that despair
Save through some grace supreme of heaven;
For there he rages like a bear,
Or like the jackal whines and rends the air.

Nor put thy faith in sages; see
How fared old Solomon the wizard king
Whose might availed him naught; how he
Who could on Gaza ruin bring
Was in a woman's hand so small a thing.

Be that high son of Greece thy guide,
Whose knowing sail would tarry not around
The crags whereon the siren plied
Her wiles to draw him to her bound;
Wherefore the ages with his fame resound.

Melting the sea-winds with her song
She called afar: "Let down that sail of thine
Which through the tempests toils along
The buffet of the wind and brine,—
Ulysses of the Greeks, thou light divine!

"Draw near, and know a brief repose
From thine immortal quest; to hear awhile
The wonders rare my chants disclose,
And with sea-faring tales beguile
The hours, and add new annals to our isle.

"The fullness of all earthly lore
Is ours, and to delight thy ravished ears
Our songs shall tell the bitter war
Of Troy, and her destruction drear
Beneath the High Gods' frown, and Grecian spear."—

Thus her fair welcome, spite her rage
To slay; but with his quickened sail outspread
For home, made off the hero sage,
And o'er the seas undaunted sped,
His ears sealed fast to hear no more she said.

So if to thee she signal, close
Thine eyes discreet; at her first word shut fast
Thine ears to aught she can propose;
And if she pluck the cloak thou hast,
Then fly, since only flight can save at last!

Translation by

THOMAS WALSH.

A NEW ANTHOLOGY.[1]

Can any anthology be entirely satisfactory? If I were making this inquiry in Latin, I should certainly begin it with *Num,* a particle which, as we were taught in the dear dead days beyond recall, always, in direct questions, expects the answer, No. Lest, however, this almost categorical denial should convey any false impression as to the merits of the book now under consideration, I hasten to say that Father O'Neill's *Five Centuries of English Poetry* is, within its limitations, as near to perfection as it is given to man to attain.

I have known some worthy persons who considered that the editing of a collection of English poetry was about the easiest form of literary exercise, and was therefore beneath the dignity of any one who held any office of fairly decent standing in the republic of letters; but for my part I think that the way of the anthologist is hard, that he exercises a function worthy of the highest respect, and that he assumes towards his own and succeeding generations a responsibility calculated to give pause to, if not to strike terror into the heart of, any but the greatly-daring mortal. He—or she, for we have women anthologists, too—who sets out to make a garner of English verse, must needs be guilty of many sins of omission, because of the superabundant amount of material from which selections are to be made and the consequent necessity of more or less arbitrary exclusion; and he may be guilty of sins of commission as well, by circulating what is either suggestive of evil or positively objectionable, for unfortunately some of the greatest English wits are notorious offenders in that respect. As he fares forward in his task, he will be dragged in different directions at the same

[1] *Five Centuries of English Poetry*, by the Rev. George O'Neill, S. J., M. A., Professor of English, University College, Dublin. The Educational Company of Ireland, Limited, Dublin and Belfast; Longmans, Green, and Co., New York. 1912. Pp. xvi + 368. Price 3s./6d.

time, he will be impaled on the horns of many a dilemma, he will be menaced on the one hand by the Scylla of exclusion and on the other by the Charybdis of inclusion, and, rent and torn by conflicting emotions and desires, he will continually find himself between the devil and the deep sea.

"Pity the sorrows of the poor anthologist" might well be laid down, then, as a generous maxim for old and young to observe; but generosity of treatment is what the anthologist seldom experiences. Some critics seem to find an unholy joy in falling upon him tooth and nail and rending him to pieces. One is angered because poet A is represented while poet B is not; another carps at the ridiculous idea of printing a piece of argumentative verse from his favourite author while all his divine lyrics are left out; a third—a regular fierce Oberon passing fell and wrath—laments the decay of æstheticism and the decline of scholarship in this degenerate age, and holds up the unfortunate anthologist as his awful example.

Professor O'Neill was open-eyed to all the dangers that encompassed him round about; and yet with a courage that cannot be highly enough commended he went forward boldly to his self-appointed task. He had many qualities that fitted him finely for its accomplishment. He was armed with the sword of scholarship, the helmet of experience, and the buckler of catholic taste, and, to prick the sides of his intent, he fastened on the dialectic spurs that he had nobly won on other fields. He had also a very definite concept of what he wanted to do. His intention was, not to make a collection of poetry for general reading, not yet to bring together the choicest flowers from the glorious garden over which he was free to range, but to produce a book which should in the first place be helpful to his own students and to students in general, and which should in the second place illustrate successive types of English poetry. And always he had before him that ideal at which every true teacher aims, namely, the attempt not to satiate youthful literary appetite but to increase its keenness and to stimulate it to a discriminating, yet ever-widening range of reading. By showing the example, the good teacher seeks to put the parcel into consumption.

Father O'Neill is no believer in royal roads to scholarship, in machine-simplifications, or in modern devices of learning-made-easy. He rejoices to think that these nineteenth-century ideas are passing away. "Once again, perhaps," he says, "we may find ourselves assured with authority that education cannot profitably be a source of facile absorption, that it must rather mean a straining of mental and moral sinews, a hardening of teeth on intellectual crusts, nay even a discipline in self denial"; and he quotes approvingly Professor Hales's opinion that "the better part may not be won without dust and heat, and there is nothing worthy to be achieved without sincere, undaunted, never-wearying industry."

Father O'Neill's final ideal—and it is his noblest—lies embedded in his belief that the remote and difficult studies, to which he would gently lure his readers on, have the power of developing original gifts. "That they possess this virtue," he affirms, "has been proved by the history of all the Arts. In the primitive, simple, and long-obsolete has repeatedly been found a germinal and stimulating force which is sought for vainly in the highly-developed and modern." This aim of bringing out originality is unfortunately beyond the ken of too many teachers of literature. Hence it is appropriate that it should be once more emphasized, and it augurs well for the future usefulness of the infant university with which Father O'Neill is connected to have one of its principal professors imbued with such lofty conceptions of his calling.

The seventy-six selections, which occupy 238 pages of the volume under notice, run all the way from Chaucer to De Vere, that is, roughly from 1380 to 1850. Father O'Neill defends himself on three main grounds for stopping in the middle of the nineteenth century. His first reason does not seem to me to carry real weight. He says that, if there is any poetry which pupils may be trusted to read for themselves, it is modern lyric poetry. There is much virtue in an "If," and the "If" here is a very big one. My experience may be different from his, but it tells me that the average young student does not take over kindly to any poetry, and is not disposed of his own free

will to give to it much attention. The question is here raised, too, of indiscriminate reading; but that is too big an issue to tackle in the course of one short review. The second reason is far more intelligible. The editor was aiming at cheapness and portability in his book, and he felt that it would be a hopeless overloading of it were he to add even inadequate specimens of the poets that have burgeoned and bloomed since 1850. His final argument on this point, namely, that it seemed just as reasonable to omit everything after 1850 as to omit everything before 1380, will not carry conviction to everybody, for it might with justice be urged that the difficulty of the language in which the works of the earlier period are couched is an effective bar, which does not apply to the productions of the modern muse. For example, it would not be much use to set before an ordinary undergraduate student selections from, say, Layamon's *Brut* or some stanzas from that most delightful product of the Middle Ages, the beautiful poem of *Pearl*. On the other hand, somewhat on the principle that he who pays the piper may call the tune, Father O'Neill was perfectly entitled to end where he did, especially as, by the quotations he has given, he has fully carried out his professed object of illustrating successive types of English poetry.

Of the pieces that are included some have the merit of being unusual and yet typical, others are better known but are none the less typical, and all are selected with great care and acumen and with an eye single to the purpose of the book. I note with special pleasure that Robert Southwell finds his place with his seriously contemplative poem, *Times go by Turns*. I could have wished that room had also been found for Southwell's spiritualized conception of *The Burning Babe*, concerning which William Drummond of Hawthornden tells us that Ben Jonson said that "if he had written that piece, he would have been content to burn many of his own poems." It is a satisfaction, too, to note that Gray is represented, if not by the *Elegy*, at least by that splendid Pindaric ode, *The Progress of Poesy*. Father O'Neill evidently does not hold with an earlier collector that in Gray mediocrity spoke its own true word. Samuel

Johnson is here with his most characteristic piece of verse, *The Vanity of Human Wishes.* Here also we have, in Austin Dobson's *Postscript to Retaliation,* the supposed epitaph which, if Goldsmith had lived to complete his own poem, he might have written on Johnson, and also the stinging and epigrammatic, but little known *Epitaph on Dr. Samuel Johnson,* by Soame Jenyns.[2] Of "prose poetry" we have an example in the opening of Macpherson's *Temora.*

Among the greater names—Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Goldsmith, Cowper, Burns, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Browning, Tennyson—it is refreshing to find that "minor poets" like Gawain Douglas, Herrick, Donne, Wither, Davenant, Lovelace, Crashaw, Prior, Isaac Hawkins Browne, Thomas L. Peacock, William Barnes, Sir Samuel Ferguson, and Arthur Hugh Clough, have not been overlooked or forgotten. Irish writers of English are but sparsely represented. Besides Goldsmith and Ferguson, we find only Moore, Mangan, Davis, and De Vere. America has only two representatives, Poe and Longfellow. Father O'Neill's book, true to the general fate of anthologies, will not satisfy everybody; but, taken all in all, it is a notable collection of English verse.

It remains that I say a few words about the notes. As a rule, Father O'Neill has prefixed to each selection a short foreword which illuminates in a flash the writer or the piece or both. Especially valuable are these little prefaces for the exact way in which they frequently fix an author's relation to his times, and to ancient classical as well as to contemporary domestic and foreign literature. In addition, there are at the

[2] This nearly-forgotten epitaph is so short and terse, and so aptly sums up most of Johnson's characteristics, that, despite its severity, which I do not share, I set it down here:—

Here lies Sam Johnson: reader, have a care,
Tread lightly, lest you wake a sleeping bear!
Religious, moral, generous and humane
He was; but self-sufficient, proud and vain;
Fond of, and overbearing in, dispute;
A Christian and a scholar—but a brute!

end of the book notes covering 130 pages. Here Father O'Neill shows in full measure that deep and careful, and yet wide and comprehensive, scholarship, which is characteristic of those who have gone through the great college in which he was educated and which he now serves and adorns as a professor. They are notes of a helpful and stimulative kind, pointing out to the student the road he ought to follow, and not obscuring any issue by a needless display of erudition or of what Pope called loads of learned lumber. The observations on linguistic points such as intrusive *b* (as in thumb), *h* (as in ghost), or *t* (as in trashtrie); on Chaucer's use of *n* in the infinitive; on such processes of word-building as "immutation," "back-formation," and "contamination"; and on the derivation of words like lodemenage, ches, moich, stovys, drent, herse, lawn, megrim, paetotheke, baws'nt, moudieworts, thole, poind, and nowt (in the sense of "cattle") are always distinctly scholarly. In this section I have noticed a few misprints: δια πέντε, given (p. 260) as the derivation of "diapason," and translated as "through all," is perhaps the most glaring.

It ought not to be necessary to add, but nevertheless, to prevent any possible misunderstanding, I do add, that, from the point of view of what is sometimes loosely called "morality," the selections given are admirable. I have noticed scarcely a line at which the ultra-squeamish might legitimately cavil as being unfit to be submitted *virginibus puerisque*. That, in itself, is no mean achievement.

The book is printed in clear and easily legible type, and is creditably turned out by The Educational Company of Ireland. The handsome symbolic cover-design is the work of the Art Mistress at Loreto College, Rathmines, Dublin.

P. J. Lennox.

Catholic University of America,
Washington, D. C.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Lexikon der Pädagogik, In Verein mit Fachmännern u. unter besonderer Mitwirkung von Hofrat Prof. Dr. Otto Willmann herausgegeben von Ernst M. Roloff. Erster Band, *Abbitte* bis *Fortschulen.* Herder, Freiburg u. St. Louis, 1913. Pp. xvii + 1346. Price $3.80 net.

This latest pedagogical publication of the distinguished Catholic firm of Herder should meet with instant and widespread success. It will cover, in five volumes, the whole field of pedagogy, practical, theoretical and historical. The name of the eminent Catholic scholar which appears in the title-page, the list of over two hundred collaborators, among whom we note Baeumker, Gutberlet, Grisar and Baumgartner, the well-deserved reputation of the house of Herder—all these are a sufficient guarantee of thoroughness, scholarliness and practical usefulness. The first volume is an additional pledge that these qualities may be counted on. It is complete as to topics, clear in statement, Catholic in sentiment and doctrine and leaves nothing to be desired in the matter of useful information. The articles are characterized in particular by an up-to-dateness that will be appreciated by the American teacher. For example, that on Chinese Education devotes more than half the available space to a description of the "New Education" inaugurated by Imperial Decree in 1905. It contains, besides, a very useful description of the work done in the mission-schools, both Protestant and Catholic. In general the *Lexikon* seems to treat the *practical,* the *theoretical* and the *historical* phases of pedagogy in the order here given. And, after all, it is in the practical aspect of Education that the teacher is most interested. Of course, there are included in this volume topics which are of more special interest to Germans. That is inevitable. But, until a work of similar scope and of the same degree of scholarliness for American teachers is forthcoming, the Catholic student of pedagogy, if he reads German, should find Herder's *Lexikon* indispensable in his work.

WILLIAM TURNER.

The Romance of Reality, by Margaret Le B. O'Connell. Lancaster, Pa., Press of the New Era Printing Company, 1912. Pp. xxiv + 307.

I have a melancholy pleasure in reviewing this book. One of the most gratifying moments of my life was that in which I stood as godfather for the late Mrs. O'Connell at the baptismal font in St. Patrick's Church, Washington, D. C., one day in May 1910, when she and her daughter were received by Monsignor Russell into the Catholic Church. I felt that it was surely a triumph for the faith of our fathers that a woman of Mrs. O'Connell's keen and piercing intellect, shaking off the prejudices of early training and abjuring life-long practices, should have found that the road to Rome was for her the sure and safe path to eternal salvation. She was a diligent and earnest seeker after truth, and in the end, through the mysterious workings of divine grace, she had her reward. I went to Europe in the following June, and the day before I sailed she brought me as a souvenir a copy of *The Passion Play at Oberammergau,* by Montrose J. Moses. I set great store by that book now, for never again did I lay eyes on its donor. I was at Harrogate in England when word came that Margaret Le Boutillier O'Connell was no more: she had succumbed in July to a sudden attack of brain fever and was buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

The world was certainly the poorer. Mrs. O'Connell radiated intellectuality. Rarely gifted as a conversationalist herself, powerful in argument, and brilliant in repartee, she was one of those magnetically sympathetic beings who draw out all that is best from those who surround them. If in your inner consciousness you had even a solitary bon mot, or a hidden streak of philosophy, or a hazy opinion on men, manners, and things, it was sure to issue crystallised into happy phrase under the stimulus of her persuasive if slightly caustic tongue.

As the woman was, so is her book: always bright, and pathetic, humorous, and sarcastic in turn. It is a collection of writings which came from her pen during the course of many years. Many of them originally appeared in the columns of the daily papers or in magazines; others now appear in print for the first time. There are short stories, descriptive sketches, literary and musical criticisms, travel narratives, and accounts of strange happenings and

performances in places as far apart as Rome and Tahiti, San Francisco and Jerusalem, Calcutta and Freiburg.

Altogether it is a very interesting volume, with the short stories forming perhaps the most important part. Imagination, pathos, humour, the writer had in abundance, and in addition her technique was almost flawless. Judicious use of local colour, fertility in inventing dramatic situations, naturalness of dialogue, dexterity in handling details, in a word, admirable constructive skill—these are characteristics that are found in all her short stories. In one or two of them there is a deft introduction of the supernatural and the uncanny. The wonder is that she was not better known. Gifts such as hers at the command of one who had the self-advertising instinct would have made both fame and fortune.

The book is admirably edited by Miss Lilian Margaret O'Connell. It contains a short preface; a dedication; a touching memoir of her mother; and an interesting biographical sketch of her father, who is a retired Brigadier-General of the United States Army, is still happily with us, and figures in these pages as the gallant soldier and able diplomatist which his Irish parentage and birth would naturally connote.

The handsome cover of the volume and its clear type aid its intrinsic merits in recommending it to book-lovers.

P. J. Lennox.

Around the World, by Rev. J. T. Roche, LL. D. New York, P. J. Kennedy and Sons. 1912. Pp. 315.

The preface to this volume informs us that it is a reprint of a series of syndicated letters which appeared in certain Canadian and American newspapers during an extended tour undertaken by the author. From the days of Ohthere and Wulfstan, venturesome voyagers, the record of whose explorations in strange and distant seas was set down in immortal prose by Alfred the Great in his scriptorium at Winchester, down to our own, books of travel have been generally interesting; and Dr. Roche's is no exception to the rule.

Around the World is a record of about eight months' sea and land-faring, from November, 1910 to July, 1911, in the course of which the author visited in turn Wales, England, France, Switz-

erland, Italy, Egypt, Ceylon, India, Burma, Malay, China, Japan, and the Hawaiian Islands. He was more interested in persons than places, but that does not prevent him from giving us really fine descriptions of many of the scenic, architectural, and antiquarian attractions that came within his ken. He is most eloquent when enlarging on the glories of Notre Dame and La Sainte Chapelle in Paris, of Castle Trevan at Lugano, of the Duomo at Milan, of the former Cistercian monastery chapel at San Martino outside Naples, of the imperial palace at Delhi, and of the Taj Mahal at Agra, that wonderful mausoleum erected by Shah Jehan in memory of his wife, which cost $25,000,000 and kept 20,000 men continuously employed for 22 years.

In reality, however, it is the persons he met, the views they vented, and the impressions which Dr. Roche himself gained and took away with him that give his book its abiding interest and value. He was an open-eyed and open-minded traveller, and there is a certain ripeness of philosophy and of experience permeating his *obiter dicta* which give them a special charm. He lets in illuminative sidelights on such widely differing questions as Home Rule for Ireland, Socialism in England, the reasons why the late Cardinal Vaughan was so much misunderstood by the British public and even by his own clergy, social conditions in France, sabotage and strikes, the Roosevelt-Vatican affair, Pius X and Modernism, and the cooking of news from European capitals for consumption in America, and Shintoism and Buddhism. He is not afraid to express his own opinions, even when they run counter to those generally received. For instance, in defiance of all he heard from Englishmen, Germans, and Americans in the Orient, he has nothing but praise for the Japanese; he defends English rule in India; he is in favour of American ship subsidy; he has even a good word for Standard Oil.

Being a priest and imbued with the missionary spirit, Dr. Roche has much to say about the progress of Catholicity in the Far East, and he comes again and again to the important question of the duty of Catholics towards Catholic missions in pagan lands. He found that nearly everywhere in the Orient the great want is men and means, and that bishops and priests there are looking to America for greater assistance in both kinds. Accordingly he advocates the establishment of an American Catholic Society for Foreign Missions. Such an organisation would, he believes, both

vivify faith at home and bring millions of heathen souls into the true fold. His plea was in the nature of a prophecy for already has such a Society been founded.

This noble and inspiring book is dedicated to Mr. Max Pam as "a sympathetic student of the Church's history, a believer in her power to uplift and save society, a life-long advocate of religion in education, an able, upright jurist, a manly man, a faithful friend."

There are several handsome illustrations, and the publishers have done their part in giving the volume a neat and attractive appearance.

P. J. LENNOX.

Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by James Hastings, M. A., D. D., and John A. Selbie, M. A., D.D. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912. Vol. V. Pp. xvi + 908.

The Fifth Volume of this important publication is, in point of scholarliness, up to the standard set by its predecessors. It is replete with erudition of the ripest kind in topics archeological, philological and anthropological. It cannot, however, be recommended to the general reader without reserve. The article on "Dress," correlating, as it does, sacerdotal vestments with those aspects of savage adornment which are familiar, as they should be, to ethnologists, is a case in point. Why should the article on "Equiprobabilism" be assigned to Dr. Ehrhardt, of the Faculty of Protestant Theology in Paris? Was it to ensure in the article a reference to the "small number of defenders" (of *Christian* morality, we suppose) who are "fighting against the principles and morals of the Jesuits?" The article on "Epistemology" by Dr. Iverach is well done, even if it does include much that belongs rather to the article on "Metaphysics"—if there is to be an article on that topic. The article on "Fasting (Christian)" is full of inaccuracies of detail so far as the practice of the Catholic Church is concerned. Among the names of Catholics who contribute to this Volume we note those of Dr. Casartelli, Bishop of Salford ("Dualism [Iranian]"), Baron Carra de Vaux (Family, Muslim), Father Thurston, S. J. ("Extreme Unction") and Dr. George M. Bolling ("Dreams and Sleep, Vedic").

WILLIAM TURNER.

Pragmatism and its Critics. By Addison Webster Moore, Ph. D., Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1912. Pp. ix + 278.

Dr. Moore's volume, has, as he says, for its "proximate cause" a series of "Open Lectures" delivered by him at the University of Chicago in 1908. He claims the attention of the reading public, already well supplied with literature on the newest philosophy, on the strength of the fact that he has described the historical background of pragmatism, emphasized the central rôle of the conception of evolution in the development of pragmatism and described the "social, or, better, the situational," character of consciousness and of thinking. He has, indeed, succeeded in the second of these: he has shown conclusively that Absolute idealism and the Conception of evolution are incompatible, and that the notion of "plasticity" if carried far enough leads to the "situational" character of thought. The chapter on "How Ideas Work" contains the core of pragmatism; the most enlightening chapter in the book is, however, that which gives its title to the volume, "Pragmatism and its Critics." It is just such criticisms as those of Royce, Creighton and Baldwin, which have appeared in periodical publications, that are hard to get at, when one is looking for a presentation of "the other side." We cannot but be grateful to Dr. Moore for having brought them together. There is, however, about the whole treatment of pragmatism, a certain vagueness, equally and impartially shared by monist and pluralist, by Absolutist and pragmaticist, by intellectualist and empiricist. One would often wish that there were more of the scholastic severity of method in the discussion of contemporary problems. We all wish to know what the pragmatist is driving at. We wish to know what fault the realist finds with pragmatism. But it is not in the controversial writings of either that we may hope to find the answers to our questions.

WILLIAM TURNER.

Saint Francis of Assisi: A Biography. By Johannes Jörgenson. Translated from the Danish with the author's sanction by T. O'Conor Sloane, Ph. D. Longmans, Green, and Co. New York, 1912. Large 8°. Pp. xvi + 428.

To condense all that may be said and has been said regarding

St. Francis of Assisi into one volume is a task which has long since passed beyond the bounds of possibility. St. Francis has formed the subject of many monographs on many subjects; his activities have been viewed in many aspects; and the "Franciscan Question" has been complicated by the divergent views of so many different schools of critics that an author is to be congratulated as much for his reticences as for his assertions. It is a pleasure to find a work in which a serious attempt is made at narrating the Saint's life in its entirety rather than in presenting it under some special aspect, sociological, artistic or reformatory. The narrative in this work though chronological is not overloaded with unnecessary detail, and, consists in the presentation of a series of typical events not burdened by a minute account of incident and action. The work is divided into four sections, dealing with four periods in the Saint's life which the author entitles respectively: Francis the Church Builder; Francis the Evangelist; God's Singer; Francis the Hermit. From these we get a picture of the Saint's career and of the remarkable spread of Franciscan ideals in his lifetime, in which the personality of the Poverello is constantly in the foreground. The love and zeal which the author brought to his task makes this picture vivid and convincing.

Besides showing himself thoroughly acquainted with the literature of the subject the author adds a valuable section devoted to the sources and authorities which contains an excellent summary of Franciscan Bibliography. The work of the translator gives evidence of lack of revision. This is especially noticeable in regard to proper names and in the failure to use the conventional and well-established terminology which the English language possesses in the "Franciscan subject." The Index, while extensive, has some notable omissions, *v. g.,* Stigmata. The translation is, however, not to be judged by these slight faults and Doctor Sloane has made a valuable addition to the literature in English on the subject of St. Francis.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

The New Psalter and Its Use. By the Reverend Edward Burton, D. D., and the Reverend Edward Myers, M. A. Longmans, Green, and Co. New York, 1912. 8°. Pp. xii + 258.

History of The Roman Breviary. By Mgr. Pierre Batiffol, Litt. D. Translated by Atwell M. Y. Baylay, M. A. From the third French Edition with a new chapter on the Decree of Pius X. Longmans, Green, and Co. New York, 1912. 8°. Pp. xvi + 341.

The first of these books is preëminently a work on the Rubrics of the Breviary. It deals with the legislation contained in the Apostolic Constitution *Divino Afflatu,* in the Rubrics which accompanied it, and with other subsequent regulations or decrees concerning the new Breviary. "The new Rubrics," the authors say, "are a good specimen of careful legal draughtsmanship, terse yet clear, and with not a word to spare. But the very qualities which recommend them from a technical point of view may render the due appreciation of their contents somewhat difficult to those whose active duties render a careful study of their technicalities impossible."

The second work is preëminently historical. The obligation and character of the canonical hours in all periods of the existence of the Church is dealt with in a manner already familiar to the readers and students of Batiffol, and a supplementary chapter is added on the new legislation in which its history rather than composition is aimed at. One work admirably supplements the other. They do not overlap to any considerable extent, and for those who have not yet familiarized themselves with the new method of reciting the Breviary, or who may desire to follow the genesis of the canonical hours to the present, all necessary information will be found in these two excellent manuals. It is hardly necessary to add that the work of the publisher is of a character commensurate with the importance of the subject and the well-established reputations of the authors.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Ancient Assyria. By C. H. W. Johns, Litt. D., Master of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York, 1912. 12mo. Pp. 175.

History of Civilization in Palestine. By R. A. S. Macalester, M. A., F. S. A. Cambridge University Press. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York, 1912. 12mo. Pp. 139.

Methodism. By H. B. Workman, D. Litt., Principal of the Westminster Training College. Cambridge University Press. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York, 1912. Pp. 133.

These Essays are published as part of the Series of "Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature," of which upwards of forty have already appeared, about fifty others being in course of preparation. These manuals, which contain material equivalent to an extended article in an encyclopedia, deal either with subjects which are not usually treated in encyclopedias, or with those of general and universal interest in a manner adapted to the needs and capacities of those who have not the means nor the training to consult the writings of specialists. Their importance can best be gauged by the fact that they, rather than more pretentious and technical works, will color popular thought.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Saint Charles Borromée (1538-1594). Par M. Léonce Celier. 1 vol. in-12 de la collection "Les Saints." Victor Lecoffre (J. Gabalda et Cie). Paris, 1912. Pp. xii + 207.

La Bienheureuse Marguerite Marie (1647-1690). Par Mgr. Demimuid. 1 vol. in-12 de la collection "Les Saints." Victor Lecoffre (J. Gabalda et Cie). Paris, 1912. Pp. 232.

An authoritative and exhaustive life of St. Charles Borromeo has yet to be written. An eminently satisfactory, though brief presentation of the career of the great archbishop of Milan is found in the pages of M. Léonce.

Notwithstanding the many treatises on the life of the Blessed

Margaret Mary which are already in existence, this new biography is not at all superfluous, considering the extent to which her name and influence, have aided in spreading devotion to the Sacred Heart.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Cardinal Bourne: A Record of the Sayings and Doings of Francis, Fourth Archbishop of Westminster. Burns and Oates. London, 1912. 12°. Pp. 143.

Lively interest will always centre around the See of Westminster, and its incumbent. This collection of passages from the writings and public utterances of Cardinal Bourne, to which there is prefixed a short biography, is an admirable presentation of his attitude on many subjects of general as well as local significance in the life of the Church.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Uniform State Laws.

The following is a synopsis of the lecture delivered by Walter George Smith, in the Assembly Room, McMahon Hall, on Wednesday, November 20th:—

It was one of the declared objects of the American Bar Association, when it was founded in 1878 to promote uniformity of legislation in the United States.

The problem forced upon the commercial and business world by our dual system of government, state and national, had long called for solution. Each state is sovereign in matters of domestic concern, and the Federal courts have their own commercial law, which differs in essential particulars from that of many of the States.

The Convention which framed the constitution of the United States grew out of the inconveniences arising from the divergent law of the different sovereignties. Its adoption still left the States supreme in many respects. As business developed and overleaped State lines, the inconveniences became accentuated. Internal commerce, as has well been said by a student of this subject as early as 1851, is the distinguishing characteristic of our country. Most important is it, therefore, that a contract made in one part should be binding everywhere. But owing to the differing laws of the various State jurisdictions as well as the Federal, in many respects this was not then and is not now the case.

To remedy this state of things there is obviously a choice between methods. One is to amend the Federal Constitution so far as to give the national courts jurisdiction of the subjects upon which diversity exists. The other is to bring about an agreement among the States themselves so that uniformity may take the place of diversity.

Even if the first method were practicable, it would result in adding to the already over-burdened machinery of the national government in a way that would seriously jeopardize our whole plan of government. The constantly minimizing tendency of state jurisdiction would be accentuated to a degree and with results that

would be unsatisfactory and give us probably the worst form of government known among men, a centralized bureaucracy.

It was no doubt with some regard to this consideration that the distinguished lawyers who formed the American Bar Association sought some plan to induce the states by voluntary action to bring about uniformity on those subjects of extra local importance.

In 1889 a committee of the Association was formed to draft uniform laws on marriage and divorce, descent and distribution of property, acknowledgment of deeds and execution and probate of wills. This committee had not begun work, however, before the Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws came into being as the result of an act passed by the Legislature of New York in 1890. This act authorized the Governor to appoint three commissioners, whose duty it was to examine the subjects upon which uniformity was deemed necessary, and to invite the other states of the Union to meet them in convention to draft the necessary acts and submit them for the approval and adoption of the several states. The movement thus begun has so successfully progressed that now all of the states and possessions of the Union are represented in the Conference, either by virtue of legislative action or by the exercise of the discretion of their Governors.

The work of the commission has resulted in the drafting of uniform laws on Negotiable Instruments, Warehouse Receipts, Sales, Transfer of Stock, Bills of Lading, Marriage and Licenses to Marry, Family Desertion, Child Labor, Wills executed without the State, and other subjects of kindred nature. The Conference finding that the Uniform Divorce Act, drafted by the National Divorce Congress in 1906, embodied the principles approved by it and by the American Bar Association, has added this act to the list of those approved by it.

The Commercial Acts have been adopted by many of the states, the Negotiable Instruments Act being now the law in forty of them. The social acts makes less rapid progress, but have been received with favor. The commission has before it tentative drafts of acts on Workmen's Compensation, Partnership, Corporations and other subjects which are in a state of forwardness.

The commission's plan is, therefore, past the experimental stage. It has proceeded on the scheme approved by the American Bar Association in 1886 that "the law itself should be reduced so far as its substantive principles are settled to the form of a statute."

Innovations on existing law have been rarely made, and in the few instances where they have been made, only in response to what was believed to be the best sentiment of the business world.

The English statutes have in some instances formed the basis of the uniform acts. Where authorities have differed, the weight of authority has been followed. Nothing revolutionary has been or is in contemplation. It is gratifying to observe that the acts emanating from the commission, having no greater sanction than their own intrinsic excellence, have commended themselves to the profession and to the various associations of Bankers, Warehousemen, Chambers of Commerce, and other commercial bodies.

The Conference meets annually some days before the sessions of the American Bar Association and keeps in close touch with it. All of its acts have so far been approved by it either actually or in principle, as well as by many of the State Bar Associations. The success of the plan, although it has taken many years to test it, may now be considered assured.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

J. Pierpont Morgan. At the recent meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Catholic University of America, the title of *Patron of Arts and Letters* was conferred on J. Pierpont Morgan, of New York, in recognition of his services in the cause of learning.

Patronal Feast of the University. On December 8, Feast of the Immaculate Conception, Patronal Feast of the University, Pontifical High Mass was celebrated in the New Chapel of Gibbons Hall, by His Excellency the Apostolic Delegate, assisted by the students of Divinity Hall. The Sermon was preached by Reverend Edmund T. Shanahan, D. D., professor of Dogmatic Theology. After the Mass the Deans of the various Faculties were entertained at dinner by the Vice-Rector in Divinity Hall.

National Committee of the A. O. H. On Thursday, Dec. 5th, the national committee of the A. O. H., which was holding its annual session in Washington, was entertained at dinner in Caldwell Hall by the Right Reverend Rector. Those present were: Messrs. Regan, National President; McLaughlin, National Vice-President; Sullivan, National Secretary; Foy, Daugherty, Moran, Coyne, Barry, Malone, and the Rev. Fr. McLaughlin.

On the same day, Albert and Gibbons Halls were honored by a visit from the national committee of the Ladies' Auxiliary of the A. O. H. Those visiting the halls were Mrs. Jolly, National President; Mrs. Christy, National Secretary; Mrs. Connolly, National Treasurer; Miss Malia, Past National President; Mrs. McWhorter, Chairman Irish History Committee; Miss Tierney, National Director.

The Ancient Order of Hibernians besides endowing the Chair of Gaelic Languages and Literature, have established five

scholarships at the University. They are held by Messrs. John Phillips, C. J. McWilliams, of New York; Chas. McDonnell, Jas. Woods, of Connecticut, and John C. O'Sullivan, of Chicago. In the same connection it is interesting to note that at the State Convention of the A. O. H. of Illinois, held at Dwight, Ill., in July last, an address was delivered by Mr. John C. O'Sullivan who, as stated, holds the scholarship for that State. The Catholic University, as well as the Ancient Order, looks to these scholars to reflect honor and credit upon both in the quality of their scholarship, and in their capacity as leaders in the larger spheres of life for which such generous measures are calculated to prepare them.

Senior Law Class Dance. The first dancing party of the year was held in McMahon Hall Friday evening, Nov. 29th, under the auspices of the Senior Law class. The large assembly room, tastily decorated for the occasion with banners, pennants, and streamers of crepe paper presented a beautiful appearance. College pennants and banners representing nearly every school of prominence in the country, were in evidence and the pillars and lights were adorned in the class colors of purple and gold. The affair was largely attended by the students and their friends, and was undoubtedly one of the social successes of the University. The music was exceptionally good, under the supervision of "our" college orchestra leader, Chas. McDonald.

The members of the class who conducted the dance are Wm. C. Walsh, John T. Clancy, V. P. Dooley, J. A. Gallagher, S. R. Greene, A. J. Hackman, J. A. Helldorfer, H. P. Kerner, C. J. McWilliams, T. B. Ryan, and Julius J. Weber.

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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—St. Vincent of Lerins, *Commonit, c. 6.*

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SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EDICT OF MILAN.

The obvious purpose of the Emperor Constantine in publishing the Edict of Toleration in the year 313 was to remove the antagonism which had so long existed between the Christian Church and the Roman State. In this he succeeded. With the exception of the short period in which Maximinus continued the persecution in the Orient, and the futile efforts of Licinius and Julian the Apostate to revive the methods of proscription, the Christians were henceforth unmolested. They were at liberty to worship God, to carry on their liturgical observances and to inculcate and practise the doctrines of their religion. Paganism, however, was not extinct. It lingered on as the religion of dwindling groups of votaries, or survived in the customs and institutions of the people, or as the animating spirit of much of their jurisprudence. It no longer possessed the support of the state, nor was it upheld at the point of the sword. A new era had opened up. The abandonment of heathen practices was not looked on by the imperial authorities as an act of disloyalty or treason. Patriotism and paganism had ceased to be synonymous. Though Christianity and heathenism remained bitterly antagonistic, that antagonism could not, under the decree of Constantine lead to the shedding of Christian blood.

That the Christian religion should have come into conflict

with heathenism is not to be wondered at. No compromise or agreement was possible between such adversaries. There could be no common or neutral ground between beliefs so radically different. A religion of revelation and authority could not adjust itself to the vagaries of belief, the capriciousness of doctrine, and the multitudinous, uncertain and degraded notions of the deity found in paganism. Belief in the Unity of God is incompatible with notions of Divinity which found gods everywhere and in everything. The calm certainty in matters of religion which comes from the possession of doctrines guaranteed by the Revelation of God Himself, would not arouse sympathy or toleration for beliefs which fluctuated with each change in the mental attitude of those who entertained them. The irreconcilable opposition between Christian and pagan beliefs, however, does not explain why the Roman state assailed the one and defended the other. Had this opposition been the determining factor in the attitude of Constantine's predecessors, the Edict of Milan which proclaimed toleration for the Christians should have been at the same time a decree of proscription against the pagans. That it was not such is evidence that a new spirit was introduced into civil administration and that a new attitude in questions of religion had been forced on civil authority. The decree itself bears evidence that these changes were due entirely to the spread of Christian ideas.

Liberty in matters of religion was therefore the burden of Constantine's legislation. "We have, therefore, determined with sound and upright purpose," he writes, "that liberty is to be denied to no one, to choose and to follow the religious observances of the Christians, but that to each one freedom is to be given to devote his mind to that religion which he may think adapted to himself, in order that the Deity may exhibit to us in all things his accustomed care and favor. . . . Since this has been granted by us to them, liberty is granted to others also who may wish to follow their own religious observances; it being clearly in accordance with the tranquillity of our times, that each one should have the liberty of choosing and worshipping whatever deity he pleases." These words are an admission that

civil authority is restricted. What this admission meant in the affairs of civilization can best be estimated by comparing what was superseded with what supervened. This comparison will lie far outside the field of politics and political theory, but these in themselves are merely the application to a special field of human activity of other and more fundamental social and philosophic concepts. Viewed in this light the conflict between Christianity and the Roman state was a struggle between two forces with fundamentally different views regarding human nature and social obligations.

Strictly speaking the Christian and the pagan scheme of life have no common denominator. The one is a religion of revelation. Its truths rest on the authority of God Himself and it embodies a rule of conduct susceptible neither of change nor modification. Paganism on the contrary represented a system of beliefs which were in reality nothing but efforts to fix man's place in the universe. It was the fruit of experience and reflection expressed in a synthetic view of life in which all the problems of existence had been simplified and grouped around one central concept. It had a code of conduct and morals covering all phases of human activity and all social relations. The fact that these civilizations (including under this term man's social, political, ethical and religious activities), were the sum total of the knowledge and experience of the various peoples is the reason why they all possess one important and striking common characteristic. They were national. Human life and human obligations were envisaged from the standpoint of the tribe or nation. Outside of that there was no interest nor obligation.

As conceived in antiquity, therefore, all social and political ties were exclusively national. This theory had religion as a basis: for family, tribal or national affiliations were accounted for on the ground that all the members of these various groups were descended from a common ancestor who was at the same time its presiding deity. Each family, city or nation was, as it were, the embodiment of some god who protected it exclusively. Family ties and patriotism were synonymous with the worship

of its guardian divinity. Fustel de Coulanges has been at pains to show how universal this principle was in antiquity. The family was not held together because of descent from the same parents, nor by love, sentiment or authority, but by the religion of the domestic hearth, by ancestor worship. This colored all family relations, it gave marriage its binding force and lay at the bottom of all legislation on questions of celibacy, inheritance and succession. From this arose the enormous powers possessed by the *Pater Familias,* his rights over wife, children and dependents.[1]

The same principle prevailed in all other groups: tribal, municipal or national. The constituent element in these various units was not a common heritage or common interest, but the worship of the same deity. The city had its gods, the state its gods and those were fellow-citizens or compatriots who gathered around the same altars or participated in the same sacred banquets.[2] This national exclusive character was the distinguishing trait of all the civilizations of antiquity. "One thing we know with practical certainty," says Professor Willoughby, "and this is that from the time when any sense whatever of obligation came to be recognized by men, the ideas of religious sanction, of customary obligation, and of legal authority were so intermixed that they were not distinguished even in thought. Law and custom were practically swallowed up in religious observances. A divine sanction or prohibition was attached to almost every possible act, public or private. The individual had his gods, the family its gods, as had also the larger social and political groups. Community of worship, rather than direct kinship or racial affinities, was the link which held the units together. Where, therefore, religion did not restrain there was, aside from the possible influences of affection, no restraint felt. Whatever the actual origin of any rule of conduct or principle of authority, whether the outcome of custom, force, or the natural product of kinship, the ultimate sanc-

[1] *La Cité Antique,* p. 39 seq.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 131 seq.

tion was conceived to be derived from the will of the gods." [3] The Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Egyptians and the Greeks were united by the bond of a common religion. The same is true of the Romans with whom we are now more especially concerned. "The Roman state is disclosed to us as a union of a number of tribes or smaller social groups, united and organised upon an essentially religious basis. Community of religious worship is the one real bond of union. The smaller political groups are related to one another and combined with a single political whole through the performance of common religious rites. The unit of association is the family, and the family life is centred around its altars. Its absolute head, the father, is above all its high priest. So also in the Gens, common participation in certain religious observances furnishes the integrating element. Finally in the Roman state itself, the same principle is applied. The king or *rex* presides as high priest as well as supreme judge and leader in times of war." [4]

As thus constituted, early society offered the spectacle of various groups, organised according to natural principles of kinship or some other bond, but in which religion dominated as an element of exclusiveness and particularism. The narrowness and rigidity of the earlier concepts were modified to some extent by the growth of the great Empires of Alexander and the Romans, or through the Philosophy of the Greeks, notably that of the Stoics, but as a working theory of government, the idea of humanity, of the human race as forming one great body with mutual duties and obligations never displaced under pagan auspices, the old national and restricted view of human life. So ingrained was this idea of the national character of religion and society that a sceptic such as Celsus, uses it as the basis of his attack on Christianity. The pagan Caecilius, in Minucius Felix, does not believe in a divine Providence, yet insists on the need of a national religion. "Since then," he says, "either fortune is certain or nature is uncertain, how much

[3] *Political Theories of the Ancient World*, p. 1.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 219.

more reverential and better it is, as the high priests of truth, to receive the teaching of your ancestors, to cultivate the religions handed down to you, to adore the gods whom you were first trained by your parents to fear rather than to know with familiarity." [5]

The striking and distinctive characteristic, therefore, of all these pre-Christian civilizations was that they were national in scope and purpose. Human life was looked on as being bounded by the limits of the tribe or kingdom or state. Religion, law and politics were identical or were merely three different aspects of the same thing, the sources of national pride, jealousy and exclusiveness.

Christianity, on the other hand, was universal and cosmopolitan. It viewed humanity at large as a great confederation of brothers, children of the same father, and subject to the same moral law. A spirit of universalism, cosmopolitanism in the broad humane sense, was substituted for the narrow, petty rivalry and hatred of separate peoples and states. "For as many of you as have been baptized in Christ have put on Christ," says St. Paul, "There is neither Jew nor Greek: there is neither bond nor free: there is neither male nor female. For you are all one in Christ." [6] "There is no distinction of the Jew and the Greek: for the same is Lord over all, rich unto all that call upon him." [7] St. Paul understood clearly what the new law might be expected to accomplish. He compares the old order with its "idolatry, witchcrafts, enmities, contentions, emulations, wraths, quarrels, dissensions, sects, envies, murders, drunkenness and such like" with the new, enjoying the "fruit of the Spirit, charity, joy, peace, patience, benignity, goodness, longanimity." [8] All mankind were included in this new confederacy. "Being many, all are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another." [9] The bond uniting men in these fraternal relations was to be that of charity, "the charity of brotherhood." [10]

[5] *Octavius*, chap. VI.
[6] *Gal.*, III, 28.
[7] *Rom.* X, 12.
[8] V. 19-23.
[9] *Romans*, XII, 5.
[10] *Ibid.*, XII, 10.

These and numerous other passages in the New Testament, as well as the spirit and purposes of the Christians themselves, show that, in contradistinction to the separatism and exclusiveness of the ancient systems, Christianity assumed as a fundamental postulate of social relations, the doctrine of the unity of the human race. Philosophy and experience were gradually opening the minds of men to the truth of this fact, but it had never entered as a determining factor into their law or their politics. "Though by means of Greek philosophy and Roman policy, the human mind in Europe rose to an apprehension of a bond of unity between all mankind independent of class and national distinctions, it only found what was really wanted in the religion which had been long providentially prepared and was at length wonderfully manifested in the land of Palestine; a religion which neither, like other religions of Asia, unduly lost sight of the finite in the infinite, nor, like those of Greece and Rome, of the infinite in the finite, but contained the principles of their reconciliation, proclaiming the universal brotherhood of man, and enjoining, at least in a general way, all the virtues which the realisation thereof implies—while, at the same time, by its revelation of one God and Father of all, one Saviour, one law, one hope, laying open the foundations of moral force needed to enable men to carry into practice their convictions of the unity, equality and rights to love and justice, of all men." [11]

As forces contending for the control of human life, therefore, paganism and pagan civilizations on the one side, represented national exclusiveness, state absolutism, and despotic control in matters of religion: Christianity, on the other, upheld universalism, expressed in doctrines and a moral code intended for humanity at large, and the restriction of civil authority to its proper sphere, and as a consequence freedom of conscience. As an act by which the Roman state surrendered all right to coerce men for their religious beliefs, the Edict of Constantine was, consequently, a triumph for universalism and humanity, over nationalism and exclusiveness. It was an admission of the

[11] Flint, *Philosophy of History*, p. 115.

mark of Catholicity in the Church, and a further recognition of that other quality, her independence, which has been and is still, a subject of concern and jealousy to civil rulers. To Constantine belongs the honor of having taken a step which none of his predecessors seems to have thought possible. "Throughout the entire period of Roman domination," says Gaston Boissier, "I do not know a single sage, whether a sceptic like Pliny the Elder, a free-thinker rid of all prejudices like Seneca, a philosopher honest and calm like Marcus Aurelius, who seems to have suspected that it would one day be possible to grant equal rights to all religions within the Empire." [12] Henceforward a citizen was under no obligation to accept his religion from the state, nor was the civil power committed to the maintenance of any creed. An important principle was triumphant: but the cause of contention was not finally and definitely removed. The Church had successfully vindicated its claim to be universal, but this very triumph made and will make her the subject of national jealousy of Cæsaro-Papism and Erastianism.

Another point involved in the Edict of Constantine scarcely of less importance than the first and closely connected with it, was that concerning individual liberty. On the subject of the relation of the individual to society there is still ample ground for discussion. The manner in which the matter is dealt with in the decree is worthy of notice, because it was the first time in history that a great nation went on record as being committed in any way to the doctrine of individual freedom. Expressed in modern terms concessions were made to the individual at the cost of a form of social organisation which may be described as collectivist. Collectivism not communism, best expresses the conditions which prevailed in pagan antiquity, as communism denotes a species of equality which never prevailed, while collectivism as applied to state organisation simply meant a régime where the will of the people was imposed in such a manner that individual rights and immunities were unheard of.

This condition was due to the fact that the state and its

[12] *La Fin au Paganisme*, vol. I, p. 57.

religion were regarded as being identical. To belong to one meant of necessity to accept the other, and consequently the individual was so completely absorbed in the social organism that he belonged to it body and soul. The state could dispose of his person as it saw fit, and decree that his whole life or so much of it as was worth while should be devoted to military service. It could seize and dispose of his goods and possessions as public interest demanded. All his energies and all his property were looked on as being at the disposal of his country. As far as any individual was concerned the state was omnipotent. It could invade his private life, and no matter what his personal inclinations might be, it could impose penalties, in the interest of religion as well as of public polity on those who chose to remain unmarried. Sumptuary regulations of the most galling and most ludicrous character were in existence, and these became more onerous as the states advanced in power and influence. The style of dress was prescribed for different classes of citizens. The amount and character of the ornaments they were permitted to wear were matters of legislation, and in some places these distressing enactments reached such a stage that for certain classes beards were compulsory while in other places the wearing of a moustache was under the ban. It was not until the third century, as a result of imperial rescripts, that the use of sleeved tunics by the better classes in Rome could be indulged in without fear of molestation.

So closely was the fate of the individual bound up in the state, and so callously were individual rights set aside, that in some places it was within the competence of the authorities to decree the death of delicate or deformed children. In certain states compulsory participation in political affairs was considered necessary for the public weal, and in the Greek republics neutrality in the numerous factional outbreaks was regarded as treason. In matters of education, parental rights were set aside and the state took charge of the education of children, that is, when it was possible, as in the smaller states, to attend to such matters. Questions of religion were never subject to individual discretion. To fail in loyalty to the national gods was tanta-

mount to treason. There were many who could not but look on the fables and the inconsistencies in pagan beliefs with scepticism and repugnance, but even they were not permitted to do or say anything derogatory to the national cults. There was, therefore, no sphere of human activity which the state might not invade at discretion, and no activities of its citizens which were not looked on as being under the collective will. The sanctity of private life was undreamt of, and in education and religion men were made to feel that they were to be moulded, fashioned and curbed to satisfy the needs of public interest. "It is a singular error that men have entertained," says Fustel de Coulanges, "in thinking that in the ancient states men enjoyed liberty. They did not have an idea of it. They did not believe it could exist in face of the state and its gods. The government often changed its form: but the nature of the state remained always the same, and its omnipotence never diminished. The government might be called monarchy, aristocracy or democracy; but none of these revolutions gave men true liberty, individual liberty." [13]

In theory as well as practice the state was absolute. Plato was so carried away by the necessity of proving that the state was the object of all effort that he formulated a scheme for an ideal republic, in which not only property, but the lives of the citizens were to be thrown into a common fund to be disposed of as public interest might demand. Marriage was to be arranged and supervised by the civic authorities, children were to be educated for its benefit, and that the work of the body politic might not lag, the citizens were to be divided into different classes., Even in Rome, where men's minds might naturally be expected to expand with her territorial acquisitions and with the necessity of dealing with subject and alien peoples, the idea of individual autonomy never displaced the old theory of state absolutism. "Its law was self-imposed, but was not looked upon as having for its aim the protection of natural rights of life, liberty, and property already possessed by the individual. On the contrary it was consistently held that all

[13] *La Cité Antique*, p. 269.

private rights were the creation of law. The only idea of personality known to Roman law was that according to which the individual was the possessor of a group of legal rights." [14] Even the famous phrase, "*Quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem,*" has no meaning in Roman law without its continuation, "*utpote cum lege regia, quae de imperio ejus lata est, populus ei et in eum omne suum imperium et potestatem conferat.*" "Few phrases," says Carlyle, "are more remarkable than this almost paradoxical description of an unlimited personal authority founded upon a purely democratic basis. The Emperor's will is law, but only because the people choose to have it so." [15]

The individual, therefore, as such, had no standing in any ancient community. He might enjoy great honor as citizen of some powerful state, he might have unlimited opportunity at times to indulge individual caprice, but of intellectual, moral and religious freedom he could have no hope. All his activities were bound and circumscribed by the collective will of that branch of society in which his lot was cast.

Without going to the extreme of elevating standards of anarchic individual freedom over corporate responsibility, such as were proclaimed in the eighteenth century, the Christian religion enunciated a doctrine of spiritual freedom, which liberated the souls of men from the oppressive exactions of the state. The limits of state prerogative and the binding obligation of civic obedience are nowhere better expressed than in the phrase: Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's. Here a sharp line of distinction is drawn between man's accountability to God, and the degree of his subjection to civil authority. Without in any manner derogating from his civic subjection to legitimate authority he is made to feel that there is a moral law enjoying the sanction of God Himself to which his actions must be made to conform.

While insisting on responsibility the Christian church also taught the immeasurable value of the individual human soul.

[14] Willoughby, *Political Theories of the Ancient World*, p. 244.
[15] *History of Mediaeval Political Theory*, vol. I, p. 64.

Thus the true doctrine of individualism, asserted in the teaching of the Church on prayer and the sacraments, may be regarded as the creation of the Christian religion. It did not impair, but reinforced the position of civil rulers, because being an expression of authority, believers were constantly reminded of that other Christian truth that "all authority is from God." The violation of the rights of the individual forms the constant plaint of the apologists in the era of persecution. "It it a fundamental human right, a privilege of nature, that every man should worship according to his own convictions:" says Tertullian, "one man's religion neither harms nor helps another man. It is assuredly no part of religion to compel religion —to which free-will and not force should lead us." [16] "We give offence to the Romans, we are excluded from the rights and privileges of Romans, because we do not worship the gods of Rome. It is well there is a God of all, whose we all are, whether we will or no." [17] Lactantius expresses the same idea even with greater force. "Religion," he says, "is to be defended, not by putting to death but by dying; not by cruelty but by patient endurance; not by guilt, but by good faith." [18]

In granting to the Christians, therefore, the right freely to worship God, Constantine abandoned a prerogative of state authority which from time immemorial had been looked on as inviolable. In words that might have been borrowed from some Christian apologist he enacts into a principle of public polity that every one should henceforward have the right to practise whatever religion he desires, and that the will of the individual, not force, shall determine a man's religious affiliations. Not once but five times does he repeat that "freedom is to be given to each one to devote his mind to that religion which he may think adapted to himself." Such was the purport and meaning of the Edict of Toleration. It enunciated a principle never before admitted into the constitution of any state. A rift was made in the unbroken wall of prerogative behind which civil

[16] *Ad Scapulam*, chap. II.
[17] *Apology*, chap. XXIV.
[18] *Divine Institutes*, V. 20.

authority had sheltered itself. Men were permitted to turn their thoughts and aspirations into fields which had hitherto been closed to them; but in receiving this individual freedom the Christian religion, to which they owed it, insisted that they were not permitted to stray away at will; but that they were bound to their allegiance as citizens by the moral law which followed them wherever they went.

The Edict of Constantine did not define the relations of Church and State: it simply made possible the discussion of such a question. It was a renunciation of the claim to absolute control of the individual, and a surrender of the collectivist idea of the state. Viewed from the side of the Church this change of attitude on the part of a Roman Emperor was an admission of her Catholicity and her independence.

The change in the organic law of Rome brought about by the Edict of Milan soon made itself felt in legislation. Religious liberty did not remain a dead letter. The enhanced value of human life which it implied produced legal changes which took the edge off the most oppressive features of the old code. There was no sweeping transformation. It is doubtful whether such would have been desirable or feasible. Paganism was still the religion of large masses especially of the most favored class, and as their views of law and legal ethics were still bound up with their religion, any attempt to enforce Christian standards on them would have the appearance of religious persecution and would have been directly contrary to the principles enunciated in the Edict of Toleration. It is doubtful whether the people were yet ready for the full measure of Christian citizenship, and whether any attempt to put them in possession of all the prerogatives which a Christianized state could offer, would not have led to evils greater than those already existing. Furthermore, it must be remembered that Constantine and his contemporaries were pioneers, and that they could hardly be expected to have a full vision of the thoroughly Christian nation. The Christians themselves were just emerging from the dark night of three centuries of persecution: the wounds of the last assault were not yet healed, and in the work

of church organization and that of repelling paganism once more rampant in the Arian heresy, they had little time for the discussion of social and economic problems. The world has had sixteen centuries of untrammelled Christianity, and it is only necessary to go back over the history of those years to realize that the forces which hinder the attainment of the ideal state were doubly potent in the time of Constantine.

Notwithstanding these obstacles it is no less than astounding how rapidly Roman politics and legislation responded to the new order. An adjustment based on a higher sense of human dignity took place which effectually removed the more glaring abuses of the old régime. The work of any legislator striving to introduce a new spirit into law was necessarily hampered by the manner in which paganism had intrenched itself in life and institutions. Rome could not be made over in a day; but enough was accomplished in the lifetime of Constantine to show that though he found it of the brick of paganism, he left it of the marble of Christianity. For purposes of a rapid survey of what was accomplished, the remedies provided for the more obvious evils may be summed up under three heads: political, social and economic.

In all the states of antiquity, there was a threefold division of the population: the favored classes, the slaves and the dispossessed, and three corresponding evils: despotism, slavery and poverty. The first of these, and the source of the others, despotism was fortified in the citadel of religion. Religious liberty, which put an end to the despotic omnipotence of the state, was the road to all other reforms. The state, however, had been modelled on the family, and civil authority was merely a counterpart on a larger scale of that exercised in the domestic circle. The family constituted the primary unit of administration. While its head lived he enjoyed supreme jurisdiction over children, grandchildren, retainers and dependents. His authority, the *patria potestas,* extended even to the *jus vitae necisque.* With the exception of the period of infancy all the members of the family were subject to the domestic tribunal and might, at the will of the *Paterfamilias* be condemned to

exile, slavery or death. Under this tyrannical rule the position of children was little better than that of slaves. They had no personal rights, and were incapable of holding property. Whatever they earned belonged to the *Paterfamilias*. Even the property (*peculium*) given by a father to his grown children was theirs simply *de facto; de jure* it remained his. The position of the wife was no better than that of the children. She was in everything subject to the will of her husband, as long at least as the old Roman form of marriage (*conventio in manum*) remained in force. Marriage *sine conventione* adopted at a later period enabled the wife to retain her legal personality. Even these stringent regulations were not sufficient to safeguard the sanctity of the family and the state was compelled to enact laws against childlessness and celibacy.

Though the *patria potestas* had been for a long time a subject of concern to Roman legislators, nothing had been done to mitigate its harshness. The promptness with which Constantine attacked the problem shows that in the principles of the Christian religion he found the means to a ready solution. Family life was immediately placed on a new footing. Without impairing domestic authority measures were enacted which took from the head of the family the right of exposing children or of selling them into slavery. The father who slew his son was declared to be guilty of murder, and no child, without his own consent, could be adopted into another family. In former times a son was allowed to call his own only his military earnings (*peculium castrense*), Constantine gave them the right to all that they might earn in the public service (*peculium quasi castrense*) and by subsequent legislation to everything coming from other sources (*peculium adventitium*). The rights of women also received recognition. Marriage was placed on a different basis. From a civil contract it was recognised as a religious sacrament. Women were granted equal rights with men in the control of property, and the right of guardianship over children was conceded to them. Laws against celibacy and childlessness were abolished. Thus a long step in advance was made in recognising family ties as a relation founded on natural affection not on a legal fiction.

Constantine's reforms in regard to slavery are also worthy of notice. This widespread evil of all ancient civilizations instead of diminishing took deeper root as the Roman Empire progressed. Under Roman law a slave had no legal existence as a person. His position was defined in the following maxims: *Qui in potestate nostra est nihil suum habere potest; in personam servilem nulla cadit obligatio; cum servo nulla actio est; cum servis nullum est connubium; cognatio servilis nulla est.* "In the eyes of theoretical law they were mere chattels, objects, not subjects of property or other rights, with no more appeal to the courts of justice and no more legally recognised kinship among themselves than any other animal." The law was a faithful reflection of sentiment popular as well as philosophic. Varro in his work on Agriculture speaks of three kinds of implements for tillage: the dumb, wagons, etc., those that utter inarticulate sounds, oxen, and those that talk, slaves. Not only were slaves the property of their masters, but anything they might become possessed of was also his. In deference to public opinion, and perhaps, through reasons of economy, certain modifications in their hard lot were made in the second century, resembling those introduced by humane societies in our own times in favor of dumb animals. Masters who were guilty of excessive cruelty were compelled to sell their slaves, and nobody without the express permission of a court was permitted to compel them to fight with wild beasts. The city prefect was also empowered to hear the cases of slaves whose masters had treated them cruelly or indecently. Roman literature is filled with incidents showing the brutal and inhuman manner in which slaves were treated. They were flogged, branded, marked like cattle, and when old were turned adrift or killed outright. The lot of field-slaves, working in chains and herded at night in the filthy *ergastula* or slave-prisons, was hardly less repulsive than that of the house-slaves compelled to endure all the cruelty and degradation that might be inflicted on them by sensual and brutal owners.

It is hardly necessary to say that such outrageous conditions could not continue in a state touched in the slightest degree with

the spirit of Christianity. From the days of the Apostles a silent and effective transformation had been going on. "Where the spirit of the Lord is," said St. Paul, "there is liberty" (II Cor. III. 17). True to this principle all, masters and slaves alike were taught that in the Church all are equal, that all are brethren. Without proclaiming any general law of abolition Constantine enacted many measures tending to eliminate the old legal postulate that the slave was not a person. Masters were forbidden to treat their slaves with cruelty, and were to be dealt with as murderers if they caused the death of a slave by poison, dagger, stoning, by exposing him to wild beasts or in any other way. Going a step further it was decreed by law that the families of slaves were not to be separated. The old form of manumission was bound up in a tangle of legal formality. Now a simple letter, a declaration before witnesses or in the presence of the congregation was all that was necessary to confer this coveted boon. "For the first time the part of the Christian Church in the great struggle for the equal brotherhood of man was recognised. Freedom conferred upon a slave in the church before the bishop (*sub aspectu antistitum*) was made legally valid, just as if all the usual forms had been fulfilled. The ceremony of this Christian manumission must have been not infrequent; for when other legal business was forbidden on the Sunday, an exception was made in favor of the emancipation of slaves as 'an act of pleasure and joy, which fell in with the spirit of the festival.'" Slavery was not totally abolished but the slave everywhere received recognition as a man if not a citizen. Christianity could not stay the economic and political ruin of Rome which produced the Colonate and Serfdom, but it had implanted a spirit of liberty which ultimately worked out to the extinction of both and to the attainment of full political equality.

In dealing with evils of an economic character not much could be expected in an age which knew nothing of economics. Poverty existed everywhere, and it was of a class meriting attention because it was apparently hopeless, inasmuch as its victims did not know where to turn for redress. Property had rights, but

no obligations. Persons had no spirit either of benevolence or charity. The poor, the economically oppressed, had relief neither in law, in public sentiment nor in religion. There were then as now, two classes of poor, those incapable of aiding themselves, the young, the old, the sick, prisoners, strangers, etc., and those, who while capable, were deprived of the means of subsistence. Economic evils do not readily yield to legislation, nor are legislators alert in devising means of betterment. The line between private and public action in such matters is not even yet clearly defined. Nevertheless we find in the legislation of Constantine, measures providing for the care of widows and orphans, the establishment of charitable institutions and the care and treatment of prisoners. "I have learnt," writes Constantine, in a letter to Menander, governor of Africa, "that prisoners in the provinces, suffering from want of food and sustenance, sell or pledge their children. I direct therefore that any one found in these circumstances, who has no private means and who finds it a grievous difficulty to support his children, should receive assistance from my imperial revenue. For it is utterly inconsistent with my character to allow any one to perish of hunger or be driven to an inhuman action." For the other class, the victims of economic causes, there is apparently no remedial legislation. The Church had its remedies, these it has proclaimed unceasingly, but they do not seem to have found their way into any code, mediaeval or modern.

It is not necessary to say anything about the legislation on adultery and seduction, on concubinage and gladiatorial contests, which were enacted after the Edict of Milan and which drew their inspiration from Christian ideas of morality and human dignity. The punishment of crucifixion was done away with, criminals were no longer to be branded on the face "the face which is fashioned to the likeness of divine beauty." Church and State did not remain neutral and Sunday was set apart as a day of rest and devoted to divine worship. The clergy were exempted from the burdens of municipal offices, the legal, corporate character of the Church was recognised, the position of the bishop as spiritual head of the flock was extended to cover

matters of secular interest. He became an extra-judicial arbitrator which made him in time what he became under the legislation of Justinian, the *Defensor Civitatis.*

Thus the Edict of Milan not only settled civilization on a new basis, it led to the reform of some of the most crying abuses of the old order. Church and State were separated, the terms of their future relations, union or separation, were left to the decision of succeeding ages. Slavery lost its most repulsive features by the reinstatement of bondmen as moral beings. This crying evil has vanished from the world at least from that portion of the world which accepts the Christian yoke. Two of the characteristics of society in pre-Christian times have disappeared, and men are no longer the religious nor social chattels of a system founded on force and held together by the merely material object of collective welfare. The third evil, that dealing with economic injustice, is now up for adjudication. Two remedies are offered. That of complete social control, the surrender of the individual to the community, and that of Christianity, conserving the rights of the individual in a society animated by the strictest principles of corporate responsibility. The future will have to decide whether the expansion of human interests and sympathy which marked the promulgation of the Edict of Milan and which has inspired legislation destructive of despotism and slavery will be narrowed down to the rigid limits of a collectivist or socialistic civilization.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

CATHOLIC PHILOSOPHY AND THE BELIEF IN GOD.

It is the distinguishing trait of Catholic philosophy that, far from advocating the separation of revealed from natural truth, it claims to unite these two in such a way that reason is benefitted by revelation and faith is rendered acceptable by the use of reason. The Catholic historian of philosophy has no difficulty in showing the disastrous consequences of the method which separates revealed truth from natural truth. Errors in regard to the existence and nature of God, the meaning and origin of the universe, the destiny of man, the foundations of conduct, the existence and nature of the human soul,—these are sufficiently striking evidence of a fatal flaw somewhere in the method of modern philosophy. There can be no hesitation as to the incompatibility of atheism, agnosticism, materialism and hedonistic utilitarianism with the fundamental teachings of the Catholic Church. And it ought to be obvious that if these errors are deplorable, as they certainly are, then the method in philosophy which precludes them has that much in its favor, while the method which does not preclude them, but, as history shows, has led to them is, so far, undesirable in philosophy.

It is, however, a more difficult, though a more pleasing, task to show how the Catholic method in philosophy, the method which brings faith to the aid of reason, avoids these errors and strives not only to refute them but to eradicate them. The task is difficult because of the misunderstandings that have grown up in the centuries since Descartes inaugurated the method of separation. The most prevalent misunderstanding is that which sees in the union of reason and revelation the subjugation of the human mind to the tyrannical authority of the Bible or of the Church. Yet, this is a view which should hardly need refutation. The protests of Catholic philosophers and scientists are proved sincere by their works. The literary output of the Middle Ages in particular ought by its very vastness vouch for

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the freedom, within reasonable limits, of the mind of the Catholic believer. In the present paper we are more concerned to show in a positive way *that* Faith aids Reason and *how* Faith aids Reason in regard to belief in the existence of God. Another misunderstanding, perhaps equally prevalent, is the conviction that, if there is a Catholic philosophy, that must mean a philosophy officially taught by the Church and imposed on all the faithful in the same way as the Creed. No Catholic needs to be told that this is not true. The Church has never proposed a system of philosophy for our belief. Neither when Plato was the favorite author of Christian thinkers nor when Aristotle was "the master of those who know," nor even when Thomas of Aquin was proclaimed teacher of the Universal Church and Patron of Catholic Schools, did the Church wish to sanction the leadership of these philosophers to the extent of proclaiming them right and all others wrong. This much liberty, at least, is accorded the Catholic philosopher; he may follow any of these as a leader or reject them all and still be a Catholic philosopher. He is Catholic in the negative sense, so long as he denies no dogmatic or moral truth that is defined as of Faith, and in the positive and the better sense of the phrase, he is a Catholic philosopher if he brings his Faith to the aid of Reason. It is our immediate task to show how this is done, and in particular in regard to the existence of God.

Atheism, which denies the existence of God, is often a state of the soul, not a conviction of the mind. I do not say it is always a condition of soul, and never an intellectual conviction. But I do say that frequently Atheism is due, not to erroneous or faulty reasoning, but to some perversion of sentiment. The greatest mystery this side of heaven is the human heart itself. What will a man do in a given set of circumstances; how will he behave in a certain crisis; how will he be affected by grief or sorrow or disappointment, or joy or gladness or success? How will he bear up under misfortune, or how will he stand the test of prosperity? Will these things sweeten his life or sour it?—You understand the figure of speech. But you understand also that, even in the case of one whom you know

well, you cannot answer these questions with certainty. You understand that what makes a saint of one man may make a sinner of another, that what sends one man to the monastery may send another into the ranks of infidelity. What makes one man love God may make another hate Him; sentiments which deepen Faith and plant it firmly in the soul of one man may be the cause why another loses his faith altogether, and becomes an Atheist. There is, then, the atheist to whom conviction comes from perverted or disturbed state of soul, and not from logical reasoning. In him feeling sits enthroned, and reason is only the handmaid of passion. For this is the most aggressive type, and naturally the first to take offence if one so much as mentions such a type at all.

Then, there is the Atheist of conviction, who has been brought to his conviction in various ways, but not like the former class by the wreck of his hopes, the loss of his peace of mind, or some other crisis of feeling. All who deny the existence of God profess to belong to the second class. They are often not aggressive at all. They feel no ardent desire to make converts to their own way of thinking; they are unconcerned about the beliefs of others, though they do protest energetically, as they have a right to protest, when the honesty of their profession or the sincerity of their motives is questioned. The popular mind abhors and to some extent, fears, an atheist, and it is quite unfair to appeal to such feeling or rouse such hostile sentiment, when one is dealing with an honest man who is not a disturber.

The origin of the atheist's conviction is not always easy to trace He himself cannot always help us. Frequently, however, we can see in the cultivated mental habits of the man the source of his present belief. A mind trained to see only the material side of life, unlearned in the appreciation of spiritual values and spiritual things soon loses the power of conceiving anything to be real unless it is material. " No one has even *seen* God " is to such a one the literal truth and at the same time a refutation of all the claims of the theist. But, defective education and the cultivation of wrong mental habits will not account for Atheism in every case. There are purely logical

sources of Atheism, errors of reasoning, false conclusions in philosophy; there are Atheists who are made Atheists, not by any antecedent condition or circumstance, but by the drift of their own philosophical reason. When a man reaches the point where he is satisfied that this universe is self-explanatory and self-sufficient; when he is convinced that material forces and material substances explain all reality and that these forces and these substances had no origin except chance; when, in fact, he believes that the universe had no origin outside itself, or no origin at all,—then he feels that the existence of God is a useless and unnecessary hypothesis. He calls attention to the savage who "sees God in clouds and hears him in the wind," because the savage intelligence cannot understand that these phenomena are explained by atmospheric pressure and the presence of water vapor. So, says the atheist, the theistic hypothesis is a confession of ignorance. Modern science explains the whole universe, as it explains the clouds and the wind, without having recourse to the idea of a Creator or an Intelligent Ruler of the universe. The idea of God can, therefore, be dispensed with. This type I should call the purely intellectual atheist, whose reluctance to admit the idea of God is, he thinks, the outcome of scientific study. If he has any feeling in the matter it is because his motto is "more light" and he thinks that the belief in God casts a shadow over the field of science. He does not hesitate even to describe that belief as a superstition. He classes it with the absurd convictions of the savage, the feeble-minded and the uneducated. And yet, he is not always free from superstitions himself. Human nature is more powerful than logic, and human nature has not changed essentially since the days of Bion who, as the first historian of philosophy tells us, denied the gods and yet submitted to the ministrations of the sorceress:

> **Then did this atheist shrink and give his neck**
> **To an old woman to hang charms upon;**
> **And bind his arms with magic amulets;**
> **With laurel branches blocked his doors and windows,**
> **Ready to do and venture anything**
> **Rather than die.**

More in pity than in condemnation we too have seen the fear of death and other elemental fears carry the day against logic and science, and our reflection is that they who rank belief in God among the superstitions might well set their own house in order, ere they start to upset the beliefs of their Christian neighbors. Such men as Francis Bacon and the late Dr. Arnold of Rugby have doubted whether there is really any sane human being who believes this universe to be self-explanatory, whether, therefore, the purely intellectual atheist exists. Popular imagination and outraged pious opinion often place in this category the learned man whose cautious qualifications are misunderstood or ignored, and who is more often an agnostic than an atheist. It would, however, be absurd to say that all atheists are agnostics, and it seems undeniable that, if words mean anything, then there have been philosophers to whom the existence of God as an explanation of the universe is an entirely gratuitous hypothesis.

The second source of Atheism as a conviction is the terrible problem of Evil. Like all problems this arises from a conflict of two truths which are as undeniable as they are apparently incompatible. One truth is that God is good. No matter how the human mind may hesitate in regard to other attributes of Divinity, it hastens to include among the prerogatives of the Infinite, goodness in the highest degree, goodness unmixed with evil, goodness unlimited and unchecked, because combined with omnipotence. The goodness of God is not the problem, but only one term of the problem. The other is the existence of evil. This, too, is undeniable. There exists evil, physical, such as pain and suffering; intellectual, such as ignorance and stupidity; moral, such as sin and malice. And, the more we learn about the world in which we live, the more we come to realize the extent to which evil exists. Nature kind, beneficent, the mother bountiful, must now give way to the concept of Nature cruel, relentless, a tormentor of the innocent as well as the guilty: "Nature red in tooth and claw" is the modern idea. This, again, is not in itself a problem. It is the other truth which helps to make the problem. The problem is how to

reconcile the two, the goodness and omnipotence of God on the one side and the existence and prevalence of evil, on the other. It would be easy, of course, to evade the difficulty by ascribing evil to some other agent, as the Manicheans did. But, such a solution no longer satisfies the thinking mind. There are left three alternatives: first, to admit both truths and try to reconcile them, as Christian philosophy does, second, to deny that there is any evil, to hold that it is purely imaginary, an error of the finite mind, or something of that kind,—that is what theosophy does—or, third, to deny the other term of the problem, namely, the goodness of God, and that, of course, means, to deny the existence of God. This is, perhaps, the most frequent source of atheism. But, remark that it is not a purely intellectual source. For feeling is injected into the problem, and heart as well as head is involved in the task. It is often the finest kind of man or woman that is misled by sympathy with all that suffers and the resulting inability to think it all out in terms of God.

What, now, has Catholic philosophy to say about the belief in God? First of all, it tries to argue with the intellectual atheist on purely intellectual grounds. It appeals to the various arguments known as the physical, the teleological and the moral lines of proof. I shall not enter into them here, except to describe them in a general way, because the discussion of any one of them at full length would take more than the entire space available for this paper. What I call the physical argument starts with the recognized validity of the principle "Every effect must have a cause," or "Whatever begins to exist must depend on something else which influenced that beginning." Kantians may quibble and followers of Hume may analyze until there is nothing left to the principle. But science and common sense and our own thoughtful experience show the principle to be valid. If it is valid, then it is applicable in this way: The cause of which you speak is either a dependent cause—itself an effect—or it is absolutely independent. A series of dependent causes is possible, *m* being an effect of *l*, *l* of *k*, *k* of *j*, *j* of *i*, etc. But such a series cannot be infinite. Somewhere in the line of dependence there must be an *a* before which there is no other

cause, in other words, a first cause, itself uncaused. Not self-caused, for that would be absurd, but self-existent, and uncaused. Such a being is the Infinite God.

The line of reasoning which I call teleological has for its major premise the principle first formulated by Socrates: "Whatever exists for a useful purpose must be the work of an intelligence." The central idea is "design," "adaptation," "purposiveness," and, again avoiding the intricacy of detail, let us appeal to our own experience and our own common sense and we shall realize that the principle is valid. Wherever there is evidence of order, adaptation, the suiting of means to an end, we are convinced that the work in question is the product, not of chance or necessity, but of mind, or intelligence. Under this general principle we now bring the universe as a complex totality manifesting a wonderful interdependence of its parts, a still more wonderful co-operation of these parts and a resulting harmony and beauty which entitle it to be called the *cosmos,* the beautiful, the harmonious. The conclusion drawn from these premises is that the universe as a whole must have had an intelligent Author, or, at least, an intelligent Designer.

The moral arguments for the existence of God are gathered from our innate and ineradicable sense of moral responsibility, the distinction between right and wrong, the existence of conscience, the feeling of obligation or duty. All these are psychological facts which have no adequate explanation except in the existence of a Lawgiver Who lays obligation upon us and to whom we are responsible for our actions. For Kant this was the only absolutely valid argument to prove the existence of God; for Cardinal Newman it was the most persuasive of all the theistic arguments, although there are some even among Catholic philosophers who think it the weakest.

Catholic philosophy appeals to these and other considerations to prove the existence of God. It neglects none, no matter how weak, because experience has absolutely shown that the argument which appeals to one mind may not appeal to another. The mind must, however, be satisfied and reason must be convinced by reasons. And out of all the proofs there will be one at least which will compel intellectual assent and leave no

room for doubt "except such as arises from the greatness of the subject and the feebleness of the human mind." These are Plato's remarkable words in reference to the doctrine of immortality. I repeat them here because I believe that they apply with even greater force to the doctrine of the existence of God. If there were in favor of an abstract or a purely scientific truth as much evidence as there is in the arguments for the existence of God there would be no hesitation in accepting that truth. That the square on the hypothenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the sum of the squares on the other two sides is a truth that leaves us perfectly cold so far as feeling is concerned. If it is proved it is proved: if it is not, it is not. But, when our sentiments and our deepest feelings are concerned, as they are in the doctrine that God exists, then, after all the intellectual proof has been brought forward, after our intellect has been convinced, there is still a "hesitation" (*disbelief* is Plato's stronger word) which is emotional rather than mental, and arises from our tremendous interest in the problem. Reason is satisfied; but we are more than reasonable, and our nature calls for other satisfaction besides that of reason.

Catholic philosophy, therefore, first appeals to reason and strives to prove by intellectual evidence the truth that God exists. But it is a fundamental principle of Catholic philosophy that Faith aids Reason. Let us now see what this assistance amounts to, in the question of the existence of God. In the first place, the emotional hesitation to which I have just referred is dissolved in the readiness, the alacrity, even, with which Faith holds to the existence of God as the Author of our destiny, the object of our spiritual longings, the haven in which our soul finds rest. Faith, so to speak, fills in the *schema* of reason. God is the First Cause, says Reason, and we are wholly dependent on Him—the thought is terrifying, or at least disturbing. God is the Father of us all, Faith teaches us, and we are to address Him as Our Father—and there comes a peace in place of disquietude. And if arguments fail to appeal, or, on examination, are found to be faulty, or if the objections of the unbeliever strike us with unanswerable force and threaten

to shake the foundations of conviction, then Faith comes to the aid of reason, and suggests the most human of all protestations, "I believe, Lord: help my unbelief."

Furthermore Faith aids reason in so far as it removes the causes of Atheism. The atheist of perplexed or perverted sentiment is the first type that we mentioned. For his case there is a ready remedy, we think, in the consolations and ministrations of the Great Physician. For it is a sick soul that we have to deal with, a soul overburdened with a sense of the world's injustice, a soul, often a refined and sensitive soul, starved for want of spiritual food, a soul disappointed, disallusioned, wracked with pain of the worst kind, a spiritual *taedium vitae*. Such a soul was that of Augustine in the unhappy days of his spiritual desolation; such a soul was that of Francis of Assisi in the days of his worldliness; and such a soul, we think, is that of many a one for whom the crisis does not end so fortunately. For there are crises in the health of the soul as in that of the body. As in typhoid or some other deadly disease the day, the hour, the moment arrives when the bodily physician stands by and realizes that if the patient survive the ordeal of the present, recovery is a matter of certainty, and if not, then the fatal ending is inevitable. So in the critical moment of the soul's history, it is, often, godlessness or godliness that is the alternative outcome. There, Faith aids reason by the touch of that peace which surpasseth all understanding, and brings order and harmony and contentment out of a chaos of contending feelings and emotions.

With the atheist of conviction, as we decided to call him, the atheist who is actuated not by feeling but by reason, who sees in science an all-sufficient answer to the problems of philosophy, and thinks he can dispense with the "hypothesis," as he calls it, of a God, the aid which Faith furnishes to reason is no less effective, and is even more evident. Faith institutionalized in the Church has stood always for the assertion that science has not eliminated God. I am not willing to enter here into an apology for the Church as a patroness of learning, nor to discuss mooted questions of the treatment of scientists by the Church; I am not going to invoke the wraith of a Galileo or a Bruno

and discuss their cases. What I say is that the Church has distinguished between Science and the individual scientist, and has preserved and proclaimed the weighty utterances of the really great scientists in favor of the existence of a personal God. And this is no insignificant service. In the confusion and turmoil of controversy, when feelings are aroused by conflict of opinions, she has maintained a consistent attitude of confidence in the ultimate findings of natural science. Above all the uproar of assertion and denial, her voice—the voice of the oldest and most authoritative Church—has been heard. She admits that the leaders in physics, in chemistry, in biology and geology have a right to be heard when they speak of the facts which they have discovered and the empirical laws which they are warranted in formulating. But, Atheism, she reminds us, is not a proved fact nor a scientific law, but an inference which belongs to the region neither of chemistry nor of biology nor of physics nor of geology, but to general philosophy or to metaphysics. And the Church has done more. When the statement is made that all the great scientists, by their own example, have discredited belief in God, she calls on us to hesitate ere we accept that dictum as conclusive. Even if it were true that all the great scientists were atheists, it does not follow that they are to be imitated or their example followed. Deference is due to the authority of a scientist only so long as he remains within the confines of his own science: the mathematician may have execrable taste as a poet; the historian may be as unappreciative of music as Macaulay said he himself was. But, have the great scientists been atheists? No need to question the Christian faith of the pioneers of modern science, of Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, Newton and Leibniz. They are admitted to have been Christians of sincere and public profession. And, when we come to the great names of contemporary science, the case is equally strong. As late as 1891 Tyndal proclaimed that "No greater genius than Robert Mayer has appeared in our century."[1]

[1] Quoted by Kneller, *Christianity and the Leaders of Modern Science*, p. 16. To this I am indebted for most of the facts here brought forward in favor of the thesis that the greatest contemporary scientists were earnest believers in God.

And Mayer was not only a theist but a pious Christian. "My early feeling," he writes in 1851, "that scientific truths are to the Christian religion much what brooks and rivers are to the ocean, has become my most vital conviction. Tempted as I was to drift with the tempest of passion, I had made shipwreck of these later years had not in my heaviest hours the mercy of God . . . kept me always in the right path." The Count Von Rumford, Sir Humphrey Davy, James Prescott Joule are names associated with that of Mayer in the most important discoveries of modern physics. These, like Mayer, are to be set among those whose recorded sayings give the lie to the dictum that the great scientists do not believe in God. To these we may add the great name of Lord Kelvin whom, in 1896, the Berlin Academy of Science addressed in these remarkable words: "You have, in a supreme measure, become the teacher of our generation, and among living physicists there are few indeed who have not sat at your feet and who do not gratefully proclaim you as their Master." Now what does Lord Kelvin have to say about science and the existence of God? "It is impossible," he says, "to understand either the beginning or the continuance of life, without an over-ruling creative power," and again, more significantly, "Overpoweringly strong proofs of intelligent and benevolent design lie all around us; and if ever *perplexities, whether metaphysical or scientific,* turn us away from them for a time, they come back upon us with irresistible force, showing us through Nature the influence of a free will, and teaching us that living beings depend on one ever-acting Creator and Ruler." In an address made less than ten years ago he met the issue squarely. He would not agree with a previous speaker who held that science neither affirmed nor denied creative power; he believed that "*Science positively affirmed* creative power." From among the mathematicians, the astronomers, the zoölogists, the biologists, names as great as that of Lord Kelvin in physics could be cited, all believers in God, all men whose studies in science strengthened their faith in the existence of God. The chemists Lavoissier, Dumas, von Liebig, Friedel, names the greatest perhaps in the history of their science, the geologists

Cuvier, Lyell, Dana; the physiologists Müller, Schwann, Claude Bernard, Sir Charles Bell, Louis Pasteur, Laennec, who made modern physiology, were either professed Christians or at least maintained that there is no reason why a scientist should not believe in God. Some of these, as you know, were, like Louis Pasteur, conspicuously faithful to the convictions of their early training; all of them are authority sufficient to offset the assertion that science has dispensed with belief in God.

I have cited the names of these men and quoted the sayings of some of them not for the purpose of building up an argument to refute atheism, but rather to show that the assertion, "Science has discarded belief in God," to be false both as to *Science* which has nothing to say about it, and as to the *scientists,* who on the contrary, if we take the greatest among them, have been on the side of theism. There is no more powerful argument, when dealing with immature minds than the argument from authority. "Who are you," cries the advocate of unbelief, "to set up your verdict against that of the great scientists?" And no other argument, I think, has made so many converts to atheism. The young mind is capable of reasoning about facts, but "wisdom lingers" and the ability to reason about principles is slow to be developed. Is it not a tremendously important thing that Faith, institutionalized in the Churches, comes at this critical moment to the aid of immature reason, shows the fallacy of confounding science with the scientists, preserves the verdict of the really great scientists and, despite the clamor and contention of controversy, preserves the attitude of the psalmist of old: "The heavens proclaim the glory of God, and the firmament shows forth the works of His Hands."

This was one prolific source of atheism, we said, the alleged verdict of science. The other was the problem of evil. And here we have another example of the assistance which, according to Catholic philosophy, Faith furnishes to reason. Reason has not declined the task of solving the mystery of evil. Accepting the terms of the problem, namely, the goodness and omnipotence of God on the one hand and the reality of evil, on the other, it offers various considerations that tend towards a solution of

the question. Reason counsels us to be philosophers for the time being and not let our sympathy with suffering get the better of our calmer judgment. Reason reminds us that much of human suffering is due to human folly and ignorance and sin. It reminds us also that a great deal of suffering of animals is more apparent than real, that the animal body is less highly organized than ours and therefore less capable of pain, that many times an expression of supposed pain is merely an automatic reflex, and that there is just a grain of truth in the contention of the Cartesians that animals are merely machines and have no consciousness at all. Reason further maintains that pain is primarily prophylactic, meaning that it warns us of the approach of danger, that it is the sentinel set to guard the health and life of the body, that the toothache is given us to tell us it is time to consult a dentist, and that an indiscretion of diet that is followed by pain is less likely to be repeated. Thus pain, says the philosopher, is really beneficent, and its existence is easily reconciled with the wisdom and goodness of God. Finally, reason bids us look to the larger purposes of nature and the universe, tells us to consider that where there is order and harmony there must be variety, where there is variety there must be different degrees of perfection, and where there is imperfection there must needs be pain and suffering. Pain would thus be the price that the universe pays for the beauty and the variety and the harmony which are its characteristics.

But, when Reason has said its last word, somehow the soul is still unsatisfied. Philosophising about pain is cold comfort. It is, indeed, a strong mind—there are such minds, though, I believe, they are few—that can get consolation from the reflection that pain is prophylactic, that suffering is an inevitable condition of cosmic perfection, or from any similar thought on the subject of physical evil. Catholic philosophy admits the two terms of the problem, namely the existence of evil and the goodness of God. It gives due weight to all the considerations of the philosopher; but, when philosophy, having said its last word, fails to satisfy the soul, Catholic philosophy turns the problem over to Faith.

Faith, first of all, teaches us that "we know in part and we see in part." We know intimately and sympathetically only a relatively small region of reality. Science, indeed, is constantly widening our horizon. The telescope and the microscope are revealing to us the impressively great and the no less impressively small in the world around us. But it will always, perhaps, be true that beyond the farthest reach of human experience there are cycles of real forces and possibly systems of material substances about which we shall know nothing. Human knowledge will be bounded on all sides, if not by a night of absolute ignorance, at least, by a twilight of uncertainty in which we can see but the dim outlines of hypotheses and theories. What we do see is, then, admittedly, but a fragment of God's real world, and, moreover, the fragment which we do see, being nearest to ourselves, is that which makes the greatest demands on our sympathies. You know what a difference that makes. You might look through a telescope and view with comparative calm the crash of two vast heavenly bodies millions of miles away. But, who could look calmly at the collision of two conveyances in which he knew that human beings were travelling? One may read with feelings of pity and compassion the story of an unknown sufferer, but how those feelings become intensified when one knows the sufferer personally. A sensitive child or a tenderhearted poet may weep at the sight of a flower that withers and dies; any man who loves his horse or his dog may be deeply moved at the news of the death of his favorite, but he is almost inhuman on whom the death of a fellow man known and loved produces no impression of sorrow. The nearer anything is to us the more it draws on our sympathies. We see and we know the portion of reality that is nearest to ourselves, and our capacity for profound feeling renders us less capable of judging its relations to the greater world beyond. Here Faith comes to the aid of reason and though it does not answer every *why* and every *wherefore,* steadfastly teaches us that "somehow good will be the final goal of ill." Faith teaches that God is in His heaven and though our own reason may see many things that appear to be ill, Faith authoritatively asserts that all is well

with the world. If our knowledge were infinite, or even if it were coextensive with reality, we might demand an explanation of every apparent conflict between the existence of evil and the goodness of God. Faith does not do that. It asks us to believe that somehow, in ways incomprehensible to us, evil is, so to speak, subsumed in good and the wisdom and goodness of the Creator are justified. It is our duty to push our knowledge beyond its present boundaries, if we may. It is our privilege to use our powers of observation and our faculty of reasoning to the limit of their capacities. But always with reverence for the hitherto unexplored, and with respect for the truth which lies beyond our reach.

Some one has compared the human race to tiny animals that build on the sands of the sea-shore, short-lived creatures for whom an hour is, perhaps, what a year is to us. These creatures are endowed with an instinct which enables them to reckon with the daily ebb and flow of the sea, so that they build their diminutive villages and cities above the level of high water, with what for them is extraordinary foresight. At the same time, their instinct has not taught them to take into account the longer cycle of changes which every four weeks or so brings the spring tide that destroys whole settlements. Here, says the philosopher, is an image of our own short-sightedness. In the plans of an all-wise and infinite Creator our longest computation of time is but a brief episode. "A thousand years is as one day," and the millions of years of which the geologist speaks are but a small fraction of eternity. All the combined experience of the race as recorded in history is a story begun but not yet finished, a tale as yet but partly told, and as little children are warned to do, we should wait till the story is concluded.

All this should have the effect, not of discouraging the use of reason. For we believe it our duty to know as much as we can about the world in which God has placed us. But when we have learned all that we can, and reason and sentiment are still baffled by the terrible problem of evil, we turn to Faith for assistance and then we begin to understand things which reason never can make plain.

In talking of Catholic philosophy I have made no mention of Pope or Council, or dogmatic definition or inquisitorial decree, because I have had no occasion to do so. The belief in God is common to all the Christian churches, nay, even to Church and Synagogue and Mosque. If the Catholic philosopher turns for aid to the Catholic faith in God, there is no reason why Protestant or Jew or Saracen may not seek similar aid in his own religious institutions. He does not, however, because he separates his theology from his philosophy, his faith from his reason. We think that this is unfortunate. We think it is wrong psychology; for, after all, he is not two persons, the philosopher and the believer, but one, the philosopher who believes. We think it is wrong pedagogically; for all knowledge, to be assimilated, must be unified, and mind abhors unreconciled or unrelated truth as Nature was said to abhor a vacuum. We think it is wrong methodologically; for truth is truth whether it comes through revelation or through reason, and all truth is capable of harmonious adjustment. We think, on the contrary that our method is reasonable, to bring Faith to the aid of reason, and we think further that that method is justified in its results. If Faith has virtue to cure that perplexity of sentiment which often ends in atheism; if it has power to meet the challenge of the atheistic scientist and show that science has not discredited belief in God; if it is able, not indeed, to answer all the questions that arise in regard to evil, but, at least, to put that problem in such terms that it is less bewildering, then we believe that this is a most signal service, which philosophy should be wise enough to welcome.

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WAS ST. CYPRIAN AN EPISCOPALIAN?

In a former article contributed to the *Catholic University Bulletin*[1] we dealt with the question of the Ecclesiology of St. Cyprian. Therein we described at length the idea of the Church entertained by the venerable Bishop of Carthage—what to his mind were the elements that entered into the constitution of the religious society established by Christ, and in particular what place in that society he was prepared to allow the Bishop of Rome. We saw that the fundamental principle of the Church's constitution was its unity—its Catholic Unity—one as the seamless robe of Christ, as the sun and its rays, as the tree and its branches, as the fountain and its diffused waters, one to the absolute exclusion of all heresy and schism; that this perfect unity which should characterise the Church despite her widespread development was secured to each local church by the undisputed sway of one bishop, while the unity of the whole Church was maintained by the harmonious concord of all the bishops who participated in one common undivided and indivisible episcopate; that the individual participators in this Catholic episcopate were subject to some higher authority in the Church, vested either in provincial councils, or in the whole episcopal body, to whose canons and decrees they must submit under the penalty of forfeiting their right to rule the faithful; that, in fine, the Bishop of Rome was recognized to possess a very important, though not well defined, part in the exercise of this super-episcopal authority; that, without any overstraining of the evidence, Rome was recognized as the centre of the Catholic Church, and that the source and safeguard of Catholic unity was the chair of Peter, the successor to the See of Peter, the primacy of the Bishop of Rome.

[1] Cf. October and December, 1910.

I. Professor Koch's View.

Since the publication of that article a German work [2] from the pen of a Catholic professor and edited under the auspices of the eminent scholar, Professor Harnack, of Berlin, has appeared, which deals with the same question—the idea of the Church possessed by St. Cyprian. The author of this work, on the strength of the same materials, and reviewing the same evidence as we did, arrives at a wholly different conclusion. He would make Cyprian a thoroughgoing Episcopalian in matters of Church government, and contends that the preëminence or primacy of the Bishop of Rome was a concept wholly foreign to the mind of the Carthaginian Bishop. He asserts that, when we claim that great Father of the Church in support of the Supremacy of the Pope, we simply distort and misinterpret him, and read into his attitude and writings our own modern beliefs. Our author will admit that in Cyprian's view the basic principle of the Church was its unity, but this unity must be preserved, not by submission to one central supreme authority such as we claim for the Pope, but by submission to the universal episcopate which was held in common by all the bishops, and inviolable by the concord of these bishops. Each bishop was independent of his fellows, and owed his allegiance to no one inferior to God. Once legitimately appointed by the voice of the people and the ordination of his fellow bishops, he ruled his flock by participation in the common episcopal authority, and this office he lost only by violating the Catholic unity, whereby he broke with the episcopal body of the one Catholic Church. But that there was one supreme bishop, one bishop of bishops, to whom all others were subject, who could admit to or exclude from Catholic unity, never occurred to Cyprian; nay, rather, he stoutly repudiated such a claim when put forward by St. Stephen. Hence to the mind of Cyprian, as inter-

[2] *Cyprian und der römische Primat, eine kirchen- und dogmengeschichtliche Studie*, von Hugo Koch. Leipzig, 1910. (In *Texte und Untersuchungen.*)

preted for us by Professor Koch, the Bishop of Rome, though possessing a certain amount of moral influence and weight because of the political and social preëminence of his See, as regards ecclesiastical authority excelled in nothing his fellow bishops. He, as they, possessed jurisdiction only over his own particular church; he, as they, continued in Catholic unity only as long as he observed the conditions of faith and discipline necessary thereto; he, as they, might fall away from that unity, while communion with him meant communion with the Catholic Church only in the sense in which communion with any member in the episcopate in good standing meant communion with the Catholic Church, which was governed by all the bishops *in solidum* and on an equal footing. Accordingly the Bishop of Rome is regarded by Cyprian, perhaps as *primus inter pares,* but by no means, as *primus inter omnes.* It was pure arrogance then on the part of Pope Stephen to claim authority over the other bishops, and to threaten to cut off from communion those bishops of Africa and Asia, who dared to differ with him on the question of heretical baptism, and the Bishop of Carthage was not slow to tell him as much.

But our author is not satisfied with proving (to his own satisfaction at least) that Cyprian relegated the Pope to the place where he belonged, as one among many,but contends that he did this on grounds of divine authority. For Peter was no more among the Apostles than was the Bishop of Rome among the bishops of the whole Church—just their equal. The much vaunted, and in Professor Koch's opinion, much abused Petrine text amounts simply to this: Peter was appointed by Christ first of the Apostles—first, however, not by a priority of jurisdiction, but by a priority of time, and this latter for a symbolical purpose. The authority which Christ first conferred on Peter alone, He subsequently transferred to the whole College of Apostles, each one of whom possessed the same jurisdiction as Peter,[3] or rather were equal sharers with Peter in the common collegiate jurisdiction. Peter's prior reception of power in the order of time had merely a symbolical meaning—

[3] Cf. III., 11 sq.

to typify the unity of the Church which had its origin in or began with *one* man. This temporary numerical unity signified the moral unity that should adorn the Church for all ages. And just as Peter was the symbol of unity for the Apostolic Church, so was Rome, the See of St. Peter, the "ideal" or type of unity for the Catholic Church though neither Peter nor Rome surpassed James or Jerusalem in extent of jurisdiction. Hence neither could be called the *causal* principle of Catholic unity, as is the Pope in modern times, but the type or ideal, or at best, the rallying centre of Church unity: but as far as this last point is concerned, the bishops of the Church may rally round any other Catholic bishop, while maintaining in obedience to the divine mandate the Catholic unity essential to the Church of Christ. In a word the constitution and government of the Church consists in a federation of bishops who maintain the Catholic unity and are cemented together in one common episcopate—where the relation of superior to inferior is as absent as in the Apostolic College [4]—by the concord of peace and goodwill and true Christian charity.

This Cyprianic theory of the Church is not original. Prior to Professor Koch many learned critics chiefly of the Protestant persuasion, such as Lightfoot and Harnack, have championed the same view. Mgr. Batiffol in his learned work, *Primitive Catholicism*,[5] briefly summarizes the view in this pointed paragraph: "If all the Apostles received the same powers as Peter, if all the Apostles are equal, and Peter is without privilege, all the bishops are equal, and the see of Peter is without privilege. Has not the Bishop of Rome the right to preside in a more effective manner over the Catholic unity of which Peter was the starting-point, to maintain it and secure it by means of a sovereign intervention in the questions of faith and discipline that may arise? No, no more than any other bishop, at least if we keep to the absolute and theoretical point of view taken by Cyprian. . . . There is a universal episcopate which comprises all the bishops; there is no universal bishop. Each bishop is

[4] v. 37.
[5] VIII, 363.

really a centre of the Church, and the intercommunion of all the bishops makes the unity of the whole. . . . Of the bishops the Bishop of Rome is the one who holds in his hands, so to speak, the threads of the universal communion; but he has nothing to do save to hold them; it is beyond his province to determine by himself the conditions of a communion of which he is not the head but the official representative. Christian unity has for its intimate cause the Holy Ghost, and for its external guarantee the obligation, binding upon all, not to abandon, not to divide, not to trouble the Church of Christ." The theory of Church-government here expounded is a beautiful, vague, and fragile ideal which could ill sustain the strain and test to which Catholic unity would be put in the course of the Church's history. But was this Cyprian's idea of the Church of Christ?

II. Professor Koch on *U. E.* iv.[6]

It cannot be without interest to the readers of the *Bulletin* if we dwell for a short time on the arguments by which Professor Koch sustains his theory as to the ecclesiology of St. Cyprian. Our arguments for a different theory we developed at some length in the former article.[7] Which theory properly interprets the facts in the case? An impartial examination of the theories in the light of the same evidence, and the sources of evidence are undisputed—the many epistles and treatises, and the various activities of this great martyr bishop as recorded and transmitted by history—must decide the issue. Whichever theory is sustained by the whole evidence and best agrees with all the facts of his life furnishes the true key to the situation, and interprets aright the mind of Cyprian in regard to the constitution of the Christian Church. Having already given our reasons for the opinion that Cyprian believed in the preëminence and primacy of the Bishop of Rome, though not, of course in the well-defined and precise manner in which we, aided by the age-long development of Catholic doctrine,

[6] *U. E.* = *De Unitate Ecclesiae.*
[7] *Catholic University Bulletin*, December, 1910.

are enabled to perceive this dogma of our faith, we shall content ourselves in the present article with a brief criticism of the chief argument on which our author relies to uphold his viewpoint. The arguments undermined, his theory lapses.

Now the key to the interpretation of the mind of Cyprian, our author professes to discover in the famous Chapter IV of the *U. E.* Here, he says, we have a formal treatise on ecclesiastical unity—here, if anywhere, we shall discover the true inner mind of Cyprian on the nature and constitution of the Church, and by what means that constitution was to be maintained. In the light of this theological tract we must judge the conduct of Cyprian in his practical government of the Church, and his views, occasionally indefinite and capable of diverse senses, aired from time to time and as emergencies demanded in his epistolary correspondence. An author's exact views on any question we are more likely to discover in a formal treatise than in letters of more directly practical import. What then, in the opinion of Professor Koch, does the tract *U. E.* teach us about the constitution of the Church, and particularly in regard to the office of St. Peter, and of his successor, the Bishop of Rome?

Well, Christ founds the Church on Peter. He entrusts Peter with the care of the sheep, and the primacy is given to Peter, yet all these Petrine titles strongly indicative of supreme authority are, he holds, offset and nullified by the associated statements that the other Apostles after the Resurrection received an equal fellowship both of honor and power, and that "all were shepherds" and that the flock should be "fed by all with unanimous consent." [8] What mean then those special titles of Peter—that he was to be the rock foundation of the Church, that he personally was to be the shepherd of the sheep, that to him alone in fact was given a primacy of some sort? They had simply a symbolical meaning and purpose. The Church must be one, and this was best signified by Christ when in the beginning He established it on *one*. Peter possessed sole authority for a short space of time and thus typified the unity

[8] *U. E.*, IV.

to adorn the Church. But Christ never intended that Peter (or his successors), should ever remain the sole strength and foundation of the Church, for soon afterwards He confers on the other Apostles the same powers, so that all the Apostles, as well as all the bishops—the successors of the Apostles become equal sharers in the authority communicated by Christ for the government of the Church—for "the Church is fed by all the Apostles with unanimous consent," while, "the episcopate is one; each part of which is held by each one for the whole." Here then is the key to Cyprian's mind—every other fact and statement no matter how awkward or antagonistic must fall into line with this theory of the Church's constitution, for has not Cyprian outlined it in a formal treatise of Church unity and government? Is the key itself, we might ask, the right one? For, if we proceed with a false key to unlock the sense of the various items of evidence contained in the life and writings of Cyprian, we may succeed, but to the distortion and perversion of the true meaning of the passages examined, and of the facts reviewed. Has Professor Koch then rightly interpreted the *U. E.* IV? We do not think so. On the contrary we believe that he has misinterpreted both the purpose of the whole treatise, and the sense of this important chapter.

III. Professor Koch's Interpretation of *U. E.* IV Inadmissible.

The treatise *U. E.* was never intended by its author to be a theocritical disquisition on Catholic unity, and on what means were divinely appointed to maintain that unity in the whole Church. The Church tract had not yet reached that stage of formal development. In the *U. E.* as in so many of his epistles Cyprian addresses himself to the more immediately practical question how that unity, which, by divine institution, belonged to the Church of Christ, should be maintained, *where then and there imperilled,* in the local church. This local unity is secured and heresies and schisms are precluded, by the submission of all to the one bishop who rules each diocese. This

object attained, he more or less assumes that Catholic unity is safeguarded. How inadequate to the maintenance of universal unity was the local unity did not present itself to Cyprian under any practical aspect at this period; hence he does not formally discuss the question—despite the assumption of Professor Koch to the contrary—of the principle or safeguard of Catholic unity or the unity of the universal Church. We say formally for as we shall afterwards see, he implies that principle in the scriptural argument by which he establishes the thesis that the Church *must be one.*

The occasion which called forth this tract *U. E.* determines for us its limited purpose. It was composed and directed against the schismatical parties both at Carthage and Rome,[9] where the followers of Felicissimus and Novatian were in open revolt against the lawful bishops—Cyprian and Cornelius—and sought to establish in their respective churches rival bishops in the persons of Fortunatus and Novatian. There was no question then of the unity of the whole Church being imperilled by the antagonism of one particular church to another—which condition of affairs would have evoked such a treatment of the question as Professor Koch contemplates—but of the unity of a local church where the one legitimate bishop was opposed by an anti-bishop. Cyprian as a practical churchman composed his work to meet the need of the times, and hence we have in *U. E.* a most perfect treatise on the essential need of Catholic unity, which must be secured in each diocese by the monarchical sway of one bishop. In this connexion a short quotation from Mgr. Batiffol is most appropriate.[10] "It may be said with more fairness that the treatise '*De Unitate Ecclesiae*'—a controversial work written for a special occasion—does not set forth a system of the universal church, in other words, of Catholicism: it is concerned exclusively with *this thesis* that *in every church there is room but for one bishop.* The title of the treatise by

[9] For discussion on two forms of *U. E.*, IV, for Rome and Carthage, and which was original, cf. Batiffol's *Primitive Catholicism*, p. 366 sq.; and Dom Chapman in *Revue Benedictine*, Oct., 1910.

[10] *Primitive Catholicism*, p. 364.

no means comprises all that the identical title of Bossuet's sermon comprises. If it is true, as St. Fulgentius testifies, that Cyprian's treatise was sometimes entitled "De Simplicitate praelatorum," his last title, which is less authentic and less extensive, expressed much better the special point of view to which Cyprian confined himself."

Having shown the general object of the treatise *U. E.* we may now address ourselves to Chapter IV and the construction put upon it by Professor Koch. While admitting that Cyprian does not always give the Petrine text its full historic significance, because he accommodates its sense to his purpose of proving the divine institution of the monarchical episcopate, yet we hold that our author's interpretation is inadmissible. He contends that all the text means to Cyprian is that Peter was made foundation of the Church in the sense that he *first in the order of time* received that power to rule the church which later on he held in no superior manner but in common with the rest of the Apostles. This temporary priority of *one* was intended to symbolize the unity of the Church. "First he gave authority," says Professor Koch, "to one plenipotentiary Apostle: with him began the Church—Peter was the first and deepest stone upon which it was afterwards to be built. The numerical unity at that moment when the Lord spoke the memorable words to Peter is a picture, a symbol, a type of the moral unity which with the multiplication of the Petrine power (in the other Apostles) was to stand in the place of this numerical unity. . . . Peter was *for a while* the one representative of the Apostolic power" which after the post-Resurrection commission of Christ was transferred to and resided in the whole college of Apostles.[11]

Now this sense of "foundation" as a mere transient and typical priority of power is admissible, and for many reasons. That the office or title of Peter as the foundation on which Christ was to build His church meant simply that Peter alone received for a short space of time that power which was later to be distributed equally among all the Apostles, *to signify* that

[11] III, 11, also cf. Chs. IV-VI.

because the first recipient of that power was one, the Church itself must be one, and did not mean that Peter as the one foundation should be the active guarantee and permanent safeguard of ecclesiastical unity—this construction we hold excluded by other evidence from the records of Cyprian as well as by his intimate knowledge of the Gospel history. An epithet almost inseparable from the name of Peter, in the pages of Cyprian, is the title of Church-foundation: "Petrus super quem aedificavit ecclesiam" is the ever-recurring phrase, no matter what the circumstances. The notion of mere temporary priority is excluded from its general use on diverse occasions. Take for example epistle 26 [12] where the Petrine text in Matt. xvi-18 is made the charter for non-episcopacy (an application, or may we say accommodation? to which Cyprian was much addicted). There he affirms on the support of that text that "the Church is *founded* upon the bishops, and every act of the Church is controlled by these same rulers." We are not here concerned with the question whether Cyprian rightly bases on those words of Christ to Peter the monarchial episcopate—for his view was that as the episcopate succeeds the Apostolate, so each bishop in his diocese succeeds to the unique position of Peter, that is, as Peter was made by Christ the foundation of His Church, so each bishop is the foundation of each local church, as though the Church built on Peter were the model and parent of each local church—we simply call attention to the fact that the bishops who govern the church by a permanent power, which was to continue unchanged and undivided, are spoken of as the foundation of the Church. By *foundation* then Cyprian does not mean, as Professor Koch would have him mean, mere prior possession, to the exclusion of the idea of superior permanent authority. If the bishops are the foundation of the church then, and its permanent foundation, on the strength of the Petrine text, in the sense that they govern the whole church in common, and each diocese individually, why, we might ask, put a different construction on "foundation" when spoken of Peter as indi-

[12] Numbered according to "Ante Nicene Ff" as transl. by Roberts and Donaldson; Am. Ed., 1886.

cative of his office? We answer there is no reason and the sense of temporary priority of power is a pure fiction invented by Professor Koch to support his theory, but a thought which never occurred to Cyprian. Peter being made the foundation of the Church received a permanent and abiding office designated by that plain figure of speech—the source even of all episcopal authority—for in the above passage the power of the bishops is referred back directly to the Petrine power and not to any redistribution of the same after the Resurrection.

We have already noted the constant association of the note of Church-foundation with the name of Peter. This fact becomes the more curious and suggestive when, as in many instances, there is no reference to the constitution of the Church. In the treatise *De Habitu Virginum*[13] we find introduced as an incentive of virgins, to despise the vanity of dress and riches, the example of the great Apostle. "Peter also, says Cyprian, to whom the Lord commends His sheep to be fed and guarded, on whom He *placed and founded the Church,* says indeed that he has no silver or gold, but says he is rich in the grace of Christ, etc.": The fact that Peter was the foundation of the Church is here incidentally mentioned as though his unique and inseparable prerogative: while there is no intimation here, nor in so many other places, that after a very brief period Peter ceased to hold that basic position in the Church's life. Furthermore, in this instance as in so many others, we find coupled with this title the other commission of Christ narrated in Jn. xxi. 17, as though that were a privilege equally peculiar to Peter, and the fact that he was made the chief pastor of the flock stands on a level with the fact that he was made the foundation of his Church. The mention of Jn. xxi. 17, reminds us of another consideration of no less importance. Professor Koch contends that Cyprian believed that the power granted Peter in Matt. xvi. 18, remained in Peter's sole possession only until such time as we have described in Jn. xx. 23, when it was parcelled out among or rather transferred to all the Apostles. Now such a belief is incompatible with Cyprian's intimate knowledge of New

[13] *De H. V.*, Ch. x.

Testament history. For he must have known that Matt. xvi. was but a promise and not a bestowal of power; that a similar promise was made to all the Apostles in Matt. xviii. 18; and while all the Apostles were invested with certain powers in Jn. xx., Peter was invested with his unique power at a still later stage as related in Jn. xxi. So Cyprian, unless we accuse him of profound ignorance of Scripture—a charge repudiated by the evidence of his writings—cannot have meant what Professor Koch would have him to mean. On the contrary he knew that Matt. xvi. gave promise of a special permanent power which instead of being disappointed by Jn. xx. was fulfilled by Jn. xxi.

Let us examine one more instance to discover still more clearly the sense which Cyprian attaches to the title of Peter—the foundation of the Church. Take *Ep.* 39[5] which was written prior to the composition of *U. E.* and which critics generally regard as the basis of that treatise. Writing against the Schismatics, the Bishop of Carthage says: "They are promising to bring back and recall the lapsed into the Church who themselves have departed from the Church. There is one God, and Christ is one, and there is one Church and one chair founded upon the rock by the word of the Lord." Here we have no intimation of a subsequent re-distribution of the Petrine power of rock foundation of the Church, but on the contrary the unity of the whole Church and the unity of episcopal authority in each Church ("one chair") are held to be proven in the same way by the office conferred on Peter. In what way? We shall answer in the words of the scholarly Dom Chapman.[14] "It seems to me clear enough that Cyprian means that there can only be one building upon one rock, and that Peter just as much as the bishop is a permanent not a transient guarantee of the unity of the edifice which rises upon a single rock." If then Peter is the origin and permanent guarantee of the unity of the whole Church, we may go one step farther and inquire in what sense is Peter the foundation of the Church

[14] *Revue Benedictine*, Oct., 1910, p. 451.

and the guarantee of its unity? This question brings us into a closer examination of the *U. E.* IV.—where Professor Koch professes to discover the key to his interpretation. How do we interpret that chapter? Are its statements consonant with belief in the primacy of St. Peter and his successor the Bishop of Rome? Nay more, does it not lend support to such a belief? Our answer is in the affirmative.

IV. True Sense of *U. E.* IV.

To understand aright the structure of the treatise, *U. E.*, we must not lose sight of its purpose. It was composed not as a mere speculative work on ecclesiology, but had a direct and practical import. It was written as an aid to heal the schisms in the local churches of Carthage and Rome, and hence its main object was to emphasize local unity. Hence it insists on the divine principle of unity whereby each church must have but one bishop, and to set up a rival in opposition was to violate the divinely established order of Catholic unity. Clearly is this purpose stated in Chapter VIII, where after quoting the text "and there shall be one fold and one shepherd" Cyprian pointedly asks: "And does any one believe that *in one place* there can be either many shepherds or many flocks?" But as the theoretic basis of the practical conclusion he establishes in Chapter IV by Scriptural proof the divine plan of Catholic unity—that the Church by the institution of Christ should be one. Chapter V reminds bishops of their duty as rulers of the Church to insist on this unity and to recommend it by their own unanimity since they are participators in one common episcopate. The unity of the Church being demonstrated and its recognition and observance as a matter of faith being urged, the next thesis in a theological tract would expound the *divinely instituted means* by which the *universal* Church was to be maintained one—how the unity of the whole Church must be secured. But this proposition was not yet, so to speak, a matter of practical politics, and hence does not come in for formal treatment at the hands of Cyprian. He passes over it,

and coming to the matter of actual and immediate concern he propounds the means by which Catholic unity should be preserved in each local church—by submission in all things to the monarchial rule of one legitimately appointed bishop. Here was the scope of the treatise, and in the light of this practical aim must all its parts be understood. Cyprian like the practical churchman that he was, does not go further afield than is necessary. He does battle with the present foe. He finds local not universal unity imperilled and strikes at the root of the real evil when he demonstrates and insists on the monarchical episcopate as the divine safeguard of local unity. Professor Koch's erroneous interpretation springs from an oversight of this fact. He regards *De Unitate Ecclesiae* as a theological treatise on the Church's constitution and government and would have Chapter v furnish the answer to the formal question: what is the Catholic, as distinguished from the local principle of unity? Now Chapter v simply urges the bishops who rule the Church and who form one episcopate (and this much is perfectly true in any view) to insist on the unity expounded in Chapter iv, and to recommend it by their own unanimity. But this surely is no answer to the question: what is the principle of Catholic unity? Or raising it in a still more pointed form: what is the principle of episcopal unity—since the bishops are so many units who preside over the various local churches? This question, we hold, did not so present itself to Cyprian, nor did he give it any formal consideration, either here, or elsewhere.

But while Cyprian does not formally consider the question, still we believe that his main argument for the unity of the Catholic Church furnishes us with the line of thought he would pursue should such an interrogatory have been proposed for his consideration. What the divine principle of Catholic unity should be: what were the means by which the permanent unity of the Catholic Church should be insured *U. E.* iv answers implicitly. The Church must be one. How do we know? "There is easy proof for faith says Cyprian, in a short summary of the truth. The Lord speaks to Peter and says: 'I say unto

thee that thou art Peter, etc.' And again, after His Resurrection: 'Feed my sheep.' *Upon one He builds His church* and to him commends His sheep to be fed. . . . That he might set forth unity He arranged by His authority the origin of that unity as beginning from one. . . . The beginning proceeds from unity. . . . Does he who does not hold the unity of the Church think that he holds the faith?" Here then is the proof and basis of Catholic unity—the rock-foundation, Peter, is manifestly the abiding principle of Church unity. This unity the bishops—the participators in the common episcopate—should assert and maintain. But an objection arises, —and hereon Professor Koch builds his view, on an objection [15] which he takes for an integral part of the argument, but the very purpose of the argument and the construction of the sentence excludes such an assumption—against the foregoing proof of unity as springing from and upheld by one man, Peter: "Did not Christ after the Resurrection give all the Apostles an equal power?" "For assuredly the rest of the Apostles were also the same as was Peter endowed with a like partnership both of honor and power." How then was unity to be maintained in the face of this division of power? Behold the specious reasoning by which the schismatics would defend themselves against the inexorable principle of unity. Hence the explanation of Cyprian's severe remark in Chapter v: "Let no one deceive the brotherhood by a falsehood: let no one corrupt the truth of the faith by perfidious prevarication. The episcopate is one, each part of which is held by each one for the whole." But to their contentions that the Apostolate was divided, and therefore the episcopate could be divided, Cyprian's all-sufficient answer was to repeat in various forms the fundamental idea that unity was safeguarded by the fact that the Church was built upon one man—Peter: thus did Christ by His authority dispose the origin of that unity; and thus "the primacy was given to Peter that the Church of Christ might be set forth as one, and the chair as one." [15] Hence while all the Apostles

[15] For the Cyprianic origin of the different readings of *U. E.*, IV, cf. *Revue Benedictine* (1902), XIX, p. 246, and (1910) XXVII, p. 453.

hold a coördinate position with Peter as Apostles, yet to him alone belongs the unique position of rock foundation. From this exposition will be seen how vain is the question of the opponents of our view who significantly ask if Cyprian believes in a primacy or supremacy in the Church, why does he not invoke that as his chief argument in favor of Church unity and as the chief means of maintaining that unity? We answer that he most certainly does. Fittingly therefore may we conclude our interpretation of *U E.* IV with the words of Cyprian: "And they (Apostles) all are shepherds, and the flock is shown to be one, such as to be fed by all the Apostles with unanimous agreement, that the Church of Christ may be manifested as one. . . . He who holds not the unity of the Church, does he think that he holds the faith? He who strives against and resists the Church, who deserts the Chair of Peter upon whom the Church was founded, does he feel confident that he is in the Church?"

We might take up in detail Professor Koch's long disquisition on *U. E.* IV but enough has been said to show how untenable is his interpretation, and to convince ourselves that in this chapter we have a strong, if implicit, argument for the primacy of Peter as the source and principle—not merely transient and typical, but permanent and causal of Catholic unity. Now having dealt with the central position of our author and having proven that the very evidence on which he primarily relies in support of his theory of the ecclesiology of St. Cyprian rather sustains the view we have propounded, we might take up his further treatment of the question piecemeal and show how equally vain are his efforts to sustain by further epistolary evidence the position assumed at the outset, but this would be to traverse the ground covered by the former article. For if Professor Koch fails in his central argument based on the treatise *U. E.,* he would assuredly have more uphill work to establish a case on the evidence furnished by the epistles. From them, if we omit those dealing with the re-Baptism controversy, we might accumulate evidence of an exceedingly strong character in behalf of the primacy of Rome. Professor Koch will

labor in vain to answer consistently with his theory of episcopalianism these questions which find in our view of a Roman primacy an immediate and obvious solution:—why did foreign councils seek approbation of their decrees at Rome?[16] why did heretics and schismatics strive for recognition at Rome against the lawful bishops, who in turn neglected not to justify before that See their treatment of the former?[17] why was Rome requested to depose and set up bishops,[18] and why did deposed bishops seek re-instatement at the hands of Rome?[19] why was such universal interest displayed in the election of the bishop of Rome, and such universal recognition of that fact?[20] why does the setting up of a rival bishop of Rome in the person of Novatian cause so much commotion throughout Christendom? why is he said to "assume the primacy"? and why does he undertake to create bishops of his own in all the churches?[21] why is Rome said to possess more weighty authority than Carthage? why is it said to be "the root and womb of the Catholic Church" and "the See of Peter, the Chief Church (ecclesia principalis) whence the priestly (or episcopal) unity takes its source? Lastly, and this is a matter too often overlooked, why was Rome, on this as on so many other occasions right while its African and Asiatic rivals were in error? Whence, in fine, arose that conscious power of Rome whereby she would cut off from the Catholic unity so many great churches in the interests of orthodox tradition and Christian truth? In unwavering allegiance to his pet theory Professor Koch would explain away all these weighty and pertinent facts. But when too many inconvenient facts have to submit to a strained interpretation in order to fall into line with some preconceived theory or principle, which is not already certain on grounds either of reason or revelation, we begin to suspect the validity and correctness of the theory itself. Hence we reject Professor Koch's

[16] *Epp.*, 28, 53, 71.
[17] *Epp.*
[18] *Epp.*, 67, 66. Euseb. *H. E.*, VI, 43[16].
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] *Epp.*, 51[1], 40, 41, 44. Euseb., VII, 5.
[21] *Epp.*, 75[5], 51[14], 22. *Epp.*, 48[2], 44[3], 54[14].

view and maintain that the only legitimate explanation of the above facts is that Rome was recognized to possess a superior authority in the government of the Church. And in regard to the attitude of Cyprian to Rome on the question of heretical baptism, if we were to take his utterances for their literal worth at that critical situation we should be forced to assume that Cyprian went back on almost every position on Church discipline and government, acted on and taught and strictly maintained by him hitherto. Hence in all fairness to him, his hasty expressions about the absolute autonomy of each bishop must be explained in consonance with his previous administration and teaching—where he recognized the subjection of the bishop to the Catholic episcopate, to the councils, and to the general discipline of the Church. And if we must tone down these sweeping statements of his—made in the heat of controversy and when his episcopal pride smarted under the threat of excommunication—in one respect, why hesitate to bring them into line also with his previously expressed views on the eminent position of the See of Rome?

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A GREAT SOUTH AMERICAN PHILOLOGIST, RUFINO JOSÉ CUERVO

On the seventeenth of June, 1911, a telegram from the French capital announced to all parts of the Spanish speaking world that the eminent Colombian philologist and writer, Rufino José Cuervo, had departed for a better life. The health of the great scholar had been impaired for many years. A few months before his death his condition became suddenly critical, and the progress of the disease rapidly led him to the grave. He left unfinished his greatest work, the famous *Diccionario de construcción y régimen.*

The problem of the origin, nature and destiny of the world in which we live is the great problem which has inspired the philosophers of all ages and countries. With this problem, the science of language does not seem at first sight to have anything to do. Language is nothing after all but a collection of arbitrary signs of thought, each of which is attached, by a mental association, to the idea it represents, but has no necessary connection with this idea and depends, in its form and vitality, upon the will of men. And yet, the science of language has become, not only a valuable help to the study of history, but the principal means of rightful investigation of the deeds and fates of mankind during the ages which precede direct historical records. Philology is the handmaid of ethnology; it is the principle which guides us in the genealogy of nations. It has thrown an unexpected light on the primitive fraternity of peoples, on the origin of our civilization. More perhaps than physical science, it shows us, as in a mirror, the stereotyped past history of the world.

Like other sciences of nature, the science of language groped its way in the dark for many years before finding its natural path. The reason of this lies in the fact that in experimental sciences an immense number of facts have to be accumulated before the formulation of a law becomes possible. Just as

chemistry and astronomy had to pass through the stages of alchemy and astrology, so linguistics had to appear in a more or less naïve garb before its true nature was ascertained. And indeed we do not need to go far back in the history of philology to find hasty generalizations, baseless hypotheses, inconclusive deductions lying at the foundation of the monument of linguistics, which was then tottering as a house built on sand.

We easily realize that this should have been the case when we bear in mind the fact that, not more than one hundred years ago, etymological studies, which may be regarded as the very foundation of linguistics, did not possess as yet so much as a method, and were limited to the most naïve and unfounded assertions. Our ancestors were particularly fond of those etymologies in which one word is supposed to be derived from the first syllable of several other words, which, when taken together explain the meaning of the word now coined. In the preface to his *Apuntaciones sobre el lenguage bogotano,* Cuervo gives us, as an example of such a childish derivation, the Spanish word *alquiler* (house rent), which was explained by Venegas as derived from the Latin words *alius qui illam habet.* And at the dawn of the nineteenth century, Joseph de Maistre, in the work which constitutes his most lasting title to the admiration of posterity, his admirable *Soirées de Saint-Pétersbourg,* wants us to believe that the word *cadaver* was coined from the first syllable of each one of the three words of the Latin phrase *cara data vermibus.*

With the introduction of Sanskrit into the Western World, a special relationship was found to exist between the languages of Europe and those of Southern Asia, and this was the turning point in the history of philology, the true beginning of the linguistic science. Efforts were at once made in all countries to give to philological studies a scientific basis. Burnouf and Renan in France, Rask in Denmark, Whitney in this country, contributed to build into a consistent whole the immense mass of materials which preceding generations had heaped at random. But it is to Germany more than to any other nation that the science of language owes its marvelous development. There

Bopp, Pott, Grimm, the Schlegels, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Max Müller, undertook and carried to an end the systematic and philosophical treatment of the phenomena of universal language. Even nowadays it is towards Germany that we turn our eyes whenever we are in doubt as to the solution of a linguistic question. We all seem to agree with Whitney that Germany is, far more than any other country, the birthplace and home of the study of language.

It is, however, worthy of notice, although generally ignored, than Spain had the first worker in this line of philological research. The *Catálogo de las lenguas* of the Jesuit Hervas y Panduro, published in 1800, may well be put at the head of the learned works which have helped to give linguistics the rank of honor it now holds among experimental sciences. Before anybody else, Hervas foresaw the importance of Sanskrit in the comparative study of the classical languages. Max Müller credits him with one of the most beautiful discoveries in the field of linguistics, the fixation of the group of the Malayo-Polynesian languages.

Unhappily, Hervas had no followers among his own countrymen. His example was so completely forgotten that Mahn did not hesitate to write the following lines in his "Etymological Investigations":

"In the Romance languages, native etymologists have produced nothing worthy of mention; and it was reserved for a German, Professor Diez of Bonn, to give us, in his "Etymological Dictionary of the Romance Languages," more than could be expected from the French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese Academies taken together."

This charge was not devoid of foundation in the middle of the nineteenth century; but it could not have been formulated twenty-five years later. In the latter part of the century, there appeared in Bogota a group of eminent philologists, who soon attracted the attention of the whole world; it was as though the latent energies of the Spanish race had been suddenly aroused from a long slumber. Almost at the same time, there appeared Caro and Cuervo's *Gramática latina,* Cuervo and Manrique's

Muestra de un Diccionario, Isaza's *Diccionario de la Conjugación,* Uricoechea's *Alfabeto fonético* and *Gramática chibcha* and a host of other important works which directed the universal attention of scholars towards the Colombian capital. The love of philology was, as it were, in the air. And when, in 1887, Rafael Uribe Uribe published his learned *Diccionario abreviado de galicismos y provincialismos* no one would have believed that the man who thus appeared before the public for the first time would live one of the most agitated lives which history records and become the arm and the soul of two great political revolutions. It was at that time that the celebrated Venezuelan orator Cecilio Acosta compared Bogota to a German university and, full of enthusiasm, added that by the eminence of its professors and scholars, it could favorably compare with any European intellectual center.

The man who ranked foremost in this movement and soon became its acknowledged leader was Rufino José Cuervo. A scholar of European reputation at twenty-five, he soon became the star which guided Spanish philologists and pointed to them the right path. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, whose untimely death we all so vividly deplore, proclaimed him the greatest philologist that the Spanish race ever produced.

Born in Bogota on the nineteenth of September, 1844, Rufino José, son of the eminent writer and Vice-President of New Granada, Rufino Cuervo, received his early education in the College of San Bartholomé, directed by the Jesuits. The love of literature he constantly displayed during his life was no doubt due to the influence of these eminent teachers of his youth; but in so far as philology is concerned, he was, in the true sense of the word, a self-made man. The names of Bopp, Diez, Dozy, had not yet penetrated within the Andean region. Philology was still in its infancy and the fame of its creators had not yet spread through these distant regions of the world.

South America possessed, however, a work of great merit which was destined to exercise an immense influence upon the linguistic education of the Colombian youth. Bello's *Gramática de la lengua castellana* was read and commented upon

in all centers of learning and formed a part of the regular college curriculum. South American students had thus in their hands, not only a grammar, but a philosophical study of the Spanish tongue, such as perhaps no other language possesses. It is probably in perusing its pages, fraught with deep learning, that our young Colombian discovered his true vocation. A young man still, his plan of life was already made. Riches, honors, pleasures of the world were given up. He would renounce family ties, shun society life, avoid even frequent intercourse with friends. He would be dead to the world. For him only one thing existed, which he would strive to attain during his whole life and to which he would sacrifice everything else: Knowledge.

Cuervo, however, like many other great men, was not well provided with the goods of fortune and found himself face to face with the problem so brutally thrown before most of us by the necessities of life. With a deep sense of the situation, his father endeavored to inspire his children with a love for manual work. We read in the life of the Vice-President of New Granada that one evening he found his two sons, Rufino and Angel, digging in a corner of their property in the belief that a treasure lay concealed there. "Stop searching, my children," he said to them, "the only treasure you must look for is in your own work."

Several years later, we find the two brothers working side by side, introducing a new industry into their native country, for the brewery in which Rufino and Angel Cuervo spent many years of their youth was the first which was established in Colombia. And yet Cuervo was already a distinguished philologist, correcting the manuscript of his famous *Apuntaciones críticas* during the few moments now and then left to him by his arduous task. It is in this brewery that he began his famous *Diccionario de construcción y régimen,* and Carré, the Argentine, who visited him in Bogota, was not little surprised on seeing manuscripts and learned dissertations lying side by side with bottles and barrels.

At last the hour of liberty sounded. After ten years of

arduous work, Cuervo had succeeded in collecting a small fortune which enabled him to devote all his energies to his intellectual pursuits. Taking with him the immense mass of data gathered in Bogota, he set out for Paris, where he lived during the last thirty years of his life. He was then forty years of age.

At this time Cuervo was already a scholar of immense reputation. His first production on leaving the College of San Bartholomé had been a remarkable monograph on the letter Q, which appeared in the review *La Caridad,* of Bogota. There were published, in the following years, the *Gramática latina* (1867), written in collaboration with Miguel Antonio Caro, a work crowned by the Spanish Academy and declared the best of its kind ever written in Spanish; the *Muestra de un Diccionario de la lengua castellana,* written in collaboration with Gonzales Manrique (1871), in which could be already seen sparkles of the genius which was to inspire the *Diccionario;* and finally, the first edition of that monument of erudition and profound thought, the *Apuntaciones críticas sobre el lenguaje bogotano* (1872).

The *Apuntaciones* was inspired by the problem of the unity of language in South America. During the years that followed their independence, the new born republics, instead of imitating our country, strove with all their might to sever every possible connection with their brethren of the Old World. And this hatred of all connected with Spain was not limited to the political world; it involved also literature and language; it extended to the whole field of human activities. The formation of new national languages was advocated. The use of the letter Y in the spelling of Spanish words was considered antipatriotic and so great a writer as Juán María Gutiérrez solemnly rejected the diploma which the Spanish Academy had conferred upon him.

Cuervo foresaw the danger of such a mental attitude and he did all in his power to open the eyes of his countrymen. Doubtless he believed in the gradual evolution of language. "Language," he said, "must be studied like a living organism."

Like an organism, it must undergo continual changes. But these changes must not be arbitrary. They must be brought about by the natural course of events; and now that our language has acquired a definite form and possesses a rich literature, they may be almost indefinitely retarded.

For the time being, identity of language was, in his opinion, to be considered as the most powerful bond which could possibly unite South American nations with one another. It was the bulwark destined by Providence to make them strong, to enable them to work side by side and resist any possible foreign invasion. And, since Spain is the birthplace and home of the language used in South America, since to Spain belong the masterpieces which render its literature immortal, it is towards Spain that all South American writers must turn their eyes.

Cuervo did not, however, unconditionally approve all forms used in the peninsula and condemn those used in the New World. He showed that, in many cases, a good Spanish expression had been supplanted in Spain by a gallicism and had persisted in America in its original shape. And he imposed upon the Spanish speaking world the conclusion that if America must turn her eyes towards Spain, Spain must not altogether overlook America.

How effective was Cuervo's influence in bringing about a change in public opinion may well be gathered from the fact that there now exist, in all South American republics, academies of the language, modelled after the Spanish Academy and living in intimate brotherhood with the same. Not more than eleven years after the first edition of the *Apuntaciones,* there came out the following verses from the pen of a great Colombian poet:

"Her blood, and language, laws and creed,
Spain on America bestowed;
And such the tender care she showed,
Her child was soon a man indeed.

Whereon resolving to be free
And brook no other land as lord,

With Bolivar's immortal sword
He hewed his way to victory.

And how could Spain succumb in war
When so for valor she is known?
Because 'twas she had taught her own—
The conquered taught the conqueror.

Because 'twas she who dowered our line
With language, race, and story rare,
Her glory is our glory e'er
And her declining, our decline." [1]

Biographers of Immanuel Kant tell us that his life passed like the most regular of regular verbs. Of Cuervo's life in Paris, the same might be said. The pleasures which so many seek in the modern Babylon did not alter his program of life. After his daily communion in the Spanish chapel of the *Avenue Friedland* he would retire to his apartment and nothing could divert his attention from his philological studies. The turmoil

[1] Ricardo Carrasquilla, Bogota, 1883. For the English translation of these verses, I am indebted to my friend, Dr. Thomas Walsh.
The original Spanish verses are as follows:

"Raza, lengua, leyes, culto
A América con cariño
Dio España; y el mundo niño
En breve fue mundo adulto

Y se quiso emancipar
Y hubo lucha porfiada
Y de Bolívar la espada
Logró rápida triunfar.

Porque España ha sucumbido
A pesar de su valor?
Porque aprendió el vencedor
Las lecciones del vencido.

Porque ella nos dio su lengua
Su sangre, su grande historia;
Y su gloria es nuestra gloria,
Y su mengua es nuestra mengua."

of the great city was for him as non-existent. The noise of the Boulevards, the serenades, the operas, the gay, enticing music, did not reach his ear. His eye was not attracted by the splendors before which stare noble and plebeian alike. Amid the human swarm, he remained a hermit. His only distractions were occasional visits from South Americans on a journey through the Old World. If his visitors, as was often the case, were young men with a taste for literature, he would invariably encourage their timid productions. A kind of intuition enabled him to discover youthful talents. It was he, who, in 1893, published the first volume of verses of a youth who was destined to become the glory of Colombian literature, Antonio Gómez Restrepo.

In Paris, Cuervo produced new editions of his *Apuntaciones críticas,* and published the first two volumes of his *Diccionario de construcción y régimen de la lengua castellana.*

The nineteenth century has been called with justice the century of the great dictionaries. It is the century of Littré and Murray, of Webster and Mistral. The name of Rufino José Cuervo may well put by the side of these great names, and the monument he has erected to the Spanish language, although never completed, is, in some respects, without a rival.

It was not simply a dictionary of the language which Cuervo intended to write. It was, says Gómez Restrepo, a work destined to solve all the problems of Spanish syntax, and to give in each particular case, as regards construction and agreement, all that can be gleaned from a thorough study of the classics. Many articles of the Dictionary have the character of extensive and finished monographs, for example, the article on the preposition " a," which filled the famous philologist Darmesteter with admiration.

The appearance of the first volume of the Dictionary, in 1886, was an event in the scientific world. *Le Temps,* of Paris, at once described the volume as the most perfect work of lexicography ever written in any language.

The second volume, which extends as far as the letter D, was published in 1893. In the year 1901, the representatives

of the International American Congress, held in Mexico, solemnly agreed to recommend to their respective governments the subscription of a sum of 210,000 francs to cover the expense of the issue of the unpublished volumes of Cuervo's Dictionary.

Unhappily, the work was never completed. There is left a huge mass of materials; but death did not allow the athlete who brought them together to animate them with the inspiration of his genius. Like Pascal's *Pensées,* the unfinished monument remains as a majestic ruin which no sacrilegious hand will ever touch.

Cuervo's long residence in Paris did not in any way diminish his love for his native country; works published in Bogota occupied a favorite shelf in his library. With the greatest interest, he always followed the land of his birth in her political struggles, in her greatness, and in her faults. He shared her glory, he shared her sorrows. And when there came for Colombia the great trial, when his country hardly recovering from a long and bloody war, saw her territory dismembered, he offered his whole fortune to preserve her national integrity. His generous sacrifice was of no avail; a great international crime had been perpetrated.

During the last years of his life, Cuervo received many proofs of the universal esteem in which he was held. He was offered the cross of the Legion of Honor by the French government. The University of Berlin conferred upon him, at the same time as upon the German Emperor, the degree of Doctor of laws. When the fateful news of his death reached his native country, the Colombian Academy, of which he was one of the founders, honored his memory in an extraordinary session.

His whole country mourned his death. Every Colombian, from the great writer who follows his precepts to the schoolboy who learns to utter his name, cherishes his memory and calls himself his disciple.

LOUIS PERRIER.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Immigration and Labor: The Economic Aspects of European Immigration to the United States. By Isaac A. Hourwich, Ph. D. 544 pages. G. P. Putnam's Sons: New York, 1912.

According to Dr. Hourwich, an injustice is done to immigrants when they "are blamed for unemployment, female and child labor, the introduction of machinery, unsafe coal mines, lack of organization among wage-earners, congestion in great cities, industrial crises, inability to gain a controlling interest in stock corporations, pauperism, crime, insanity, race suicide, gambling, the continental Sunday, parochial schools, atheism, political corruption, municipal misrule" and finally the McNamara conspiracy. Moreover, the distinction between the "desirable" immigration from northern and western Europe and the "undesirable" immigration from southern and eastern Europe, as made by the immigration restrictionists, is not in his opinion valid upon economic grounds. The arguments that are now used against the immigration of the undesirables" by those who would restrict immigration were formerly used against those who are now classed as "desirables." The Irish and German immigrants of the middle of the last century were objected to by the Know Nothings partly because of their low standard of living which enabled them to replace native American labor. Dr. Hourwich reasons that the standard of living is the result of the wages received rather than vice versa and that the native Americans could not have risen in the economic scale if European laborers had not come in to take the poorer paid positions. Wages in the factory towns of New England were extremely low, hours were extremely long, and the standard of living among the workers was extremely unsatisfactory before the coming of the Irish and the Germans and when the bulk of the labor was native American.

Race suicide among native Americans is not due to the competition of European immigrants with a lower standard of living since the same phenomenon is observable where this cause is not present. "In the Australian Commonwealth, with her vast continent as yet

unsettled, with a purely Anglo-Saxon population and practically no immigration, the decline of the birth-rate has been as rapid as among Americans of native stock . . . . the decrease in the proportion of children began in the United States as early as 1810. The native birth-rate has declined with the increase of the urban population and the relative decrease of the number of farmers."

To the contention of the restrictionist that unskilled labor should be excluded and only skilled mechanics admitted it is objected that in the industrial army the commissioned and non-commissioned officers must not outnumber the privates. "If every immigrant were a skilled mechanic, most of them would nevertheless have to accept employment as unskilled laborers. The special skill of the engineer would give him no superiority at loading coal over a common laborer, nor would the ability to read Shakespeare in the vernacular assure higher wages to a mule-driver."

The economic reasoning is generally sound and the book is one well worth reading for those who wish to know the other side of the immigration restriction question. The work is largely in answer to the Reports of the Immigration Commission.

FRANK O'HARA.

L'Egoisme Humain: Ses Manifestations Individuales, Familiales Sociales, par A. Lugan, prêtre-missionaire d'Albi. Pp. ix + 167. A. Tralin, Paris, 1912.

Père Lugan has given in this little book a convincing and a convicting study of human selfishness. Part one and part two devoted respectively to the individual and to the family hold the mirror up to nature in one way or another for all readers. Part three, almost as extensive as the other two together, is concerned with the operation of this predominating vice in the wider social relations.

Selfishness, says the author, is at the bottom of the derangements in the social system. Men flee civic duties because they are burdensome and may entail the lowering of social rank. Lucrative and honorable positions are the goal. The rich recognize no obligations to the less fortunate. The social sense is lacking in organizations for social relief, trades unions and co-operative societies. Trades unions especially are often of proud and intolerant spirit,

looking only to their own interests without regard to the rights of others. Unless a growth of neighborly love modifies such tendencies, the state which should be the moderator of social forces, will find itself powerless. The professional politician is especially blameworthy and the ordinary citizen is not without guilt. If democracy is to succeed there is need of an education which will prepare men to exercise power.

Economic life also owes its present evils not alone to the self-seeking of the capitalist, although that is a very important cause, but as well to the selfishness of the laborer. "When King Augustus has drunk, all Poland is inebriate" in the opinion of the capitalist. The merchant who has come up from the ranks of labor forgets his former estate, adulterates his merchandise and endangers the public health for the sake of gain; and even the laborer himself is convinced to his own satisfaction that in the economic world there is no cause but labor's. Unless the wall of selfishness that hedges the individual and the social group can be broken down, little advancement can be expected in the harmony of human relations. The law of love, Christianity, can do this, and will, Père Lugan hopes, be more and more effective with the progress of time.

FRANK O'HARA.

L'Ouvrière, par Mlle. Jules Simon, préface de M. Etienne Lamy, de l'Académie Française. 1 vol. in-16 de la collection *Science et Religion.* Prix: 0 fr. 60. Bloud et Cie., Paris, Pp. 64.

This brochure is writen by the grand-daughter of Jules Simon, French statesman and author, who a half century ago published under the same title a work which is still widely read. It was not a change in the laws but a change in manners and customs, in the opinion of the grandfather, that was required to heal the deep wounds in the social body. This change was to come about as a result of the general spread of intelligence through the public schools. The grand-daughter, on the other hand, looks to Christianity for the cure. The little book does not pretend to inform the workingwoman as to the most efficient means of increasing her pay or of shortening her hours, but contents itself with the certainly not less important task of encouraging her to do her individual best.

There are short chapters on the workshop, the return home, the spending of Sunday, confession, communion, reading, suffering, charity, friendship, love, and finally there is a list of addresses of societies, restaurants, homes, furnished rooms and sanatoria in the principal cities of France for the use of the women who is working or traveling.

FRANK O'HARA.

Le conflict de la morale et de la Sociologie, par Simon Deploige, President de l'Institut Superieur de Philosophie, Professeur de la Faculté de Droit à l'Université Catholique de Louvain. Bruxelles, A. DeWitt. (Paris, Félix Alcan.)

Is there an irreducible opposition between the science of ethics and that of sociology? Yes, have replied M. Lévy-Brühl of the University of Paris, and his fellow-philosopher of the Sorbonne, M. Durkheim. The theses of these gentlemen, which they embodied, some years ago, in two books from their respective pens, and have continued to disseminate in their academic courses and occasional publications is, briefly, that sociology, being a science of what *is,* while ethics, *la morale,* is a science of the ideal, of what *ought* to be, the two are incompatible, unless the latter reforms itself, by abandoning its *a priorism,* in order to reconstruct itself from the data of facts which sociology will furnish it. The present dissertation strikes the shields of these two writers fairly in the centre. M. Deploige first examines the Durkheim conception of sociology, and of its relation to the science of morals. Then he traces the origin of social realism to its German sources through French developments. He next proceeds to show that *la morale* between which and his sociology, there exists, according to M. Lévy-Brühl, an irreconcilable conflict, is *la morale* which sprang from the philosophy of Rousseau, and was developed by the eclectic and spiritual line of writers, such as Cousin, Jouffroy, Damiron, Jules Simon, Janet and Caro who have attempted from the notion of the individual to deduce by reason alone rules of conduct and principles of social organization that must be valid everywhere and always. Between this ethics and sociology, there is, admits M. Deploige, a conflict. But to take this school as the only representative of moral philosophy is the glaring mistake which M. Lévy-

Brühl has committed. The charge of *a priorism* advanced against this system, Mr. Deploige demonstrates, cannot be made against the system of St. Thomas and the other scholastics, whose method M. Lévy-Brühl himself, unwittingly, imitates.

La Morale d'après Saint Thomas et les Theologiens Scolastiques. Memento theorique et Guide bibliographique. A. De la Barre, Professeur a l'Institut Catholique. Paris, Gabriel Beauchesne. Pp. xxv + 152.

We have awakened to the fact that the student who would obtain a knowledge of moral theology properly adapted to the treatment of numberless grave questions which the present conditions of the social and economic orders have brought to the foreground must master the fundamental principles of ethics as they have been laid down by the great scholastics and their interpreters of later times. But the scholastics did not treat moral philosophy as a separate subject distinct from theology, moral or dogmatic. The student who, like every student worthy of the name, desires to go to the fountain-heads as he follows his text-book of ethics, finds that he cannot turn to this or that work to read St. Thomas or Suarez handling comprehensively this or that ethical subject. For one question he may have to consult, sometimes, half a dozen different places in the *Summa,* now an article, now an *ad secundum,* now an entire *Quaestio,* and he will have a similar task in the case of other authorities. The volume before us is intended to obviate this difficulty. Its scope embraces the main elements of fundamental ethics—the existence and nature of morality; the good, the end; laws, eternal, natural, positive; conscience. Each topic, definition and thesis is briefly exposed, analytically and synthetically. Concurrently copious and accurate references are given to St. Thomas, and the other classic theologians as well as to the more modern writers of acknowledged authority. Besides, a well chosen bibliography is added containing the names of all the works consulted and cited in the course of the study. A timely, useful work.

Socialism from the Christian Standpoint. Ten Conferences by Father Bernard Vaughan, S. J. Pp. 389. New York, The Macmillan Co.

The course of six lectures on Socialism delivered during the Lent of 1912, in St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York, by the eminent Jesuit preacher, Father Bernard Vaughan was highly appreciated, not alone by the audience which listened to them, but also by the secular press. These six lectures, together with four others, are now published in one volume which may be recommended as a very suitable book to place in the hands of any person in need of an antidote to socialism.

The subject is treated in an easy, popular, rather than a scientific, fashion. And it is not the economics of socialism, but the materialistic philosophy and anti-religious principles which the historic party has from its birth consistently advocated, that Father Vaughan denounces as diametrically opposed to the truths and institutions of Christianity. He says: "Again, I must insist that I am speaking of socialism as a living movement, 'as a philosophy of human progress and as a theory of social evolution' and not as an economic proposition only. There is nothing anti-Christian in the idea that all capital may be owned by the community if it can be lawfully acquired from the individuals and managed for the common good. If socialists could show that all private productive property could be made the property of the state without the violation of any individual right, and managed without danger to man's spiritual or temporal welfare, there are many earnest Catholics who might join hands with them on the question of common ownership. But this is not the question I am discussing. It is socialism as a going concern, as a practical movement, as an energetic propaganda, as an actual energizing enterprise, as a new ethical view of life that I am considering. And I say that historically its cause is inextricably bound up with anti-Christian postulates; its ideal is the State and it worships the State as its maker, as its god."

In his preface Father Vaughan deprecatingly requests that as we peruse his pages we would remember that we are listening to the spoken rather than the written word; that he does not want "to talk like a book." This request was unnecessary. The reader will be dull of fancy who will read these pages without feeling that

he is in the presence of a graceful, forcible speaker intent upon persuading and convincing his audience.

Epîtres de Saint Paul: Vol. II, L'Epître aux Romains, by C. Toussaint, Professeur à l'Université Catholique de Lille. Paris, Gabriel Beauchesne, 1913.

Dr. Toussaint does a remarkable thing in these Leçons d'Exégèse: he makes the epistle to the Romans clear, almost limpid. And moreover, he is readable—no light praise for a commentator. The method of exegesis he adopted is, we think, the one that best makes for clearness. Deserting the common plan of explaining the text verse by verse, which generally wearies the student and prevents him from seeing the wood for the trees, he takes up the epistle by sections, by its natural divisions of subject, and gives himself room to expose the apostle's ideas and to show their connection and development. He appends as footnotes to his translation of the epistle such elucidations of verbal difficulties and minor matters as would divert the main current of the thought. Very familiar with the chief commentators, particularly the modern Germans, he does not overload his page with their various interpretations; he selects those most illuminating and generally gives good reasons for the interpretation he himself prefers. His chief interest lies not in the *minutiae* of the text, but in its leading ideas. Here, in his firm grasp and clear exposition of doctrine, we recognize the trained scholastic theologian; while in his patient, objective study of St. Paul's thought, which he does not try to pour into scholastic moulds, we see a true exegete, one who does not allow himself to forget that St. Paul lived before Augustine and Aquinas and was contemporary to Rabbinism of the first century and not the Protestant or Catholic and scholasticism of the sixteenth. Dr. Toussaint has evidently made a close study of systematic biblical theology, with the aid of Holtzmann, Beychlag, Reuss and Prat. He learns from all, but thinks out his own view of St. Paul's meaning and occasionally lights upon an original interpretation. The result is a work of ripe scholarship, of penetration and of remarkably well-balanced judgment.

His aim is not apologetic; but the conclusion of his study, which

he hints at in his preface and leaves the reader of the commentary to infer for himself, is that the epistle to the Romans turns out to be after all, a very orthodox, Roman Catholic document. His work confirms us in the view that careful, sound, objective exegesis is more convincing to non-Catholics than controversial or speculative theology. Productions of unbiased and scholarly exegesis, like this, would certainly be, for many minds, our best apologetic. It is being recognized more and more clearly that the theology of the Reformers was based on an exegesis that was hasty, controversial, very lacking in historical insight and averse to the traditions which threw a reflected light upon the ideas of the apostolic age. The conditions of current interpretation were wanting: which does not prevent us from seeing that this exegesis, nevertheless, had insight into some truths that had been somewhat obscured.

We have some reserves to make. The Introduction, as a whole, is rather commonplace, too text-bookish, not personal enough: it does injustice to the commentary that follows, leading us to expect to find a rather humdrum piece of work. He recounts chronologically the opinions of leading exegetes on the occasion and aims of the epistle. This is well enough, but the opinions are given too summarily to be really enlightening; a clear exposition of the view he takes himself, would, we think, have been far more useful to the student and should at least have been added. Again, we judge that the reader would derive the general impression that St. Paul's theology was less extensive and, except on certain points, less developed than the facts warrant one in believing. This flows from exaggerating the importance of Romans. The epistle contains, without doubt, the apostle's deepest, most original, most intimate thought; but controversy gave this doctrine undue prominence. True, Romans is not directly controversial, but it is the fruit of controversy, the ripened reflection which Paul, in the calm succeeding his victory over the Judaizers, gave to the great problems involved, justification, grace and law, the call of the Gentiles and the rejection of the Jews. His teaching on these deep questions was essential to the life of Christianity; but it occupies small space in his epistles, except in Galatians and Romans, and, outside the few years of controversy, we have no reason for believing it was specially prominent in his apostolic preaching.

This is the second volume of Dr. Toussaint's commentary. In

the first, which we regret to have missed, he treats Thessalonians, Galatians, and Corinthians. In a third volume, he proposes to explain the epistle of the captivity, together with the pastorals and Hebrews. Diffuseness is not a fault of his, but we scarcely think he can do justice to these remaining epistles in less than two volumes. If the rest of his commentary equals this volume, then we shall have in it and in Father Prat's *Théologie de St. Paul* the two works which the student needs for an initiation into the teachings of the great Doctor of the Gentiles.

JOHN T. FENLON.

Sociology in its Psychological Aspects. Charles A. Elwood, Ph. D. New York and London. D. Appleton and Co., 1912. Pp. xiv + 417.

This work, as the author maintains in his preface, is an "introduction to the psychological theory of society." "Accordingly, the book does not aim to furnish a comprehensive view of sociological theory, but only of that section of it which rests immediately upon psychology." The task of the Sociologist is at bottom a psychological one. He must explain social processes in terms of stimulus and response. (P. 81.)

The psychology which lies at the basis of sociology is a functional rather than a structural one, *i. e.*, a psychology of mental powers rather than states of consciousness. Consciousness itself from this point of view is a motor phenomenon and intimately connected with the Katabolic processes of the organism—not of all such activities, but only of those that involve new adjustments to the environment. Therefore our natural tendencies and established reflexes must be products of natural selection in the process of evolution. (P. 99.) The mind is thus a selective and evaluating activity.

As life itself evolved by a process of interaction and could not have been the affair of isolated organisms, so also society did not result from the "coming together of individuals developed in isolation." (P. 125.) Control over the process of getting food led to the formation of groups and the elimination by natural selection of isolated individuals. The other element in the forma-

tion of society is the birth and care of the offspring. The further development of society is brought about by instincts—the innate psychophysical dispositions that have to do with nutrition, reproduction, self-defence, imitation, acquisitiveness, self-assertion, self-abasement, etc. Instinct rather than desire is the real force underlying social development. Desires are complexes of certain cognitions, instincts and feelings. Dr. Ellwood thinks that to use the word desire to designate the primary force of social life would lend too much weight to the feeling element—that is pleasure and pain. Pleasure and pain (feeling) are indeed factors but only secondary ones in social development. Intellect enters into social development in its later stages. It affords a clear understanding of social problems and thus makes possible their solution and the intelligent striving of society to its highest perfection. Tarde and Baldwin err by excess in making imitation the fundamental force in the development of society. It must, however, be reckoned with. It is the chief means of propagating *acquired* uniformities in human society and makes for social uniformity. (P. 299 ff.) Adam Smith and Professor Giddings have advocated a sympathy theory of social life. But they too have mistaken a mere instrument in the development of social life for its basis.

Viewing Dr. Ellwood's work as a whole we may say that it is impartially written, full of excellent references, and suggestive of what may be done in Social Psychology. It is, however, of a speculative character. It gives us a theory of society that attempts to recognize all the factors in its development, but these factors, however reasonable they may appear, are only conjectures. The empirical evidence that they are realities is lacking.

THOMAS VERNER MOORE, C. S. P

The Apocalypse of St. John, by J. J. L. Ratton: New York, Benziger Bros, 1912.

The author of this commentary, who is a physician, retired as Lieut.-Colonel from the East Indian Medical Service, has devoted many years to the study of the Apocalypse, and now gives us his third published work on that mysterious and fascinating book of

Holy Scripture. Dr. Ratton sees the Apocalypse as a vast prophetic panorama of the Church's struggles from the apostolic age to the last, when

> **human Time**
> **Shall fold its eyelids and the human sky**
> **Be gathered like a scroll.**

The seven churches to which the apostle St. John writes, according to our interpreter, are symbols, each in turn, of the Church universal in its seven ages. The church of Ephesus, for example, symbolizes the Church in its first or apostolic age. The Church in the sixth age, which is our own, is symbolized by the Church of Philadelphia, that is, of "brotherly love," the characteristic of the present age. He accepts here the interpretation and also the prophecy of the Venerable Holzhauser who, two centuries ago, "seems to have been inspired when he foretold that a saintly pope and a powerful Christian monarch would appear in the beginning of this age and help the revival of the persecuted Church." The saintly pope is Pius IX, the Christian monarch, the Queen-Empress Victoria. "What the Roman Empire did to pave the way for Christianity, this, and much more, has the British Empire done for the Church in the Victorian era. The spirit of civil and religious liberty lives on in the descendants of the great Queen-Empress, who now reign in more than half the kingdoms of the world, *e. g.*, the British Empire, the German Empire, the Russian Empire, Denmark, Greece, Holland, Norway, and Spain." The "open door" which St. John (II, 8) saw before the Church of Philadelphia, is evident in our era. The interpreter instances the growth of the Church in America, which, according to statistics he cites on the authority of the *New York Journal,* increased from three million adherents in 1856 to between thirteen and fifteen millions in 1908.

We have not space to give the main outlines of Dr. Ratton's interpretation, except to say that to him the millenium signifies the middle ages, from the sixth to the sixteenth century, during which the persecution of the Church ceased and Satan was (in a sense) chained, until loosed from prison at the outbreak of the Protestant Reformation. In almost every detail of the Apocalypse Dr. Ratton sees a prophecy; and in the records of history, which he has most diligently searched out, he finds the fulfilment in a corresponding event.

The commentary is very erudite, the leisurely production of the retired British gentleman-scholar pursuing his favorite study rather than the severe work of the professional scholar. As to the correctness of his interpretation, *quisque abundet in sensu suo;* but we fear, though he brings together many remarkable rapprochements of prophecy and event, that not many will have equal confidence with the author that St. John's meaning has been laid bare. We trust that Lieut-Col. Ratton's works on the Apocalypse, besides the good they accomplish themselves, will have the merit of inspiring English and American Catholic scholars, who have shown no eagerness to unravel the difficulties of the Apocalypse, to examine the theories which seek to explain the inspired book by the light of St. John's own times and the nature of apocalyptic literature. This is a work that needs to be done and is the necessary basis for a less subjective interpretation than Dr. Ratton gives us.

JOHN F. FENLON.

Nestorius et La Controverse Nestorienne. Par Martin Jugie des Augustins de l'Assomption. Paris, Gabriel Beauchesne, 1912. Pp. 326.

The long standing controversy regarding the justice of the sentence of excommunication pronounced against Nestorius at the Council of Ephesus and the respective merits of the accused and his principal opponent St. Cyril of Alexandria, received a fresh impulse by the publication of Loofs' *Nestoriana* in 1905. Loofs expressed himself as an ardent champion of the orthodoxy of Nestorius; but his arguments failed to carry conviction to many critics. Loofs, however, succeeded in arousing great curiosity by calling attention to a work of Nestorius, supposed to be lost, which was still in existence in Syriac. After its discovery several copies were made of this work, one of which found its way into the hands of Mr. Bethune-Baker, who, pending the publication of the original text, drew up a defence of Nestorius (*Nestorius and his Teaching,* Cambridge, 1908) in which he not only acquits Nestorius of the charge of Nestorianism but goes so far as to say that the Nestorian church has never maintained the error condemned at Ephesus. "He (Nestorius) did not think," he says,

" of two distinct persons joined together, but of a single Person who combined in Himself the two distinct things (*substances*) Godhead and manhood with their characteristics (*natures*) complete and intact though united in Him." (P. 87.) Baker's work was the basis of much subsequent discussion. The original text of the document, which Baker entitled the " Bazaar of Heraclides," was published by Bedjan as *Le Livre d'Héraclide de Damas,* Paris, 1910. A French translation by Nau appeared the same year. On the basis of this text and translation, Fr. Jugie now undertakes a re-examination of the entire question. The Book of Heraclides purports to be a pseudonymous *Apologia pro Vita Sua* from the pen of Nestorius himself. As it could hardly be looked on as affording sufficient evidence to settle a question of such importance as that affecting the entire Nestorian controversy, Fr. Jugie wisely extends the field of his investigation to all the other works of Nestorius and to the contemporary documents dealing with his condemnation. In a series of ten chapters the Life and Teaching of Nestorius are discussed and analysed with the view not only of showing how he was regarded by his contemporaries, but of making clear what his doctrinal prepossessions were. There were many hostile factors and elements prominent at the Council of Ephesus, and they may have had an influence greater or less on the personal fortunes of Nestorius, but without being neglected, these elements are all shown to have been secondary to the great doctrinal issue at stake. On this, the primary and essential cause of the conflict, the learned Assumptionist makes it clear that Nestorius cannot be adjudged innocent. One philosophical principle, " every complete nature is a person," vitiated his entire theological system. This principle and its application to Catholic theology were not original with Nestorius, but he must take the blame for the error associated with his name, and for having infected others with the same view, which as Fr. Jugie contends, is still maintained in the Nestorian church. The work is a good exemplification of critical analysis applied to history. It is to be hoped that the temperate estimate of the character of Nestorius no less than the elaborate proof of heterodoxy will aid in settling some phases of the Nestorian question.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

L'Idéalisme franciscain spirituel au XIV^e siècle. Étude Sur Ubertin de Casale. Par Frédégand Callaey, O. M. Cap. (Recueil de Travaux publiés par les Members des Conferences d'Histoire et de Philologie, Université de Louvain). Louvain, Bureau du Recueil, 1911. Pp. xxvii + 280.

Two currents of thought disturbed the Church during the thirteenth and fourteenth century. One is traceable to the efforts of reformers, who found in avarice and luxury the source of the prevailing moral and spiritual degeneration and who insistently advocated, as the way to better things, the practice of poverty. Poverty, however, did not always denote the same thing in the mouths of its various champions. St. Francis of Assisi, not only exemplified what true poverty was, but saved it from the discredit into which fanaticism might have brought it. Some of his followers, the spirituals, declaring that property-holding was incompatible with evangelical perfection, disrupted the order which he had founded. In the same period discussions of a political as well as academic character arose regarding the relations of church and state, which received force and vehemence from the transfer of the papacy to Avignon. Ubertino da Casale was a prominent figure in both controversies. The author of this memoir has attempted to settle two questions in regard to his career which have been a subject of much discussion. What was his attitude on the question of poverty? and what part did he play in the struggle between Pope John XXII and Lewis the Bavarian? Notwithstanding the copiousness of Franciscan literature, the subject does not lend itself to a ready and easy solution. Much of the life of Ubertino is still hidden in obscurity, but his own writings, especially the *Arbor Vitae,* have afforded Fr. Callaey sufficient evidence for the conclusion that neither in character nor teaching can Ubertino be regarded as a true disciple of the Poverello. On the other point, he seems inclined, contrary to the generally accepted view, to exonerate Ubertino from responsibility for the diatribes of Lewis against the Pope and from complicity in the composition of the works of Marsiglio of Padua. The study throws much light on an obscure period in the history of the Church, and deserves the highest praise for the painstaking and scientific spirit in which it is conceived and executed.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Etudes de critique et d'histoire religieuse. Troisième Série: Les Fêtes de Noel et de l'Epiphanie; Les Origines du Culte des Saints (les Saints sont-ils les successeurs des Dieux); Les Origines de la Fête et du Dogma de l'Immaculée Conception; La Question du Meurtre Rituel chez les Juifs. Par L'Abbé E. Vacandard. Librairie Victor Lecoffre. J. Gabalda & Cie. Paris, 1912. 12mo., pp. 377.

These four liturgical studies are more elaborate than the short essays which usually compose a collection of this kind. They are, with the exception of the last, exhaustive studies of interesting topics which are usually dealt with piecemeal. The first contains nothing new in regard to the early celebration of the Christmas festival, and the Feast of the Epiphany. Much that is of interest regarding the solemnities observed on these occasions makes this essay a small treatise on one liturgical cycle. The second and longest essay deals with the theories of Saintyves and Lucius regarding the veneration accorded to saints and martyrs in the early church. These authors, whose views have a counterpart in the opinions of Fraser, represent the saints and martyrs as simply stepping into the shoes of the deposed local and domestic pagan deities, and receiving the honors and attributes of the latter. Vacandard has cleverly demonstrated in this study how little ground there is for such assertions. The third essay is especially meritorious in dealing with the history of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception in the Middle Ages. The fourth is a protest against the erroneous and hurtful assertion that the Jews are guilty of the crime of "ritual murders."

PATRICK J. HEALY.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Letter of the Cardinal Secretary of State to the Rector of the Catholic University, Washington, D. C.

THE VATICAN,

December 10, 1912.

Dear Monsignor Shahan:—

I was delighted to learn from your recent letter that the Catholic University of America, so wisely and zealously directed by you, has entered on such a successful year. The increase over the preceding year is truly remarkable and gives bright hopes for the future.

Considering the hold the University has already taken in the Great Republic of the West, and the well merited confidence it is inspiring in the minds of both lay and ecclesiastical aspirants to higher education and culture, I have no doubt that its influence on the spread of the Catholic Faith, of Catholic principles and ideals throughout the country, will be of the utmost moment and of immense benefit.

It is of the greatest importance that the clergy, as far as possible, avail themselves of the opportunities afforded them by the Catholic University of acquiring that higher education that will fit them, in a certain sense, for the arduous labors of their very special Apostolate.

The Holy Father most cordially bestows the Apostolic Benediction on you, Very Rev. Rector, on the Members of the Staff, and on all who attend the University. Wishing all every success,

Yours very sincerely in J. C.,

[Signed] R. CARD. MERRY DEL VAL.

VERY REV. MGR. TH. J. SHAHAN, Rector,
Catholic University of America.
Washington, D. C.

Gibbons Memorial Hall.

The Gibbons Memorial Hall, which is now completed, is situated on the grounds of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. The length of the building runs parallel with the Bunker Hill Road, and is placed midway between the present main entrance to the grounds and Albert Hall.

The building proper consists of a central tower and two wings running from same, in the directions east and west.

The architectural style of the building is a modified form of the Tudor or Early Perpendicular Gothic, which, on account of its practicability, effectiveness, and comparatively low cost, seems particularly well adapted to the requirements of University buildings.

The exterior is built of Port Deposit Granite laid in irregular ashlar with square beds and joints, and the trimmings of Indiana Buff Limestone.

The Central Tower (including the four turrets) is fifty-two feet eight inches square, and seventy-five feet high above grade level. The basement will be fitted up with all accommodations and conveniences for visiting athletic teams. The main hall occupies the height of the first and second stories (about twenty-two feet in the clear) and will be used for receptions, recreation-room for the students, offices, etc. On the side facing the campus is the main entrance, reached by a flight of steps seventeen feet wide. Inside of the main entrance doorway is a vestibule, enclosed by carved oak panelled screen work and leaded glass lights. On either side are alcoves containing seat-benches, etc. On the side of hall opposite the main entrance, is a large fireplace and Caen stone mantel of elaborate gothic design. The mantel is over twenty feet high. In a part of the wall space on either side of same, are two large twelve light mullioned and traceried windows, filled in with specially designed, leaded Cathedral and Venetian glass work. In the centre of each light, and in glass decoration, are twelve shields, each containing an emblem of one of the apostles.

In the center of the other two wall spaces or sides of hall, are double doors leading into the corridors of wings. On either side of these doors are handsomely carved and traceried stalls with open-work canopies, all of selected quartered oak. On the back panel of each stall division (sixteen in number) will be placed flat

bronze tablets in the shape of decorative shields and inscribed with the names of the "Benefactors" of this Memorial building.

The ceiling of hall is richly coffered and moulded and from five of the main panellings will hang, specially designed Gothic electric light fixtures of fire-gilt bronze. That portion of the walls above the top lines of stalls and canopies over other openings will be covered with Spanish leather of a character forming a suitable background for decorative paintings, etc. One magnificent oil painting has already been presented by the Hon. John D. Crimmins of New York. The subject is "The Death of Leo XII." It was painted by Marquise de Wentworth and is of particular interest in that the figures are all portraits. The floor is of Siena marble mosaic with a marble mosaic border of Gothic design. The ground plan of this main hall is octagonal. In the four angle wall-spaces, are doors leading into the turrets; two of these contain stairways and the other two are fitted up for offices.

The three upper stories of tower are arranged for students' rooms (single and en suite) with six of the turret rooms having baths, lavatories, etc. From the central corridor on the top floor, access is obtained to the flat roofs of the two wings.

The basement of wing running east, is fitted up as a chapel, complete in all its appointments and for the special use of students and visitors. It has accommodations for about 450 people. The corresponding basement in the west wing will be used as a gymnasium, recreation room, store-rooms, etc.

The three upper floors of each wing are divided into rooms for students, single and en suite. In the west wing are the administrators' rooms and offices. Each student's room has hot and cold running water, built-in wardrobes, electric light and suitable furnishings.

Each wing is forty feet wide and one hundred and four feet ten inches in length. Ample toilet facilities, store-rooms and other conveniences have been provided for. There are separate entrances to each wing from the campus.

The entire building throughout is of fireproof construction. All floors and the roof are of re-enforced concrete. All partitions are of terra-cotta blocks or mackite. Staircases are of iron with marble treads. Halls and corridors are laid with Welsh quarry tiles. Lavatory partitions, wainscot, etc., are of pink Tennessee marble. All trim, doors and woodwork generally are of selected quartered

oak, finished with a rich gray-green tint or stain. The hardware is of heavy, plain bronze. The windows are glazed with leaded plate glass, quarry pattern. The roofs are surrounded by a crenellated masonry parapet.

The total length of the building is two hundred and sixty-two feet four inches.

Above the main entrance is the inscription, "Gibbons Memorial Hall" and in the oriel windows above is a canopied niche, which will contain an heroic size statue of the Cardinal.

Other carvings about the building yet remain to be done, such as the lower projecting base of the oriel windows.

The bronze outside standard lights at main entrance stoop and the hanging bracket lights over entrances to wings, are specially designed for this building and are the gift of Mr. M. J. Gibbons of Dayton, Ohio.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul. The Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, patronal feast of the Faculty of Theology, was celebrated by a High Mass in the Chapel of Gibbons Hall, on Saturday, January 25. The celebrant of the Mass was Very Reverend Patrick J. Healy, Dean of the Faculty of Theology; the preacher was Reverend Doctor James J. Fox.

Death of Mr. Maurice J. Shahan. On December 14 a solemn Requiem Mass was celebrated in Divinity Chapel for the repose of the soul of the late Maurice J. Shahan, father of the Right Reverend Rector. The funeral was attended by representatives of the faculties of theology, philosophy, letters, law and science, and during the last month appropriate resolutions of condolence were passed by the various academic bodies and by the student societies of the University.

Shahan Debating Society. Preliminary debates are being held in preparation for the Annual Debating Contest, which will take place this month.

Leo XIII Lyceum. The Leo XIII Lyceum has elected the following officers for the year: President, V. P. Dooley; Vice-President, S. E. Hurley; Secretary, Samuel Shay; Treasurer, J. J. Burke.

Public Lectures. The following are the subjects and dates for the public lectures to be given this winter at McMahon Hall on Thursday afternoons.

January 16.—"The History of Temperance in the United States." (Father Mathew Lecture). Rev. Dr. Walter J. Shanley.

January 23.—"Mithraism and Christianity." V. Rev. Dr. Charles F. Aiken.

January 30.—"Catholicism and America." V. Rev. Walter Elliott, C. S. P.

February 6.—"The Russian Church." Rev. Sigourney W. Fay, S. T. L.

February 13.—"Catholicism and the Balkans." Rev. Sigourney W. Fay, S. T. L.

February 20.—"Minor Irish Poets (1800-1850)." Dr. Patrick J. Lennox.

February 27.—"Our African Missions." Monsignor Freri, D. C. L.

March 7.—"The Scholastics as Educators." Rev. Dr. Patrick J. McCormick.

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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit, c. 6.*

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CATHOLIC PHILOSOPHY AND THE PERSONALITY OF GOD.

If Atheism errs by defect, in denying that there is a God, Pantheism may be said to err by excess, in affirming that everything is God. Atheism asserts that God is not a reality, Pantheism holds that He is the only reality. And it is a singular phenomenon that the human mind, left to itself, swings inevitably from one extreme to the other. Philosophy began by being pantheistic. For the ancient Hindus, followers of the doctrines of the Veda, there is but one reality, God, and all else is illusion. And ever since then, there has been a constantly recurring alternation of pantheism and atheism. "All is God," "There is no God": an age of pantheistic mysticism is succeeded by an age of atheistic or agnostic disbelief. This succession, inevitable, apparently, when the human mind is left to its own resources, is proof to the Catholic philosopher that there is need of Faith to supplement the efforts of reason and to correct the errors into which reason so frequently falls.

The pantheistic view of the universe as identical with God has much to recommend it to the incautious mind. Indeed, one may go farther and say that it has much to recommend it to the better type of mind. The failure to recognize the distinction between God and His creatures, or between God and matter, is a fine fault compared with that of the atheist, for whom there is no God. The pantheist is almost of necessity a

poet, and often a mystic. He "sees much beauty where most men see naught." His enthusiasm for nature carries him to the point of deifying it. His misdirected mysticism betrays him into the conviction that not only are natural phenomena to be interpreted in terms of the spiritual, but that they are in very fact spiritual realities. For him, Nature is not the veil that hides the Infinite: it is the Infinite. He takes all too literally such phrases as "Nature is His Garment," "Nature is His voice." In the harmony of color and design visible throughout the universe he sees, literally, the vast embroidered robe wrapped around the Great Invisible. In the symphony of sound, articulate or inarticulate, which all the spiritual-minded are accustomed to call the voice of God in Nature, in the habits and instincts of animals, in the half-articulate yearnings of the human heart itself, the mystic pantheist believes that he listens really to the call of the Great Inaudible. By every sense, internal and external, he lays hold on Divinity. He is immersed, so to speak, in the Divine, and saturated with it, like a happy flower that bathes in the radiance and warmth of the sun in June. And, like the mystic, he falls naturally into figurative and poetic language. He scorns to reason like a logician. He feels the Divine Presence, and that is enough. He sings while others syllogize; he raves while others reason; he appeals while others argue. Hence the peculiar charm of Pantheism for the mind that is esthetic, and hence also its peculiar danger for the spiritually minded. It is an error that attracts by its apparent sublimity, and entices by the subtle fragrance of its poetry. It was all the more necessary, then, that minds for which materialism and atheism has no charm should be warned against the error of pantheism and that the distinction between the universe and its maker should be emphasized in a manner that appeals to every intelligence.

The Christian Church in its doctrine and discipline has not only asserted the distinct personality of God as a Being distinct from the Universe, but has also had recourse to formal condemnation of the doctrine that God and the universe are one. Over and over again the voice of authority was raised,

not only against formal and aggressive heretics who sought to disturb the peace of the Church, not only against those from outside who might be suspected of trying to overthrow the Church, but against the quiet mystic within the Church, the saint, sometimes, whose intentions were most worthy, but whose doctrine, nevertheless, tended to obliterate the distinction between God and creatures. And when, in our own day, pantheism assumed its most subtle form in the transcendental metaphysics which at first sight affords so safe a refuge from atheism and materialism, the authority of Pope and Council were asserted in condemnation and warning. This was surely no inconsiderable service to the cause of truth. If Pantheism is erroneous, as we believe it to be, if it is subtle and specious, as we know it to be, then the warning is a help which philosophy should welcome, a hand held out to reason at a moment when there was danger ahead.

What has philosophy to say about pantheism? Let us go back to first principles and the primary conditions of human thinking. Experience tells us that there are distinctions among things. Experience also tells us that there are similarities. Perhaps our first experiences as children are experiences of differences or distinctions. To the child mind each day is a new day, full of incidents and adventures unlike anything that ever happened before. Each object of his interest is a miracle of newness and strangeness. I do not mean now merely that his imagination is over-active and helps him to fill his little world—commonplace enough, perhaps, and lacking in the picturesque—with all kinds of pleasant and fearful shapes. I don't mean that the child's world is strange because of this force of fancy. I mean that he naturally accentuates differences and at first overlooks or fails to emphasize similarities. With reflection, however, comes the power to sift his experiences and to realise that while things are, in some ways, all different from one another, they are, in other ways, all related to one another by similarities. Our progress in natural science opens up new vistas of the unities of things disparate. The boy who uses a sling-shot may know something in a practical way about what

is called centrifugal force. He knows that his bicycle wheel scatters moisture and mud, and perhaps someone tells him that that is another instance of the same force at work. In his first lessons in astronomy he learns that the same force is partly responsible for the courses of the planets and the movement of the earth on its orbit. Science is constantly revealing unsuspected unities and bringing together under laws or causes phenomena which at first sight are simply different, and have no similarity at all. Human nature, also, furnishes us with examples. I think that as we grow older we are moving towards that condition of philosophic calm in which one is surprised at nothing. When we were younger many things surprised us, because many things were new to us. Later we can parallel every strange action by an action as strange or even stranger, that happened before. We are, indeed, in danger of overlooking the differences among people, and saying and believing that they are all alike.

Now, this is only one line of development of our knowledge. There is another, and an equally important one, which goes in the opposite direction. It is the tendency to emphasize the differences among things. For science not only surprises us by pointing out unexpected similarities, it surprises us no less by calling our attention to the permanence of differences. No two things are exactly alike. The philosophers even ask the question whether there *could be* two things exactly alike. And in our experience of human nature, it is the same. The older we grow the more we are inclined to make due allowance for the " abysmal depth of personality." If you are wise, you will indeed, put people into certain groups or classes, and treat them accordingly; but, when anything very important depends on your line of action, you will make the individual the object of your special and earnest study. You will not treat him or even argue with him " according to his kind," as the saying is, but according to his own peculiar individuality.

Our knowledge, then, develops along these two lines. We are constantly discovering similarities among things, and we are no less constantly discovering differences among those same

things. What does the philosopher do? "Something absurd," the cynic will exclaim. Well, yes, in some instances. There is the philosopher who sees only the differences among things, who is so unreasonable as to say that there are no similarities, that everything is purely and simply different from everything else and that the so-called similarities are illusions. He is called the Pluralist, and we shall have more to say about him when we come to Pragmatism. There is, on the other hand, the philosopher who is so absurd as to overlook the differences of things, and to maintain that all things are not only similar but identical. He is called the monist. He says that all things are in reality one and the same thing, and that the differences among things are merely an error or illusion of the mind. But, some one will say, why doesn't the philosopher have common sense and admit with the rest of us that there *are* differences and, at the same time, that there *are* similarities? Well, that is what some philosophers do, who are neither monists nor pluralists, and among those somewhat unostentatious philosophers we may, I think, put down our own names unobtrusively, after we have examined monism and pluralism and realized that each is only a partial truth.

Our concern at present is with the monistic tendency. It is a very old one in philosophy. Indeed, it may be said to be the oldest of all, as Pluralism is the newest of all. It is often associated with the tendency to mysticism. Thus, the ancient Hindus imagined the soul to be born in a state of bondage to the flesh, from which it is freed only by a realization of the oneness of all things in *Brahma*. The "fleeting show," which is the world of our experience, with all its pageantry of color and form, with its vicissitudes and its successions, with its varieties, contrasts and harmonies, does not exist at all. It is *maya*, or illusion. As soon as we are rid of the illusion, and the phantoms that deceived us have vanished, when reason begins to be free from the thraldom of sense, we realize that there is but one reality, namely God, and that nothing is real except in so far as it is identical with Him. All the distinctions and diversities of things are errors of the created mind; all is

one and one is All. It is easy to get rid of a disagreeable or a discordant fact and to establish in triumph one's own theory, if one is allowed, in this way, to make a mesmeric pass over the facts that are so stubborn and cause them to vanish into thin air. That is how the monist treats the facts that seem to stand for diversities among things. "As different as chalk and cheese," says the somewhat homely English proverb. "No, my dear Sir," the monist seems to say, "chalk and cheese are not different; the color, the taste, the other qualities which you think you perceive in them, and which, you say, make them to be different, are illusions of your senses. When all these qualities are removed there is no difference between the chalk and the cheese. They are the same reality." I say that this tendency to regard all reality as one is almost always a preliminary to the mystic tendency. Once the illusoriness of the senses is granted, it is evident that the only knowledge that avails us is a knowledge of our identity with God. It follows that we should cultivate that knowledge and so, *save our souls,* by sinking back into the consciousness of God.

The monistic tendency is the philosophic tendency itself, but carried too far. The desire to find harmony in apparent discord, to find unity in apparent diversity, to find similarity in apparent variety is the root of the propensity to philosophise. The fault we find with monism is that it is, to use a common phrase, "a good thing carried too far." There is a unity among things. There is a unity of origin and a unity of destiny—from God to God, is, we think a history of all the created universe. There is, we think, a unity of plan or design, and all things are moving towards the fulfillment of that plan, although we may not hope to understand how. And there are manifest similarities among things which no amount of reasoning can remove. Chalk *is* like cheese, at least in name; and that, by the way, is the reason of the proverb. Monism is right in insisting on these unities, but we think it is wrong when it goes farther, and does away with all diversity and multiplicity. Its method may be subtle; it is none the less fallacious; it may be more learned, perhaps, but it is not more logical than that of the

ancient sophist who argued that if you are the brother of one man you are the brother of all, for you cannot be a brother and not a brother at the same time. By fallacious reasoning monism argues away the differences of things, leaving only an all-inclusive unity. When this unity is in God or rather, when the one reality is identified with God, monism becomes pantheism.

Pantheism, therefore, like monism is a result of the philosophical instinct for unity carried too far. Pantheism sacrifices some of the most important attributes of reality in order to maintain that the Supreme Reality is the only reality. It sacrifices the personality of God; it sacrifices morality; it sacrifices immortality; it sacrifices freedom.

Pantheism sacrifices the personality of God. In order that God be a person, He much be distinct from the Universe and different from it. He must not only be a substantial entity, but must be a conscious Being, an individual, self-initiating in His actions, and free. This is, perhaps, a highly metaphysical array of attributes constituting personality. Let us try the problem from a more popular side. A person must have intelligence and will, that is to say, must be able to think and free to act. A flower has no intelligence of its own; it has no power of initiating its actions freely. It may, indeed, manifest the intelligence of another; for instance, the intelligence of the Creator who made it, or of the gardener who cultivated and cared for it. But, it has no intelligence of its own. Neither has it free choice. No matter how poetic one may become on the subject of the beauty of a flower, one could not, without being absurd, attribute to the flower's moral goodness, its delicacy of fragrance, its brilliancy of color or its perfection of shape. Now, in the pantheistic conception of God personality is not included, and cannot be included. God, the Pantheist is forced to admit, has no more moral goodness than a flower. He has no more intelligence than a flower. As Spinoza somewhat crudely phrased it, one would no more think of praising God for His goodness or His intelligence than one would think of praising a triangle because the sum of its angles is equal to two right angles. The comparison is, perhaps, shocking to our

sense of reverence; but it is apt, and brings out very forcibly the pantheistic idea of God. By sacrificing the personality of God the Pantheist sacrifices the very essentials of religion. There is no religion without prayer. There is, we think, no religion without worship and sacrifice. There is no religion where there is no possibility of gratitude, obedience, love. In a word, religion implies personal acts and a personal attitude on both sides. It is the relation *of* a person *to* a person. It is true that, in careless phrase, we talk of obeying the law, and by exuberant hyperbole we talk of worshipping the ground on which so and so walks, and we "love" all kinds of things, from the Author of our being down to the latest fad in popular music or something equally trivial. We know that we do not mean these phrases literally. When we use the term strictly we obey not the law but the lawgiver, we worship, not the ground but the person who walks on it, we love only those towards whom our state of mind is a personal one. If, then, Pantheism makes it impossible for us to love God, to obey God, to worship God, to pray to God, then, Pantheism may fairly be accused of robbing religion of its essentials and setting up the idea of a God who is no God at all.

Pantheism sacrifices morality and reduces conscience to an absurdity. If we are identical with God, if we are all one reality, then there is no true distinction of persons. It follows that our actions and the responsibility for them are not ours but God's. This thought is appalling enough. There is no need to elaborate it. It follows, moreover, since there is no distinction of persons, that our conscience of injury and injustice is entirely erroneous. If the thief and the person robbed are the same reality, where does the injury come in? If the murderer and the murdered person are the same reality, where is the iniquity of murder? I do not mean to say that all pantheists are in favor of theft and murder; I am merely pointing out the consequences which, by force of logic, follow from the doctrine of Pantheism. The moral consequences, or rather, the immoral consequences which follow from that doctrine, if logic has any force at all, are enough to show that Pantheism, when

in its mad monistic career it sacrifices all distinction among things, sacrifices too much.

Pantheism sacrifices immortality. Immortality means not merely that the soul survives the body, but that we, as persons, shall continue to exist and to recognize ourselves as the same individuals. It means the continuation of individual consciousness and personality. In any minor sense, immortality is a delusion and the defeat of all our aspirations. "I shall not all die" is the instinctive hope of every human being, which Christian philosophy satisfies in the doctrine of personal immortality. Anything like absorption in the deity, return to the Consciousness of the All, mergence in the mind of the universe is less than that hope. Yet this is all that the Pantheist can offer us. Indeed, if Pantheism is right, our case is worse after death than before, for while we are here below we may, in spite of the Pantheist, cling to the illusion of our separate and distinct personality; but when Death comes, we are cured of that illusion for ever, and are merged in the Total Consciousness of which we are even now a part. The thought is not only disheartening. It is utterly inadmissible. Once more, in sacrificing true immortality, Pantheism sacrifices too much.

Finally, Pantheism sacrifices freedom. Our souls, says the Pantheist, are nearer to God than anything else in the universe; but, for that very reason, they are under greater compulsion than anything else to obey the laws that govern the Universe. We are involved in a vortex of cosmic changes, of political and social forces, of heredity, environment and education. These determine our actions and we must yield to their force. We may, indeed, delude ourselves with the thought that we are free. The leaf floating with the current may imagine that it has the power to turn around and go up stream; it may fondly believe that it can avoid the whirlpool ahead or seek it by preference to the clear and calmer current that runs alongside. We know, however, that it cannot, and we should know, too, says the Pantheist, that we are just as irresistibly impelled by the All, of which we are a part, as the leaf is by the stream on which it floats. Briefly, Pantheism has ruled out freedom as thought-

lessly or incautiously as it ruled out God, immortality and conscience. It has done this for the sake of maintaining the unity of all things in God, and we think that, in doing it, pantheism has paid too dear a price.

Is there, then, any truth in Pantheism? We have said, perhaps, enough of its faults, of the consequences to which it leads, and by which it is condemned. Has it any merit? It must have; otherwise, it could hardly have persisted and recurred so constantly in the history of philosophy. It has one point in its favor. It is, as was said above, the error of a nobler type of mind. It ennobles and transfigures the world of nature, it beautifies the universe, saturating all things, so to speak, with the Divine. It appeals in this way to the poetic mind. It appeals also to the philosophic mind. For the philosophical mind seeks unification, as the poetic mind seeks spiritual interpretation, of our experience, or, rather, of reality. The merit of pantheism is that it responds to this instinct. The fault of pantheism is that it carries this instinct too far; it sacrifices to unification things which may not be sacrificed. That it carries the philosophic impulse too far is proved by its consequences. And yet, there is an element of truth in Pantheism, which, more than anything else, has given it a career and, as was said, an almost permanent place in the history of philosophy. Pantheism explains the presence of God in the universe. Christian theology and Christian theism hold also the doctrine of divine presence, and hold it in a manner compatible with the personality of God. "In Him," says St. Paul, "we live and move and have our being." This is the classic statement of the fact, if one may so describe a biblical phrase. "In Him we live and move and have our being." It is, then, a presence ubiquitous, intimate, vital. But, while the fact is thus clearly and peremptorily stated, how are we to explain this presence? How are we to visualize it? We have recourse, naturally, to comparisons and to figures of speech. We say that God is present in the Universe, as the agent is present in his work. So, for example, the author is present in a book that he has written. The book contains his thoughts, his sentiments, his personality, to some

extent, and his character. We say that he speaks to us from the pages of his book. As long as the book lives he will live. So the architect is present in the building which he has designed, the sculptor in the statue that he has moulded or carved, the painter in the canvas that he has painted, and the craftsman in the work of his hands. These, however, are mere figures of speech, so far as the real personality of the author or agent is concerned. The writer is not between the pages of the book, the sculptor is not embedded in the bronze, the painter is not hidden behind the canvas, the workman is not in the chair or the table that he has made. God is present in the Universe in a truer sense, and in a sense more intimate and vital. He is nearer to us, says the mystic, than we ourselves are. And so we must abandon that set of comparisons and try another. God is present in that He sustains at every moment the creatures whom He called out of nothingness, and cöoperates in a true sense with them in every action of theirs. He causes the fire to burn, the plant to grow, the animal to move, the mind of man to think. "In Him we live and move and have our being." We turn, therefore, to another comparison and with the Stoics we say that God is commingled in the Universe. He penetrates every minute and remote particle of matter. He is in all things, and in the heart of everything that lives. The universe is filled with Him, as the sponge is saturated with water, as the air is interpenetrated by some highly volatile perfume, as the atmosphere some summer day is shot through and through with sunshine. There is no intermingling of material things, no diffusion of energy through matter more thorough, more complete nor more perfect than the commingling of God with the universe which He sustains and governs. Yet, once more, these are only comparisons and figures that fall short of the reality. God, though a substance, is not a material substance. He is a spirit, and a spirit cannot be mingled with matter in any true sense of the word. Even material things, sometimes, will not mingle with one another. Oil will not mix with water. How much less spirit with matter. The thought is absurd; we must turn to another comparison. We seem to

have the right comparison, the very image of God's presence in the Universe, in the relation between soul and body in ourselves. And this is, of all the pantheistic comparisons, the most popular and—the most fallacious. God is the soul, the Universe is the body. How apt, at first sight, and how satisfying to the vaguely reflective mind. The notion is very old indeed. It goes very far back into the history of human thought. Yet, it too, will have to be abandoned. In the first pace, the comparison does not illumine. For, if we know little of the manner in which God is present in His Universe, we know almost as little about the manner of the soul's presence in the body. In the one case as in the other, the fact is undeniable, while the explanation of the fact is mysterious, and the mode or manner of it baffles our intelligence. Besides, though the soul is a spirit, it is not an infinite spirit as God is, and it is the infinity of God that makes it so difficult for us to understand His presence in the world.

One thing the Pantheist accomplishes. He emphasizes what is called the immanence of God in the Universe, that is, the doctrine that God is not only present in the universe but also, as it were, commingled with it, and, in someway, identified with it. But this is only a part of the truth, only one term, really, of the problem. The Deist goes to the opposite extreme. He teaches that God is greater than the Universe, and even goes so far as to say that God is not in the universe at all, that He takes no part in its preservation or its activities, that He is, so to speak, above concerning Himself about it; He made it out of nothing and then left it, as it were, to its own devices. This is the doctrine of transcendence, another part of the truth, another term of the problem. If we let our minds dwell on the immanence of God in the universe, we see the partial truth of pantheism. If we attend only to the transcendence of God in respect to the universe, we perceive the partial truth of deism. But partial truths are errors, and errors of the worst kind, because they are generally plausible. Christian theism acknowledges that both pantheism and deism are right, and insists at the same time that both are wrong. Pantheism is

right, because God does really dwell in the Universe; it is wrong, because God is, so to speak, outside the Universe as well. Deism is right, because God does transcend the Universe; it is wrong, because God is also immanent in the Universe. In this case, however, it is not true that "a hair divides the true and false!" There is a whole world of difference, and of practical difference betwen Pantheism, Deism and Christian Theism.

Catholic philosophy takes up the problem from the point of view of reason. It points out, as we did above, that the consequences of pantheism condemn it. If pantheism is true, then, since we are God, all actions are good and all men are equally good. When the pantheist is as honest as Spinoza was, he accepts this consequence. "No action, considered in itself, is either good or bad," says the great Dutch metaphysician. For us, this is a sufficient *reductio ad absurdam* of Pantheism.

In the next place, Catholic philosophy calls attention to the true cause of pantheism or of monism in general. It traces the monistic propensity to the inordinate desire of unification and the consequent neglect to observe diversities. Facts, we commonly say, are stubborn things. But, for the framer of a theory, facts are very yielding. He makes them or ignores them to suit his purpose. Especially does the theorist ignore facts that do not agree with his theory. Like the Queen in *Alice in Wonderland,* if a fact offends him he roars "Off with its head." Now common sense will not be silenced by any such threats, but insists that facts are facts. There are differences among things which no amount of theory can cause to disappear. Perhaps, to quote again from *Alice,* when the monist asks *why* are there differences, we may be allowed to imitate the March Hare and answer *Why not?* The *why* does not affect the fact; our inability to explain does not abolish the fact. If there are differences among things, then the monist is in error when he holds that all reality is one. Unification is an admirable thing; the unity that science has shown to exist among things is an awe-inspiring revelation of the beauty and harmony of God's creation. But, because partial unification is admirable that does not prevent complete unification from being absurd.

Finally, Catholic philosophy goes directly to the heart of the question in this way. The Pantheist holds that God is infinite, and yet that He is identical with the Universe. This, we say, is a contradiction in terms. On the one hand, the Infinite never changes,—on the other, the Universe is constantly changing. The Infinite never changes; for to lose what it has or to acquire what it has not is to cease to be infinite. And yet, the Universe changes; it changes continuously and ceaselessly. Indeed, change is a law of its very existence. Ever since the days of Heraclitus, philosophers have called attention to this. And our own reflection on our experience shows that they are right. The heavens above us, the earth beneath us, the air that surrounds us, our own bodies and the bodies of other living things, our minds and our thoughts, the products of our industry and of our thinking,—everything that God has made or man has constructed is involved in a vortex of change. Even while I am talking to you about change every thing except the Infinite has changed. You have changed, I have changed, the sun, the moon, the stars, the earth have changed. So prevalent is change that it would seem to be the very height of absurdity to deny it. And thus the Pantheist is between Scylla and Charybdis. He may deny the existence of change and so defy the verdict of our experience, or he may hold that the Infinite changes and so defy human reason which declares that that is impossible.

Of course there is a subterfuge. There always is. In this case, the way of escape is by the use of the word *development*. The Infinite-Universe, says the up-to-date Pantheist, does not change; it developes. The thought, it must be confessed, is not only clever; it has a certain fascination. The Infinite always was the Infinite, as the acorn always was an oak. The acorn developes root and sprout and trunk and branch and leaf, unfolding in each successive stage the beauty that was in it, hidden all the time. So the Infinite has the cosmic cycle for the term of its life-history. First, in the morning of creation, it was a mass of nebula containing the potencies of all things; then, by stages that stretched out over millions of years, it

literally threw off the bodies that form our astronomical world. The earth, at first formless and void, cooled, contracted, and in time gave life to plant and animal and man. The Infinite, then, has suffered no increment or decrease; it has neither gained nor lost; it has not really changed; it has only developed. All of which goes to show how a Pantheist may, as the French say, "pay himself with words." For, development is only another name for change. But let us take the example of the acorn. There is there a process of development, or, perhaps, of development and growth. But, let us see what the development is. It is a series of changes brought about partly by forces and elements inherent in the seed, and partly by influences and factors extrinsic to it. Substitute a piece of dead wood for the acorn and, of course, it will not develop even in the best conditions of soil and moisture and warmth and light. On the other hand, the best selected acorn will not germinate without these outside influences. This is elementary. Now, in which way does the Infinite develop? Reason says, in neither. It cannot produce in itself an activity or perfection which it did not already possess, and it cannot be indebted to any outside influence for a perfection or state of being which it did not already possess. Please do not misunderstand. I do not deny that the universe has developed or is developing. All that the astronomers and the geologists have to say about cosmic evolution may be true. Much of what biologists have to say about biological evolution is true. But it is the universe, not the Infinite, that evolves, and the fact that it does evolve, since evolution is change, goes to show that the universe and the Infinite are not the same.

To these considerations, which are purely rational, in the sense that they are derived from reason and appeal to our reason, Catholic philosophy adds other considerations which are of a theological nature, in so far as they rest, not on reason, but on revelation. The question at issue is the Personality of God. If all things are one, and God is all things, then, evidently, God is not a Person distinct from the Universe. Reason has said her say. She does not accept the conclusion of the

Pantheist. Now, let Faith speak. And there is need of the voice of Faith. For Pantheism is a subtle doctrine and a specious doctrine. It has ensnared some of the noblest minds. Materialism repels many minds by its crudity. Atheism disappoints, because it is, after all, a negation. Deism dissatisfies because it relegates God to a more philosophical presupposition at the beginning of the Universe, and leaves Him there. Pantheism has a charm, a fatal attractiveness for the poet, the mystic and the reflective lover of nature. It is optimistic, for if everything is God, everything is good. It is supremely positive, for it fixes the mind on the permanent and the perfect and simply ignores the changeable and the imperfect. It is esthetically satisfying, because it suffuses all natural events with the divine presence and the divine beauty; for pantheism nothing is mean or commonplace or trivial. In the snow-crystal, in the microscopic plant cell, in the music of running water as well as in the laughter of children, in the boisterousness of youth, in the patient sweetness of old age, in the lowly weed and the neglected bramble as well as in the waywardness of the outcast and the sorrows of the unfortunate—everywhere, in evil and in good, in ugliness and in beauty it sees the one, the same Infinite God. These views need only to be suggested in order that their attractiveness be evident. How much more enticing are they when elaborated with proper feeling and dressed up with proper taste by a mystic or a poet. Therefore, to offset the danger that is never absent, there must be an authoritative voice that proclaims the truth of God's distinct personality without fear or favor. "The God of metaphysics," wrote Joubert, "is but an idea; the God of religion, the Creator of heaven and earth, the sovereign Judge of actions and of thoughts, is a force." This is very true. The Pantheist is content with a God who is only an idea; all the yearnings of his poetic heart are turned toward Nature. The Christian regards God as Creator, Ruler and Judge; he treats Nature as the work of God's hands, the sphere in which Providence is exercised, the opportunity given to him to work out his own salvation. He will be as appreciative of beauty as the panthe-

ist. He will see in everything the beauty of God, but one stage removed, participated, imitated, reflected. He will let his sympathies go out as freely as the pantheist does, to all that rejoice and to all that suffer. But he will restrain his sympathy. He will not, if I may use the word, become hysterical over anything in Nature, because he retains always a sense of his own responsibility to God, and therefore, a sense of his true dignity as a human being.

The Christian Church has repressed Pantheism by decrees and condemnations, realizing that between Pantheism and the Christian Creed there is no compromise. And if the measures of repression seem to us to have been harsh and unduly severe at times, we may deplore the manner and yet not fail to appreciate the benefit of the Church's action. Time has softened manners and customs, but it should not diminish our abhorrence of error, especially of an error so subtle and so destructive as Pantheism.

The Church has exercised her function as a teacher and in that rôle has tried to offset Pantheism. She has presented the personality of God to the popular mind by all the various means suited to the capacity of the popular mind. To the learned and philosophical she has offered arguments, distinctions, definitions; to the unlettered she has brought images, symbols and representations of the truth appealing to the senses and to the imagination. To the esthetically inclined she has thrown open the field of Christian art, in which sculptor and painter and builder and musician give artistic expression to her doctrines and bring those doctrines home to minds that seek the beautiful as well as the true.

Finally, she has tried to satisfy those yearnings of the human heart to which Pantheism so powerfully appeals. All her sacred poetry, her mysticism, her ascetic theology even, are instinct with the impulse to beautify nature and to consider natural phenomena as symbols of spiritual realities. In a cruder age the village preacher was provided with a little volume of illustrations for sermons, a curiously credulous account of animal and plant and mineral, setting forth those characteristics of

each which furnish inspiration to conduct, and interpreting each trait in terms of the soul. These *Bestiaries,* as they are called, served their purpose well. They interest us now as literary curiosities; but they should interest us also as showing how, in the ages of Faith Nature was interpreted spiritually. And St. Francis of Assisi! Everyone knows how beautifully tender was his sentiment towards bird and beast and flower. They are, he said, our brothers and our sisters. They are God's children, as we are; but children who never offend Him, and from whom, therefore, we may learn a lesson. Indeed, St. Francis goes so far in his spiritual interpretation of Nature that he has, grotesquely enough, been accused of Pantheism. The Greeks are said to have lacked a proper appreciation of the beauties of Nature. Whether this is true or not, it is certainly true that the Middle Ages were not lacking in that sentiment. Their art as well as their literature show that, in their way of thinking, every least creature of God shows forth in some way the Infinite Beauty which is His. And let me say, without intention to offend, that those Christian sects which have discarded ritual and ceremonial and symbolism and the sacraments have never produced a mystic poetry like that of Herrick and Coventry Patmore and Francis Thompson. It is either the cold, matter of fact, scientific interpretation of Nature or the exuberant and exaggerated estheticism of the Pantheist; either Nature without God or Nature identical with God. The most thoughtful Catholic poetry has avoided both these faults and neither excluded God from Nature, as the Atheist does nor included Him in Nature, as the Pantheist does. "Religion," says Joubert once more, "is the poetry of the heart." It is its mission not only to teach us what is true and to enable us to practice what is right, but also, though it may sound strange in your ears, to show us how to enjoy life. I mean that it is the business of religion to inculcate that view of life which enables us to look out on Nature as God's creation, distinct, indeed, from Him in substance, but filled with the beauty of His presence, and pulsating with the gladness of His Beauty and the joy of His Supremely perfect Life. Catholic

philosophy has felt this influence. It has rejoiced in it, welcomed it, and I may say, prospered under it. It has been able to retain all that is alluring in Pantheism without the consequences of Pantheism. It has been able to justify the enthusiasm of the mystic poet without being obliged to sanction extravagance of sentiment. It has had the powerful influence of authority to enable it to maintain a clear and a consistent distinction between a God wholly immanent in the Universe, a God wholly transcendent in respect to the Universe, and a God both immanent and transcendent. This is one of the advantages that Catholic philosophy enjoys, owing to its recognition of the principle that *Faith aids Reason.*

William Turner.

HISTORIOGRAPHY, ANCIENT AND MEDIAEVAL.

History has a twofold meaning. It may signify past events or the narrative of past events. In the former or objective sense history refers to what is antecedent and has undergone change; in its latter or subjective meaning it is the apprehension and presentation of antecedent reality. Thus the history of Rome or of the Roman Empire viewed as a series of actual occurrences is not by any means synonymous with the history of Rome as narrated by Mommsen or Tillemont. In a restricted and more commonly accepted use of the word, history is applied only to human history, or to events which happened through the agency of men as moral beings. Historiography naturally deals only with subjective history or the effort to reproduce the past or some of its phases, and the history of historiography is a record of such efforts.

That historiography has a history cannot be denied. It is a form of literature, and more, perhaps, than any other form of literature it mirrors faithfully man's conception of his place in the universe, and his capacity to give expression to one of the most cogent influences in life. On its subjective side history is a science and an art. Consequently any adequate presentation of the development of historical composition implies the necessity of being able to determine how historians at different times conceived their task, what ideas they possessed of the nature and function of history, what methods they followed in equipping themselves to know and present events of which they could have no immediate knowledge, and how they viewed these events, whether as unconnected with what went before and without influence on what came after, or as being determined by certain laws and forming, in their relationships, a well ordered organic system following definite lines of change. Each of these subjects offers a special field for historical investigation. History did not always mean the same thing. It was a subject

that did not easily lend itself to definition. The process by which it was emancipated from the domination of superstition and imagination and took its place as a science of reality was a slow one. The didactic value of history was never lost sight of, but with wider knowledge event and incident became secondary to relationship and sequence.

So, too, in regard to the materials of history. Men were slow in devising methods by which evidence might be sifted, and by which the past might be made to yield up the sources necessary for the enlightenment of the present. In classifying the phenomena of history and assigning them to their proper category, the mind of man did not wait on the tardy processes of empirical investigation. His philosophy is deductive as well as inductive, and without any knowledge of the scientific processes necessary to reveal the true character of historical events or their relationships, a Philosophy of history or what may for want of a better term be called a Philosophy of History, was evolved which linked incident and action with the prevailing notions of human nature and human destiny. Historiography in the true sense does not attain its real stature until it is prepared to offer a sound conception of the nature and scope of history, until its processes, scientific, critical, and exegetical are in accordance with recognized canons of Historic, and until by reflection and speculation it gives an explanation of the course of human events.

The progress of historiography, therefore, is marked by the advances which have been made in clarifying the idea of history, in the processes by which evidence regarding the past can be attained with greater certainty, and presented with greater force, and in the widening knowledge of the causes which underlie the phenomena of history. Hence it is that there are well marked periods in the progress of historical study, and well defined boundaries between which historiography in some of its phases remained unchanged. The development of historical research is not due to the efforts of historians so much as to the development of other branches of science, many of which it has drawn on heavily.

Following the usual division of general history into ancient, mediaeval and modern, historiography is generally said to have passed through three corresponding periods. There is no unanimity among historians as to the exact time the ancient world ended and the mediaeval commenced, nor as to the precise dividing line between the middle ages and modern times. In like manner the course of historiography has its stages of change and development, but these cannot be sharply distinguished. There are few abrupt transformations in the course of human events, one epoch usually changes into another by a slow process of transformation. To follow the process of change and development in historical studies is rendered almost impossible by the fact that certain departments of historiography advanced more rapidly than others, that history as an art reached its apex before history as a science was dreamt of, that method sometimes outran, sometimes lagged behind theory. That there has been a transformation in historiography is evident from the difference between the hero-tales of antiquity and the latest volume from a German professor with its fine exemplification of scientific method, or that of a Frenchman with its blend of scientific accuracy and consummate literary form. The difference, however, is not all real achievement, at no time was the subject of definition of history more warmly debated than at present, and at no time did literary as opposed to scientific history find more ardent and distinguished advocates. There are good grounds, nevertheless, for maintaining that there has been real progress in historical study. How real and substantial this progress has been can be realized from the manner in which one epoch surpassed another in the promotion and perfection of method, in the exemplification of higher historical conceptions, or in the elaboration of sound principles of criticism and exegesis. Historiography, however, owes its progress to no epoch in particular. As consummate exponents of literary history the Greeks have had no equals; but they never succeeded in raising history to its true level nor in acquiring a Philosophy of History. Christianity did both. It concerned itself, however, less with the form than with the substance, and the mediae-

val writers followed the methods and models of their pagan predecessors. The Renaissance gave birth to a real spirit of research and criticism, and the religious conflicts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries laid the foundation if they did not bring to perfection the methods in vogue in all the schools of the present, yet neither the Renaissance nor the Reformation made any real contribution in the matter of Philosophy of History. History received a new direction and assumed new functions under the hands of the Humanists and the Protestants, but they gave no formal account of its underlying causes.

In instituting a comparison therefore between ancient and mediaeval historiography our purpose is neither to give a detailed enumeration nor analysis of the writings of pagan or of Christian authors. Such a task would exceed the limits of this article. Attention will simply be drawn to the idea of history as manifested in the two epochs, to the methods followed by the writers of history, and to the theory or lack of theory which they present as affording a reasonable basis for the sequence and causation of events. By ancient historiography will be understood those works on history which drew their motive from the ancient pagan culture, and by mediaeval those which came from Christian pens prior to the Renaissance movement.

Human interest in the happenings of the past and its expression in literary form has passed through many stages. The standard by which this progression may be followed can be found in the mental state of the narrator or in the character of the narrative. "The methods of treating history (divided by Hegel into the naïve, the reflecting and the speculative) may be classed as the empirical, the critical and the philosophical, according as the simple collocation of materials, the examination of the credibility of tradition, or the endeavor to reach an understanding of the causes and significance of events is made the predominant feature." The stages indicated here correspond very closely to three classes of historical writings, simple records, pragmatic, and genetic history, which also designate the relative advances made in exposition, not, however,

that the cultivation of the second or the third entirely superseded or eliminated those which went before.

The earliest form of historical composition is found in the songs and stories of primitive peoples. These uncultured pioneers had practically no link with the past except memory, and were so much dominated by imagination, and expressed themselves with so much feeling and imagery that if their productions even contained a kernel of fact it can never be disengaged from its poetical setting. It is only by a wide extension of the meaning of the word that sagas and hero tales can be called history, and their only right to such a designation is that they are such in form and purport if not in content.

History may be said to have first come into existence when records were kept in order to aid memory. These records were in the beginning of the simplest character, but were made to serve many purposes. This stage represents a very considerable degree of progress; for, as Flint says, "Nothing seems more easy, but few things are more difficult, than to look naturally at historical fact so as to see it just as it is. The power to do this is not a gift of nature, but a result of culture, and no race or nation has possessed it until it reached intellectual maturity." Isolated events were at first commemorated in inscriptions or by some other method, and thus we have funerary notices of great persons and copies of laws, treaties, alliances, etc. The growing needs of religious and political organization caused a development into regular lists containing the names of priests, kings or other officials, and these to the systematic recording of notable events, by means of chronicles arranged under regular periods. With the exception of the people of Israel, whose sacred writings contained a conception of human relations which was never applied to profane matters, none of the great nations of antiquity, the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Persians or the Chinese, notwithstanding the high degree of civilization to which they attained and notwithstanding the fact that they collected and arranged enormous lists of events, ever rose to any higher view of history than that which found expression in chronicles.

To Greece was reserved the honor of making the first step in advance, and of cultivating history for its own sake. The first exponent of the new trend in historical studies was Herodotus, whose purposes and plan are best expressed in his own words. "These are the researches of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, which he publishes in the hope of thereby preserving from decay the remembrance of what men have done, and of preventing the great and marvellous actions of the Greeks and the barbarians from losing their due meed of glory, and withal to put on record what were the grounds of their hostility." Herodotus, however, did not rid himself of epic ideas in narrating the connection and causes of incidents. He was a master of style and composition and an indefatigable investigator, but he lacked critical insight, and the power to analyse the working of natural causes and political forces. To his mind history was an interesting drama arranged by the gods and worked out according to laws determined by them.

Many of the faults and shortcomings of Herodotus were so completely avoided by Thucydides that it is almost inconceivable that they were contemporaries. Thucydides confined himself to a limited field of study in his account of the Peloponnesian war, and was able to investigate the course and current of events more closely than if his work was on a wider scale. He brought to the task, however, qualities of mind and judgment which give his work a unique charm and importance. He was thoroughly objective not only in his investigation of evidence but in his delineation of cause. He found the reasons for the movements he described in the nature, character and passions of the men who were the chief actors. Notwithstanding his objectivity and impartiality he could not avoid a tone of didacticism, and his work assumes a pragmatic character when he aims at telling "what has happened and will hereafter happen according to human nature." Thucydides had many faults but no superior among Greek historians in the carefulness with which he selected his materials and the profound insight he showed in explaining the causes and progress of the events he described.

The changes in the political horizon which took place in the century and a half after the death of Thucydides opened up new vistas to the historian. Alexander had gone through his marvellous career of conquest and Rome was gradually bringing the civilized world under her sway. A universalism in empire naturally led to a revolution in thought. With the spectacle of the widespread dominion of Rome before his eyes it is not surprising that Polybius, a Greek, who had lived in Rome and was acquainted with her constitution and laws should have undertaken to write a universal history in which he set forth the destiny of Rome to be mistress of the world. He found purely natural reasons to explain the events which he described, "but his whole view of history necessarily rendered him an apologist of accomplished facts, and of Roman success." With the wide field of Roman conquest spread before him, Polybius was able to deal with history on a more comprehensive scale than any of his predecessors, and notwithstanding his profound admiration for Roman genius, he was capable of sound objectivity in his judgment of causes. He could not, however, avoid the temptation nor override the prevailing tendency to be didactic and pragmatic.

Polybius had no successors. His work contained many ideas of profound import, he had a conception of universality remarkable in a historian of his time, but it was the result of observation rather than of reflection, and he developed no new lines of historical speculation. Rome herself found no child to depict her purpose nor her greatness. "No Latin author showed himself able even intelligently to continue what Polybius had begun. The Roman will made history universal, but the Roman intellect was deficient in the qualities requisite for treating successfully of universal history." The works of Sallust and Cæsar, though models of their kind and excellent literary vehicles for conveying the purposes of their authors, do not, because they fail to exhibit any profound ideas of historical philosophy, represent any advance in the development of historiography.

Roman historians were too much under the dominance of the spirit of didacticism, too much swayed by notives of patriot-

ism, to be capable of viewing events impartially and objectively. The practical purposes which were kept constantly in view blinded them to the real causes of the movements they described. The historian turned moralist and propagandist. Livy and Tacitus exhibit the merits and defects of this species of composition most strikingly. The former troubled himself not so much with facts as with effect. He aimed at arousing in the minds of his readers what he considered to be the genuine spirit of Rome, and possessing no depth of political philosophy, he frequently sacrificed accuracy to expediency. In a more pronounced degree than Livy Tacitus was absorbed by the spirit of didacticism. His historical writings are moral treatises, patriotic appeals in favor of Rome's declining greatness and denunciations of the vices which, since the time of Tiberius, were undermining the stability of the Empire and threatening its ruin.

With Tacitus Roman historiography or what is really worthy of the name, came to an end. Suetonius, and his successors down to the authors of the Augustan History, compiled interesting collections of anecdotes, but neither in form, in critical acumen nor in plan and scope do their works deserve to rank with those of the earlier writers. The historians of the second and third centuries, even with the evidence of Roman power and influence before their eyes, showed themselves utterly impervious to the lessons political and philosophical which might be deduced therefrom.

A survey of the characteristics of ancient historiography shows that while it exhibited many undoubted marks of excellence it had also many grave defects. While it excelled on the literary side, it lacked the critical spirit, the judicial quality which demands that decision should wait on fact and evidence. These faults are, however, largely technical. The real reason why the ancient authors failed to grasp or adequately to portray the true scope and purpose of history, was because they had no clear conception of the unity of the human race, and because they had no broad philosophical grasp of the reasons for progress and continuity in human events. Facts and their

relationships are the working materials of historians, and facts and their relationships are as wide as human society. Particular epochs and partial histories may be written, but their particular character, their character as parts of a whole must not be lost sight of. The people of antiquity never succeeded in freeing themselves intellectually from a narrow spirit of nationalism. They never conceived the idea of unity of race. The state was their ideal of society. They had no consciousness of the wider synthesis expressed by the term humanity. With these intellectual limitations, with their incapacity to see in the varying phenomena of human experience the results of manifold and far reaching causes, they never developed either a genetic concept of history or a real Philosophy of History.

Passing from the spirit of the ancient world as manifested in its historiography to the new ideas of human relations exhibited in the Christian religion, we find that history for the first time assumed a character which is usually designated as genetic. Christianity taught that distinctions of race and nationality could not obliterate the bonds of a common nature, it first laid down the principle of unity in society, and based its great social synthesis on belief in a common fate through the fall of Adam, of a common destiny to salvation in Christ, and a final judgment for all men before an eternal tribunal. Through this conception of the solidarity of mankind by descent from the same ancestors, and of society as composed of individuals with the same responsibility and the same destiny, history was enriched by a new standard for measuring human relations, and historiography received a new meaning and purpose.

"Christianity by creating the Church," says Flint, "enormously enlarged and enriched history. It thereby opened up a central and exhaustless vein in the mine of human affairs. The rise of ecclesiastical history was more to historiography than was the discovery of America to geography. It added immensely to the contents of history and radically changed men's conceptions of its nature. It at once caused political history to be seen to be only a part of history, and carried even into the popular mind the conviction—of which hardly a trace

is to be found in the classic historians—that all history must move towards some general human end, and some divine goal."

Such a conception of history was inseparable from the Christian dogmas of the Fall and Redemption of mankind and a necessary corollary to the Christian scheme of world evangelization. It is needless to say that neither the scientific application of the new theory of history nor the formulation of a systematic Philosophy was a necessary duty either of the theologian or the evangelist. Historiography exhibits the needs as well as the ideals of its framers, and though the historical impulse in Christianity found expression from the very beginning, centuries elapsed before any adequate exemplification was given either of the conception of history or the Philosophy of History, contained in Christian dogma. To Eusebius of Cæsarea belongs the honor of first applying the new principles in narrating the course of events and to Augustine of Hippo that of formulating the first philosophy of History.

A mere enumeration of the historical works of Eusebius is not possible here, nor would it give any clue to the range and quality of his learning. He lived at a critical period in the life of the church, when all the hostile forces, political and intellectual, which had been gathering through three centuries were bursting over the Christian organization. "His lot was cast," as has been said by one of his admirers, "in the great crisis of transition. He stood as it were on the frontier line between two ages, with one foot in the Hellenism of the past and the other in the Christianity of the future; and by his very position he was constrained to view them face to face and to discuss their mutual relations." All the charges and objections against the Christian religion were gradually reduced, in the assaults of such men as Porphyry, to one fundamental argument, the Christians had no history. No race had grown to greatness in the worship of the God they adored. He had not shown Himself in nature nor in history. If He had created men, what was to be said of His Providence, and how was it that His name was unknown in antiquity? With such assailants and living in such times it was natural that

the work of Eusebius should have assumed an apologetic character. The duties imposed on him, however, as an apologist never blinded Eusebius to the duties of the historian, but serve rather to bring out his thorough impartiality and his deep-seated conviction that a frank appeal to the past was the surest support of the convictions for which he contended.

The History of the Church is the work by which Eusebius is best known. "Had he written nothing else," says McGiffert, "Eusebius' Church History would have made him immortal; for if immortality be a fitting reward for large and lasting services, few possess a clearer title to it than the author of this work." Despite the many shortcomings of this indispensable volume, there runs through it the idea of unity and humanity, a conviction that all men are to be absorbed into the kingdom of Christ, and that under the spirit of the gospel a society will be established wide as humanity itself. The Church History, however, is merely a section of the great plan conceived by Eusebius, and the exhibition of but one phase in the great designs of Providence which had been operative from the beginning and which would direct human destiny to the end. A more complete expression of his conception of the course of human events is found in other writings, notably those entitled Prophetical Extracts, Praeparatio Evangelica and Demonstratio Evangelica. The theme of these works has been well described as "God in History." The author points out that the progress of Christianity, its growth through conversions among the gentiles and its failure to attract the Jews had been foretold in the pages of the prophets. The work on which the claim of Eusebius to be a pioneer and founder in methods of history is the Chronicle or "Divers Histories." It is divided into two books, the first containing an epitome of history, the second a series of "chronological tables, which exhibit in parallel columns the succession of the rulers of different nations, in such a way that the reader can see at a glance with whom any given monarch was contemporary. And they are accompanied by notes marking the years of some of the more remarkable historical events, these notes also constituting an epitome of history."

These are but a few of the words of Eusebius. "He was historian, apologist, topographer, exegete, critic, preacher, dogmatic writer in turn." It mattered nothing, however, what subject he touched, the thought which found expression in all his writings was that Jesus Christ was the centre of the world's history. All the vicissitudes in the fortunes of the human race are but the development of a divine plan to rescue men from the abyss of misery into which they had been plunged by original sin. The varied story of human experience was coördinated into one vast whole by Eusebius in the three great concepts of humanity, progress and liberty, which, if not explicitly designated, are nevertheless represented as potent factors in human development. Compared with the plan of Eusebius the universal history of Polybius or the ancients is seen to be merely a partial or particularist conception. In the mind of Eusebius one plan ran through history. It began with Adam, it centred in Christ and closed with the general judgment. Compared to such a plan the schemes of the classical authors sink into insignificance. Instead of the tribe or the state or the nation history was made to embrace the vicissitudes of humanity at large and of society as a whole.

On the purely technical side the work of Eusebius exhibits many defects. He was frequently uncritical, he erred in matters of chronology, and his work exhibits none of the literary finish and fine appreciation of effective grouping and description which are shown in his classical predecessors, but in earnestness to acquaint himself with reliable sources, in calm objective discrimination and in intellectual honesty, his work opens up a new period in the history of historiography.

Eusebius had many imitators. Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret contented themselves with continuing the history of the church from where he left off. And throughout the middle ages as at the present time, his works are a unique guide to the early days of Christianity.

The successful application of the principles of Christianity to the subject of history by Eusebius did not save the followers of Christ from fresh reproaches less than a century later when

the city of Rome was captured by the Visigoths. It is hard to conceive the consternation of the pagans and even of the Christians when the fact dawned on them that Rome, after more than eleven hundred years of conquest and supremacy, was in the hands of her enemies. The heathens attributed the calamity to Christianity, and claimed it was a punishment for abandoning the worship of the national deities. St. Augustine devoted thirteen years to the composition of a work, the "De Civitate Dei," to repel these accusations. His plan and purpose are best stated in his own words. "This work was in my hands for several years, owing to the interruptions occasioned by many other affairs which had a prior claim on my attention, and which I could not defer. However, this great undertaking was at last completed in twenty-two books. Of these the first five refute those who fancy that polytheistic worship is necessary in order to secure worldly prosperity, and that all these overwhelming calamities have befallen us in consequence of its prohibition. In the following five books I address myself to those who admit that such calamities have at all times attended and will at all times attend the human race and that they constantly recur in forms more or less disastrous, varying only in the scenes, occasions and persons on whom they light, but, while admitting this, maintain that the worship of the gods is advantageous for the life to come. In these ten books, then, I refute these two opinions, which are as groundless as they are antagonistic to the Christian religion. But that no one might have occasion to say, that though I had refuted the tenets of other men, I had omitted to establish my own, I devote to this object the second part of this work, which comprises twelve books although I have not scrupled, as occasion offered, either to advance my own opinions in the first ten books or to demolish the arguments of my opponents in the last twelve. Of these twelve books, the first four contain an account of the origin of these two cities,—the city of God and the city of the world. The second four treat of their history or progress; the third and last four of their deserved destinies. And so, though all these twenty-two books refer to both cities,

yet I have named them after the better city and called them The City of God."

Such was the magnificent phenomena of universal history which passed before the mind of St. Augustine. Every incident and every movement had its allotted place, and the entire course of human events moved along in a stately and orderly procession. It was Christian Theology vitalized and embodied in the story of the nations. Nothing was left to chance or caprice. With a wealth of detail and a world of dialectic St. Augustine depicted the course of history, commencing with the rebellion of the angels in Paradise, and the fall of man less than six thousand years before, and pointed out its future course in foreordained channels until time should be no more. The *Civitas Terrena* or *Diaboli* was established with man's first disobedience. Though all men as descended from the same parents, shared in their sin, "God who has not left even the entrails of the smallest and most contemptible animal, or the feather of a bird, or the little flower of a plant, or the leaf of a tree, without an harmony, and, as it were, a mutual peace among all its parts, can never be believed to have left the kingdoms of men, their dominations and servitudes, outside of the laws of His Providence." Nothing was left to chance or to fate, and without impairing man's freedom of will, everything was foreordained by God. Notwithstanding differences of race and nation and institutions there are only two kinds of society, "the one consists of those who wish to live after the flesh, the other of those who wish to live after the spirit." Cain was the founder and first citizen of the Civitas Diaboli: the just are the citizens of the Civitas Dei. Like the individual the race had to pass through its period of preparation and education. The history of man had two great epochs, the time of preparation before Christ, and the time of triumph afterwards. All the great states of antiquity were under the dominion of Satan and passed away: but in the appointed time Christ came to re-establish the kingdom of God, represented thenceforth by the Church. The victory of the Church was the purpose of history, and the triumph of the City of God the purpose of

human existence. Once again in the last days Anti-Christ would come and struggle for mastery only to be subdued. This long drama would end at the last judgment, when those of the City of God would be rewarded with eternal happiness and the children of sin would be condemned to eternal woe.

Nothing pertaining to human welfare on earth has been left out of this picture. It exhibited the vicissitudes of times and peoples and explained them all as results of clearly defined causes. Here, for the first time, was expounded a comprehensive and systematic scheme, broad as the universal history of the race and bounded only by the Creation and the Last Judgment, in which was set forth not only the current and progress of events, but the underlying causes from which they flowed and by which they were directed.

"With all its defects," says Flint, "it was a vast improvement on previous theories of history, or rather on the previous want of a theory. It explicitly affirmed the historical unity and progress which to some extent it denied. It recognized the importance of the moral and spiritual in the life and movement of humanity. It represented history as one great whole guided by principles and proceeding to solemn issues through an orderly series of stages. It made apparent that the knowledge of history bears closely on the highest problems of speculation."

As a presentation of the Christian view of history the work of St. Augustine has never been surpassed. It dominated the entire Middle Ages, reappears in Bossuet's *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle,* and forms the substance of Treatises by De Maistre, Görres and Rougemont in later times.

At the suggestion of St. Augustine, a Spanish priest, Orosius, composed a universal history (Libri VII Historiarum adversus Paganos) to refute the same charges dealt with in "The City of God," and embodying in practical form the principles which the latter was intended to expound.

Augustine and Orosius had scarcely ended their labors before the pall of Teutonic invasion fell on Western Europe. The Empire was settled by new peoples having no bonds with the

past nor sympathy for its culture. Whatever remained of the old civilization was guarded by the Church, which undertook the task of teaching the invaders. Historical science was slow in emerging from the universal disorder, and when it did appear it bore few marks of continuity with the achievements of Eusebius and Augustine. The period between the Gothic and Vandal conquests down to the Renaissance was, however, rich in an ever-increasing output of historical writing. In this vast mass of literature there were few works, even on ecclesiastical history, of a general character. The Breviarium Historiae Ecclesiasticae of Haymo of Halberstadt (853), the Historia Ecclesiastica of Anastasius Bibliothecarius (886), of Ordericus Vitalis, the Flores Chronicorum of Bernard Guido and the general histories of Bartholomaeus de Fiadonibus or of the Dominican Antoninus were merely summaries of older works or so uncritical and inexact, except when they occasionally dealt with contemporary events, as to be practically worthless.

In the histories of particular peoples or of national churches the Middle Ages produced real monuments of historical information. Among these may be enumerated the works of Jordanis, Gregory of Tours, the Venerable Bede and the works of Adam of Bremen and Flodoard of Rheims. It is not too much to say that we owe most of our knowledge regarding certain periods of Gothic, Frankish, English and Scandinavian history to the writings of these men and that, notwithstanding their many shortcomings, the information contained in their pages is in the main correct.

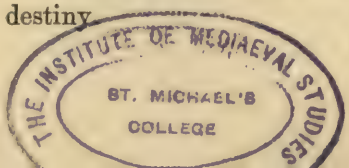
The great mass of mediaeval historical writings is in the form of Biographies, Annals and Chronicles dealing with the lives of saints, popes or bishops or with the histories of monasteries or bishoprics. Notwithstanding their ecclesiastical character they deal freely with secular affairs, as the Middle Ages knew little of the distinction between profane and secular history. The works enumerated by Wattenbach, Potthast, Chevalier and the Bollandists all contain with few exceptions the same general principles of historiography and all exhibit the same tendencies in method. This does not mean that the Middle Ages produced no great historians. Most critics single

out for special praise Otto of Freisingen who exhibited conceptions as large and comprehensive as those of Augustine. Adam of Bremen failed of being known as the Herodotus of the North only because he did not write in the vernacular. To go over the list of those who deserve special praise would serve no good purpose as mediaeval historiography remained within limits which from the circumstances of the time it was unable to escape.

As a general rule few works of mediaeval historians give evidence of any desire on the part of the authors to become acquainted with all the facts. Europe recovered slowly from the prostration of the Teutonic invasions and until the era of the Crusades, there was no possibility of gaining access to the sources of history. The foundation of the Universities and contact with the East broadened the mental horizon of Western Europe and opened up channels of information until then closed. In addition the mediaeval students had little critical training in dealing with facts and the kind of evidence presented to historians. They were not trained in the methods of induction and troubled themselves little about generalization from particulars. They did not, however, lack guiding principles in dealing with history. The faith which ruled their lives saved them from anarchistic tendencies and new, unproved theories. In all that went to make up a solid conception of history, and in the possession of principles implicitly at least forming a sound Philosophy of History, the baldest mediaeval chronicle immeasurably surpassed the classical works of antiquity.

Compared with ancient historiography, therefore, that of the Middle Ages suffers on the side of presentation. It produced no Thucydides and no Tacitus. It was, on the other hand, in its higher forms no less critical than the works of pagan antiquity, and it never lost its grasp on fundamental principles regarding the unity, the progress and the ultimate betterment of the race as being consonant with the divine plans which saved humanity from the results of its own folly and was guiding it to a higher destiny.

PATRICK J. HEALY.



WHY INTEREST IS PAID.

Why does the man who borrows a hundred dollars pay back at the end of the year, not simply the hundred dollars which he has borrowed, but also, say five dollars in addition? Why does he pay interest? The obvious answer is that he cannot get the money otherwise. But why does he wish to get the money upon such onerous terms? Is he not worse off at the end of the year when he has paid back the hundred five dollars than he would be if he had not borrowed the money in the first place? What is the source from which the extra five dollars comes?

To this last question a great many different kinds of answers have been given, but the discussion has not yet been closed. Aristotle condemned interest taking on the ground that money is naturally barren. Any bright school boy will point out that Aristotle's mistake lay in not seeing that money can be used to purchase productive capital, and that, therefore, money is virtually productive. The socialists are on the side of Aristotle and against the school boy. They hold that it is not true that capital is productive of interest. Labor, they say, produces the whole product. The capitalist, in the manner of a refined highwayman, is in possession of an instrument which enables him to appropriate to himself the product of the labor of others. And some of them go on to contend that all interest taking is morally wrong. Henry George goes to the other extreme, in defense of the schoolboy's position, and holds that the true source of interest is the natural productivity of capital. "Thus interest springs from the power of increase which the reproductive forces of nature, and the in effect analogous capacity for exchange, give to capital. It is not an arbitrary, but a natural thing; it is not the result of a particular social organization, but of the laws of the universe which underlie society. It is, therefore, just." The economists, for the most part, are

inclined to think that the true source of interest has been found neither by Henry George nor by the socialists. Interest is neither exploitation of labor nor simply the result of the productive and reproductive forces of nature.

Let us first examine Henry George's contention. "It is true," says George, "that if I put away money, it will not increase. But suppose, instead, I put away wine. At the end of a year I will have an increased value, for the wine will have improved in quality. Or supposing that in a country adapted to them, I set out bees; at the end of a year I will have more swarms of bees, and the honey which they have made. Or, supposing, where there is a range, I turn out sheep or hogs or cattle; at the end of the year I will, upon the average, also have an increase.

"Now what gives the increase in these cases is something which, though it generally requires labor to utilize it, is yet distinct and separable from labor—the active power of nature; the principle of growth, of reproduction, which everywhere characterizes all the forms of that mysterious thing or condition which we call life. And it seems to me that it is this which is the cause of interest, or the increase of capital over and above that due to labor. There are, so to speak, in the movements which make up the everlasting flux of nature, certain vital currents, which will, if we use them, aid us, with a force independent of our own efforts, in turning matter into the forms we desire—that is to say, into wealth. . . .

"If I plant and care for a tree until it comes to maturity, I receive, in its fruit, interest upon the capital I have thus accumulated—that is, the labor I have expended. If I raise a cow, the milk which she yields me morning and evening is not merely the reward of the labor then exerted; but interest upon the capital which my labor, expended in raising her, has accumulated in the cow. And so, if I use my own capital in directly aiding production, as by machinery, or indirectly aiding production, in exchange, I receive a special and distinguishable advantage from the reproductive character of the capital, which is as real, though perhaps not as clear, as though I had lent my capital to another and he had paid me interest."

At first sight, George seems to have established a good case. On reflection, it is found too good to be true. In the first place, interest can be had for the use of capital where the productive and reproductive forces of nature are not at work, as well as where they are at work. Thus when the carpenter uses a plane, in George's opinion, labor alone is the efficient cause of production. If the farmer buys a calf at the beginning of the year, on the other hand, he will have a cow at the end of the year. Here the vital forces of nature are at work. And yet interest can be had upon investments in planes as well as upon investments in calves. George tries to get around this difficulty by saying that there is an averaging up of benefits, and that the capital invested in the plane must get as high a rate of return as the capital invested in the calf; otherwise, capital would be invested only where natural forces were at work. But he does not give a satisfactory explanation as to why the owner of a thing which will give a return on account of the coöperation of nature should be willing to exchange his property for a thing which does not receive any gratuitous assistance from nature, but which gives a return only in proportion to the labor employed upon it.

In the second place, George seems to say that as the calf becomes a cow, the increase is due entirely to the forces of nature. But the owner of a herd of cattle will find that the increase of the herd from year to year does not represent a net interest return, but that there are heavy outlays in the form of wages. If this natural increase cannot be obtained except by the expenditure of wages for laborers, it is evident that the whole of the increase cannot be accounted interest. Where, then, is the dividing line between interest and wages, even in those cases where nature seems to be responsible for the increase? Is it not possible that the whole of the natural increase of the herd might be required to pay the wages of the laborers? And if so, should we not have a case where nature aids in production, but where there is no interest? Or again, might the situation not be such that although the herd had grown ten per cent. in numbers, the value of the herd was not greater

than before? Thus, ten head of cattle this year, might be as valuable as eleven head next year. In that case, although nature had done her work perfectly, there would be no increase of capital from one year to another, and hence no interest; for interest represents an increase in value, rather than an increase in the number or size of physical goods. Or suppose, on the other hand, that the herd did not increase physically, through the year, but that on account of an increased demand, the prices went up and that ten head of cattle were worth ten per cent. more this year than last. Why would not the increased value due to the increased demand, represent interest as truly as if there had been an increased value due entirely to an increase in physical growth?

George has made the solution of the problem far too simple. Take for instance, his illustration of the wine which is put away for a year, and which increases in value. He supposes that it is a simple matter of addition to find out the value of the wine at the beginning of the year, and a simple matter of subtraction to take this amount from the value of the wine at the end of the year, and that the remainder is interest on the capital for the year. But the problem does not work out so simply. The wine has not value at the beginning of the year because it has cost something to produce it. It has value at the beginning of the year because it is going to have value at the end of the year. It has value because it can be consumed, and will satisfy a want. The undertaking to pay expenses of production, such as wages, or rent, or interest, does not give value to the product. But a good business man will not undertake to pay more rent and interest and wages than is warranted by the value of the product. Thus, paradoxical as it may seem, the cost of production depends upon the value of the product, instead of the value of the product depending upon costs of production. The value of a commodity depends upon the usefulness of the article (the term usefulness is here employed without moral connotation), and its scarcity. It is true that the scarcity of the article may be depend upon the effort required to produce it, and in this indirect way also, value is

related to cost of production. If the wine were a commodity which had no present usefulness, independently of its usefulness at the end of the year, and if there were no other expenses in connection with keeping it through the year except the interest expense, our method of procedure would be first to find out the value which the commodity would have at the end of the year, on account of its usefulness and its scarcity, and then to find out the rate of interest, and after discounting the value at the end of the year at this rate, we should arrive at the value at the beginning of the year. In other words, we do not get any new knowledge by subtracting the value at the beginning of the year from the value at the end of the year, for the reason that we must have known the rate of interest, before we could find the value at the beginning of the year.

A parallel situation is seen in the rate of return upon an investment in land. Suppose that we invest a hundred thousand dollars in real estate and get a return of five thousand dollars a year. Our first thought might be that it is remarkable that this land returns us five per cent. on our investment, and that the same or nearly the same *rate* of return is given by land much poorer than ours as well as by land much more fertile. When we stop to think the matter over, however, we realize that the case is not nearly so remarkable as it seemed at first sight. Our land is worth a hundred thousand dollars because the rate of interest is five per cent. The rate of interest is not five per cent. because our land is worth a hundred thousand dollars. The value of the land comes from the value of the annual product of the land. The value of this annual product depends upon its usefulness and its scarcity. Given the value of the annual return from the land, we find the value of the land itself, by capitalizing it at the current rate of interest. The annual return is five thousand dollars. We capitalize this at the current rate of five per cent., and we obtain for the value of the land, a hundred thousand dollars. If through some changes in the usefulness or scarcity of the product of the land, its annual value should change to ten thousand dollars, the value of the land itself, would likewise be doubled. No

change in the rate of interest would result. Or suppose that the causes which determine the current rate of interest undergo a change such that the rate of interest becomes ten per cent. instead of five. The value of the land would then be cut in half. Thus the value of the land is a *result* of the rate of interest and the annual income, rather than a *cause*. In like manner, the present value of wine which I put away until next year for the purpose of improvement, depends upon next year's value and upon the rate of interest. It is not a cause of the rate of interest. Similar reasoning might be applied to the other examples given by Henry George to illustrate the cause of interest. It is clear that George has not found the real cause of interest.

The socialist explanation of interest goes to the other extreme. Henry George says that interest is paid because of the contribution which nature makes to the productive process. The socialists say that labor is the only active agent in production. Labor uses capital in working upon the land. Capital and land are passive while labor produces. The whole value produced is the product of labor. But since labor needs capital in order to work effectively, the owner of capital is able to compel labor to give him a portion of the value which it has produced. It is as though the capitalist had erected a turnstile upon a bridge which had been built by labor. If labor wishes to cross the bridge, it must pay the capitalist the toll. This theory of value was worked out with much ingenuity by Karl Marx, "the father of scientific socialism." Marx's philosophy was deterministic. According to him, men's actions are all controlled by the iron grip of fate. What is going to be, is going to be, and that is the end of it. It would not do for him to say that interest taking is wrong, because to the determinist there is no right and wrong. The worst that Marx could logically say was that interest taking is uneconomic. He believed, however, that it would prove to be a machine which would ultimately overturn society and set up the socialistic state. Some of his disciples, less logical than he, say that since labor has produced the whole product, the whole product *ought*

to go to labor. Some of them even allege that Marx himself considered interest taking immoral. If he ever said so, it was a slip of his pen and was not a position which he could have held upon reflection. The present day socialist, however, bears the chains of logic more lightly, and when he protests that interest taking is exploitation of labor, he means that it is a shame and a disgrace to our civilization and that it *ought* to be stopped, because it is wrong. In two sentences he says: Labor produces the whole product. Therefore, labor ought to receive the whole product. The error of the socialists is similar to that of Henry George. The value of the product does not depend upon the value of the things which produce it. On the contrary, the value of the product depends upon the usefulness of the product and upon its scarcity. The value of the labor and of the other things which go to produce the commodity, are derived from the value of the product. If a commodity is worth a dollar, it cannot be made worth two dollars by putting two dollars' worth of work into it. It can be made worth two dollars only through an increased demand, or through a diminution of the supply, or both, assuming that the value of a dollar does not change in the meantime. When the commodity was worth a dollar, the sum of the rent and interest and wages and profits paid in its production, was a dollar, and when it becomes worth two dollars, the increased value is reflected back to the productive agents until their values represent the capitalization of two dollars instead of one. On the other hand, an inefficient employer may employ twice as much labor in the production of a commodity as is employed by a more competent rival, but he does not thereby obtain twice as high a price for the commodity. However important, therefore, we may consider labor as an agent in production (and it is hardly possible to overestimate its importance), the theory of the exploitation of labor does not furnish the true explanation of interest.

In the earlier half of the nineteenth century, the view was very much more common among economists than at the present time, that the value of a commodity is determined by the expense of producing it. Since interest represented a part of,

or was taken out of the value of the commodity, various efforts were made to determine the necessary service for which it was a recompense. One of the most important of these was that of Nassau William Senior. Senior realized that in the formation of capital abstention from consumption of goods was required. This abstinence was for the most part unpleasant, and in order that a sufficient amount of it be practiced so that any considerable amount of capital might be provided, it was necessary that those who saved should be rewarded for their self-sacrifice. Interest was, in the opinion of Senior, this necessary payment. Although this represented a distinct advance over the prevailing economic theory of the day, the phrase, wages of abstinence, which he employed, was not a happy one. It left plenty of room for the socialist Lassalle's sarcastic comment: "The profit of capital is the 'wage of abstinence.' Happy, even priceless expression! The ascetic millionaires of Europe! Like Indian penitents or pillar saints they stand: on one leg, each on his column, with straining arms and pendulous body and pallid looks, holding a plate towards the people to collect the wages of their abstinence. In their midst, towering up above all his fellows, as head penitent and ascetic, the Baron Rothschild! This is the condition of society! How could I ever so much misunderstand it!" If Senior were working out this line of reasoning today, he would undoubtedly take more care to show that interest is the wage of "marginal" abstinence. He would probably undertake to show that not all saving of a given amount of capital is the result of the same amount of sacrifice, but that it is the saving of the capital which is actually saved at the greatest sacrifice which determines the rate of interest. Had he done so he would have had about as good an interest theory as was possible for one who clung to the expense-of-production explanation of value.

The brilliant Austrian economist, Professor Eugen von Böhm-Bawerk, broke new ground for interest theory in his "Positive Theory of Capital." He advanced the view that interest is paid because most of us prefer present goods to future goods of the like kind and number. This is usually called the agio

theory. Professor Irving Fisher of Yale, taking Böhm-Bawerk's theory as a starting point, while rejecting certain essential features, holds that the true explanation of interest is to be found in "impatience" to consume income. "It is odd," says Professor Fisher; "that no one has happened heretofore to hit on this term, which seems to be the only one expressing accurately and in a single word, the real basis of interest. The term *delay* (*mora*) was used by some medieval writers, who first sought to excuse interest taking on the ground that repayment of a loan was 'delayed' and that the delay should be penalized; but the justification of interest consists not exactly in the delay in paying, but in the fact that the borrower *does not like the delay.* The term 'abstinence' has had much currency; but it is not abstinence but the *inconvenience* of abstinence which is the real factor. By Professor Marshall the term 'waiting' has been suggested; but it is not the waiting which is significant but the reluctance to wait. Böhm-Bawerk's term 'agio' has attracted much attention; but it has no evident meaning until it is explained by a longer phrase—*i. e.,* 'a premium in the esteem of man for present over future goods.' The idea which it is sought to express by all these proposed terms—delay, abstinence, waiting, agio, as well as by other more clumsy expressions such as 'labor of saving,'—is simply the very familiar one expressed in daily experience by the term 'impatience.' It is because a man is impatient that he thinks 'delay' should be penalized; it is because he is impatient that 'abstinence' from immediate indulgence or 'waiting' for future indulgence, is regarded with disfavor; it is because he is impatient that he puts a premium or 'agio' on present goods as compared with future. . . . Impatience is a fundamental attribute of human nature. As long as people like to have things today rather than tomorrow, there will be a rate of interest. *Interest is, as it were, impatience crystallized into a market rate.*" (*The Impatience Theory of Interest,* p. 9.)

Professor Fisher's real contribution consists in his carefully working out the details of Böhm-Bawerk's theory. Where he departs from his predecessor's explanation by denying the im-

portance of the technical superiority of present over future goods, he weakens rather than strengthens his theory. Let us first examine the manner in which he works out the rate of interest and then consider the shortcomings of his theory.

The rate of interest is, according to Professor Fisher, a composite of the rates of impatience in the minds of different people. The rate of impatience in the individual's mind, is his preference for an additional dollar or dollar's worth of goods, available today, over an additional dollar or dollar's worth of goods, available a year from today. If, in order to get one dollar today, a man is willing to pay a dollar and five cents next year, his rate or degree of impatience is five per cent. The present dollar is worth so much to him that he is willing to pay for it five per cent. more than one dollar in the future; it is the willingness to do this to gratify one's impatience which causes the phenomenon of a rate of interest.

When present capital is preferred to future capital, the preference is really a preference for the income of the first capital as compared with the income of the second capital. The reason why we would choose a present fruit tree rather than a similar fruit tree available in ten years, is that the fruit of the first will be available earlier than that of the second. Impatience for goods of any kind resolves itself into impatience for income, *i. e.,* preference for immediate *income* over remote income.

The more impatient a people are, the higher will be their rate of interest, while the more patient they are, the lower will be their rate, according to Professor Fisher. The degree of impatience of the nation depends upon the degree of impatience of its individuals. This depends upon the character of the individuals and the character of their incomes. Five characteristics of the individual are considered in relation to their influence upon impatience, *viz.,* foresight, self-control, habit, expectation of life, and love for posterity. Generally speaking, the greater the foresight, the less the impatience, and *vice versa.* Similarly with self-control. One's habits also affect one's rate of impatience. Thus the rich man's son who has been

brought up with expensive habits, when he finds himself with a smaller income than his father provided him during his formative years, will be more impatient for income than a man who has this same income but who has climbed up instead of down. A man who looks forward to a long life will have a relatively high appreciation of the future, which means a relatively low appreciation of the present, and consequently a low rate of impatience. The most powerful cause tending to reduce the rate of interest is love for one's children and the desire to provide for them. Life insurance is acting as one of the most powerful means of lowering the rate of impatience and therefore the rate of interest.

The rate of impatience of the individual depends not only upon his own character but also upon the character of his income. If his present income is large while his expected future income is small, he will have a low rate of impatience and *vice versa*. Thus, the young professional man with small income but with great expectations, is likely not only to live up to his present income, but to intrench largely upon his future income through borrowing, while the man with a descending income will prefer to save and lend a part of his present income in order not to be compelled to lower too greatly his standard of living in the future.

The absolute amount of income as well as its distribution in time, has an influence upon the individual's rate of impatience. The smaller the income, the higher will be the rate of impatience. This will be true for two reasons. In the first place, with a small income there will be greater need to use the whole income and to draw on the future in order to keep alive. In the second place, poverty tends to distort the perspective. Its effect is to relax foresight and self-control, and to tempt one to trust to luck for the future, if only the all-absorbing clamor of present necessities may thus be satisfied.

Another important influence on impatience is uncertainty of income. In general uncertainty of income tends to raise the rate of impatience. Thus sailors are proverbial spendthrifts and have a proverbially high degree of impatience because of their

constant risk of life and the consequent uncertainty of next year's income. There are, however, exceptional cases where the uncertainty of future income has the opposite effect, *viz.*, that of lowering the degree of impatience, as where it causes people to lay up something for a rainy day.

Thus, to sum up, where the income is small, increasing and precarious, and where the recipient of the income is short-sighted, weak-willed, accustomed to spend, and without heirs, the degree of impatience will be very large. On the other hand, the degree of impatience will be extremely small where all the opposite circumstances are present, *i. e.*, where the income is large, decreasing and assured, and where the recipient is far-sighted, self-controlled, accustomed to save, and desirous to provide for heirs. Between these extremes are individuals whose characters or the character of whose incomes are in some respects favorable to a low degree of impatience and in other respects favorable to a high degree of impatience. The actual rate of interest will be determined by the combination of all these various rates of preference for present income. Thus, suppose that a man's degree of impatience, *i. e.*, rate of preference, is ten per cent. This means that he is willing to sacrifice one dollar and ten cents of next year's income in exchange for one dollar of this year's. But in the market he may be able to obtain one dollar this year by sacrificing only one dollar and five cents of next year's income. This is to him a cheap rate of interest. Accordingly, he borrows a hundred dollars at five per cent. when he would have been willing to pay ten. This loan, by increasing his present income and decreasing his future, tends to reduce his rate of impatience from ten per cent. to, say, eight per cent. He will continue to borrow another and another hundred dollars until his present income is so large in proportion to his future income that his rate of impatience is reduced to the market rate of interest. At this point he will stop borrowing. On the other hand, an individual with a rate of impatience of two per cent. will become a lender instead of a borrower. He will be willing to accept a hundred and two dollars of next year's income for

one hundred dollars of this year's, but in the market he is able to get one hundred five dollars instead of one hundred two. As he can lend at five per cent. when he would be willing to lend at two per cent., he invests not merely one hundred dollars but several hundred. As he reduced his present income by lending additional hundreds and increases his future income, he raises his rate of impatience. When his rate of impatience reaches the market rate of interest, he will not lend more.

For the individual, the market rate of interest seems to be a fixed fact, but for society as a whole the rate of interest is simply the rate of impatience upon which the whole community may agree. If the rate of interest were fixed very high, there would be relatively many lenders and few borrowers. If the rate were fixed very low, there would be many borrowers and few lenders. The rate must be fixed at a point where the loan market will be cleared. Supply and demand will work this out.

So much for the statement of Professor Fisher's theory. It is an improvement upon the exploitation theory of the socialists inasmuch as it shows that interest is a natural phenomenon having its basis in the desire of men to enjoy next year's income now rather than next year. Or as Böhm-Bawerk puts it: "The perfectly just proposition that the laborer should receive the entire value of his product may be understood to mean either that the laborer should *now* receive the entire *present* value of his product, or should receive the entire *future* value of his product *in the future*. But Rodbertus and the socialists expound it as if it meant that the laborer should *now* receive the entire *future* value of his product." As long as men place different estimates upon present goods and future goods of like quality and number, upon present income and the same income in the future interest will be paid. Interest is, therefore, not necessarily exploitation.

The impatience theory is likewise a decided improvement upon the crude productivity theory of Henry George. George would have it that interest is due to the fact that capital is "naturally" productive. But it is clear that in a community

producing without capital, there would be a desire on the part of many to consume next year's income this year, and this would give rise to interest. And even in actually existing society interest would arise among those whose incomes are in no wise the result of what George would consider productive capital. Even where we have productive capital, in the Georgian sense, as where wine is put away and increases in value, the impatience explanation is far more satisfactory than that advanced by Henry George. Wines which cannot be used this year to good advantage but which will be ready for consumption next year, would this year have the value which it is to have next year except for the inconvenience of waiting—except for the impatience of the owners to place it upon the market or their impatience to consume it. The greater this impatience, the smaller is the present value of the wine.

Is the impatience theory of interest, then, an entirely satisfactory explanation of the causes of interest? Yes and no. Yes, inasmuch as it gives a perfectly logical explanation of interest without the need of assuming capital productivity, and because the assumption of capital productivity alone is not a sufficient explanation of the cause of interest. No, because impatience for present income being taken for granted, capital productivity is a real further cause of interest. Thus, for example, when men can use capital productively, more of them will be on the borrowing side of the market; they will be more desirous of having next year's income now in order to use it in production, and hence their impatience rates will be increased and this will have a tendency to increase the rate of interest.

In my opinion, Professor Fisher really admits this when he says, (*Principles,* p. 400): "Of the remaining three determining conditions," (*i. e.,* determining the rate of interest) "the most important may be stated in the following form: Of all the optional uses to which a man may put his capital he will choose, that one which at the market rate of interest makes the present value of his capital the largest possible. . . . Thus the farmer's decision as to which of the optional uses of his

capital is the best will depend, in part, on the rate of interest. Reciprocally, the rate of interest in the community will depend in part on the choice of uses of capital," etc. Since increased product usually—though not always—means increased value, there is here an implicit recognition of an influence exerted by the productivity of capital upon the rate of interest.

As thus amended, *i. e.,* to admit of the influence of the productivity of capital upon the rate of interst, the impatience theory differs little if at all from the "marginal productivity" theory which at present enjoys a wide popularity among economists. The difference between the two becomes merely a question as to where the emphasis shall be placed. This is not, indeed, the view taken by Professor Seager of Columbia who is inclined to place the two theories in sharp contrast. In a criticism of the impatience theory (*American Economic Review,* December, 1912), he says: "To the author's (Professor Fisher's) final conclusion that 'the idea of raising the rate of interest by increasing the productivity of capital is, therefore, like the idea of raising one's self by one's boot straps,' I can only reply that to my mind the idea of raising the rate of interest in any other way is like increasing the volume of a stream by changes, not in the capacities of its source or tributaries but in the ocean into which it flows." But Professor Seager himself most certainly recognizes that there are other ways of raising the rate of interest than by increasing the physical productivity of capital. And even the increase in "marginal" productivity can not in any very real sense be called an increase in the productivity of capital.

Perhaps I ought to explain for the benefit of the uninitiated that this marginal productivity theory has little or almost nothing in common with the crude productivity theory of Henry George. The limits of the present paper will not admit of more than a brief and very unsatisfactory statement of it. According to the marginal productivity theory, the owner of capital receives for its use what it produces at the margin of production. He does not receive the whole product of all his capital, for that would be impossible to estimate. Thus, if

there is employed in a given business capital to the amount of a thousand dollars a part of the whole output of the business is due to the presence of the capital. Suppose the whole output for a given period is worth a hundred dollars. Now if the whole capital of one thousand dollars were removed from the business probably the output would be nothing. But we cannot say that the whole hundred dollars' worth of output is produced by the capital. There have been other factors at work and part of the result is due to them. Nor can we say how much of the hundred dollars' worth has been produced by the capital. Suppose, however, that instead of withdrawing the thousand dollars' worth of capital from the business we withdraw only one dollar's worth, leaving an investment of nine hundred ninety-nine dollars. The result of withdrawing the one dollar's worth of capital will not be that one-thousandth of the total output for the period, or ten cents' worth, will disappear. The loss will be very much smaller than this fraction. Suppose that the loss due to the absence of the "marginal" dollar's worth of capital is three cents. Three cents, then, is the marginal product of the capital, and it represents not only the importance of the presence of the marginal dollar's worth of capital in the business but the importance of the presence of any dollar's worth of capital which is actually used in the business. Under these circumstances the interest on a dollar for the given period will be practically three cents. If the period is one year the *rate* of interest will be three per cent. Interest is the marginal product of capital. It is not the specific physical share of the output which capital has produced.

Assuming that these two theories are not inharmonious and that taken together they explain why interest is paid, do they justify interest taking? No, that is not their purpose. But one must have a satisfactory idea of why interest is paid before one is in a position to take up the matter of the justification of interest taking.

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THE DEVOTIONAL ELEMENT IN MISSIONARY WORK.

"All the logic in the world would not have made me move faster towards Rome than I did," writes Cardinal Newman, in his *Apologia*. "I had a great dislike of paper logic. For myself, it was not logic that carried me on: as well might one say that the quick-silver in the barometer changes the weather. It is the concrete being that reasons."

Needless to remark, there never was a more logical mind than Newman's. Few men had given more unsparingly of their time and profoundest thought to the controversial writings of the Fathers and theologians during the long and weary years in which he was groping his way towards the light. Few outsiders were ever so well fitted to grasp the meaning and force of Catholic polemics. And yet he confesses, without reservation or qualification, that mere logic would never have sufficed to lead him to the shrine of truth.

The study of antiquity unsettled his mind, but it would not, and could not, bring him peace. The writings of the early Fathers made him question and doubt the soundness of his own position. They brought him gradually to recognize that, to all appearances, the Church of Rome was identical with the Church of the Fathers. But of themselves alone they were unable to set his mind at rest, or induce him to take the final step. The change involved in his complete assent to the odious "paper logic" was so tremendous that it appalled him utterly, and naturally inclined him to pick flaws in his own reasoning, and to question the soundness of his own conclusions. In a matter of such vital moment as the giving up of the church of his love and his friends for the church of the stranger—a stepping forth into the great unknown—we can all readily understand his mental attitude; why it was that he proceeded so slowly, so cautiously, so reluctantly, that at times he distrusted the find-

ings of reason, even to the extent of growing irritable when reasons were forced upon him.

"To come to me with methods of logic," he says, "had in it the nature of a provocation, and made me somewhat indifferent how I met them; and perhaps led me, as a means of relieving my impatience, to be mysterious or irrelevant, or to give in because I could not meet them to my satisfaction. . . . Again, sometimes when I was asked whether certain conclusions did not follow from a certain principle, I might not be able to tell at the moment, especially if the matter were complicated; and for this reason, if for no other, because there is a great difference between a conclusion in the abstract and a conclusion in the concrete. . . . . Or it might so happen that my head got simply confused by the very strength of the logic which was administered to me, and thus I gave my sanction to conclusions which really were not mine, and when the report of those conclusions came round to me through others, I had to unsay them."

Such was the restless, unsatisfied condition in which mere logic left one of the most logical minds of all times. With reason, indeed, did St. Ambrose utter the words which Newman himself quotes so approvingly: "Non in dialectica complacuit Deo salvum facere populum suum."

If logic, and history, and the Fathers, with all their combined weight and effectiveness, were unequal to the task of moving this mighty rock, what was it then that finally accomplished the work? Newman informs us, in the *Apologia,* that Dr. Russell, the President of Maynooth, had perhaps more to do with his conversion than any one else. And how did Dr. Russell succeed where logic, and history, and the Fathers had failed? Not assuredly by any species of argument or reasoning; for Newman himself tells us that the Doctor had never said a word to him on the subject of religion. "He called upon me in the Summer of 1841," writes the Cardinal. "He called again another Summer . . . I do not recollect that he said a word on the subject of religion on either occasion. He sent me at different times several letters; he was always gentle, mild, unobtrusive, uncontroversial. He let me alone."

The truth is, Dr. Russell seems to have understood Newman better than did any one else—his state of mind, his struggles. his unrest and its cause, the utter insufficiency of mere logic or reasoning to allay the fierce storm raging within. He seems to have understood just what was needed to fill the great void in Newman's heart. If he did not understand all this, he certainly "builded better than he knew," for he could not possibly have hit upon a better plan to disperse the mists that befogged the eminent Tractarian's mind, and bring peace and joy to his troubled heart.

And that plan was surely simple enough. It consisted merely in putting into Newman's hands a number of our well-known standard devotional works, such as Veron's "Rule of Faith," a volume of St. Alphonsus' Sermons, the "Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius," some treatises of the Wallenburghs, and "a large bundle of penny or half-penny books of devotion, of all sorts, as they are found in the book-sellers' shops at Rome."

And yet, small though Dr. Russell's part appeared in this great soul-drama, it was, of all, the most important and effective by far. It struck at last the right key, and proved the real turning point in Newman's conversion.

Commenting on the effect produced upon him by studying the *Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius,* Newman writes: "For here again in a matter consisting in the purest and most direct acts of religion,—in the intercourse between God and the soul, during a season of recollection, of repentance, of good resolution, of inquiry into vocation,—the soul was 'sola cum solo'; there was no cloud interposed between the creature and the Object of his faith and love. The command practically enforced was, 'My son, give Me thy heart.' The devotions then to angels and saints as little interfered with the incommunicable glory of the Eternal, as the love which we bear our friends and relations, our tender human sympathies, are inconsistent with that supreme homage of the heart to the Unseen, which really does but sanctify and exalt, not jealously destroy, what is of earth."

And anent the "large bundle of penny and half-penny books

of devotion, of all sorts," which Dr. Russell had sent him, he says: "On looking them over, I was quite astonished to find how different they were from what I had fancied, how little there was in them to which I could really object." Again, in his letter to the President of Maynooth, thanking him for the volume of St. Alphonsus' *Sermons,* he writes: "I only wish that your church were more known among us by such writings. You will not interest us in her, till we see her, not in politics, but in her true functions of exhorting, teaching and guiding. . . . . It is not by learned discussions, or acute arguments, or reports of miracles, that the heart of England can be gained. It is by men 'approving themselves,' like the Apostle, 'ministers of Christ.'"

As Newman felt in this matter, so had felt the still greater Augustine, long centuries before. Though differing vastly in character and temperament, both these eminent men were led into the Church of God by the same path. Both, men of the highest mentality, both men of keenest insight into the strength or weakness of logical arguments, neither could find in pure reason or logic a thoroughgoing solution of the doubts that vexed the mind, or a suitable object to fill the great void in the troubled and aching heart.

And as in the case of Newman and Russell, so in that of Augustine and Ambrose. Both the brilliant Englishman and the brilliant African, though the greatest dialecticians, perhaps, of their respective centuries, owed their conversion, in the last analysis, not to the power of dialectics, but rather to the plain and simple exposition of the plain and simple truths of the higher life—truths which appealed irresistibly to the heart and the affections. And both freely admitted that, next to God, their deepest gratitude for their change of heart was due to men who had adopted as their motto, in dealing with souls, "Non in dialectica complacuit Deo salvum facere populum suum."

To come nearer to our own times, it was this same phase of Catholic life and teaching that pointed out the way for such men as Hecker and his companions, and eventually brought

them into the City of God. And there are many like souls in the world today, hungering for the self-same food, and not knowing where to find it; souls groping about in the darkness, lost in the mazes of transcendentalism, and other false systems of philosophy, with troubled minds and aching hearts, seeking the light which Augustine and Newman and Hecker had the good fortune to see, and ready to follow it were but a glimpse vouchsafed them.

Of all the Protestant sects, none has retained so much of the devotional spirit of Catholicity as the Anglican, or Protestant Episcopal, denomination and it is a remarkable fact that none other has given so many converts to the Church Catholic. In spite of England's break with Rome, there has ever been found in the Anglican establishment, through all the four centuries of its schism, and more particularly in the past century, a certain element known as the high-churchmen, who have clung steadfastly to a portion of our ascetic theology, and have been more or less saturated with its spirit. In fact, the devotional works of some of the high-church bishops and divines are so Catholic in tone and spirit that the average reader, aye, and at times, even the theological student, would readily accept them for genuine Catholic products did he not know the source whence they came.

And we may well believe that the great influx of Anglican, or Protestant Episcopal, divines and laymen into the Catholic Church—the great Romeward movement which has been going on in England and our own United States, for the last fifty or sixty years, is due in largest measure, to the influence of these devotional writings. In the intervening centuries too, between Augustine and the Oxford movement, one could readily point out, did space permit, numbers of eminent converts whose happy change of heart can trace its origin back to the same fertile source.

It may be objected that, while the devotional element has, of a certainty, been largely instrumental in the matter of conversions, while it has frequently put the finishing touches to the work of conviction, it was not, after all, the first or real cause

of the change in the instances here adduced; that logic, reason, history, etc., went before and paved the way, or laid the foundation for the structure of the faith. It may be said that the method here suggested would be a reversing of the natural order, a starting at the end instead of at the beginning, a chimerical hope of plucking the ripe fruit before the tree is planted, or the seed is sown, and that the only safe and sane policy is to convince the truth-seeker of the dogmatic and historic soundness of Catholicity before introducing him to the tenets of asceticism, or the higher Christian life.

But the simple fact remains that in the cases mentioned, logic and controversy did not accomplish the work, and the devotional element did. "All the logic in the world would not have made me move faster towards Rome than I did," says Newman. "It is not by learned discussions, or acute arguments, or reports of miracles, that the heart of England can be gained." And surely if any man is a competent judge of the point in discussion, that man is Newman. He had read the last word on polemics, or apologetics, and that last word left him thoroughly unsatisfied. It was not till he met Dr. Russell, with his "large bundle of penny and half-penny works of devotion, of all sorts," that his eyes were fully opened to the light of truth. And it is highly probable that, if he had not met Dr. Russell, or been introduced to these devotional writings by some other means, he would have ended after the manner of Pusey and Keble, and Froude.

All the dialectics of the schools meant very little to him, without the devotional phase; the devotional phase alone would have meant everything to him, without so much as a word of dialectics. If he had never read a line in defense of the Catholic position, these writings would have sufficed to convince him of the truth by intuition; or by reasoning, if you will—not the roundabout reasoning of systematic dialectics, but the simplest, though best of arguments, the argument from cause and effect. From Newman's own account of his conversion, there can be scarcely any doubt that, had he come upon these devotional works earlier in his career, he would have landed in the Church many years sooner than he did.

Augustine, too, had doubtless read or heard all the apologetic arguments of his day, for we know that he always had a mind open to conviction, and was an indefatigable seeker after the truth. Yet, nothing seemed to make much of an impression up him till he met Ambrose, the man who openly declared that "non in dialectica complacuit Deo salvum facere populum suum."

Is it not perfectly true that "the tree is known by its fruits"? Did not Christ Himself adopt this very means of proving His divine mission? When John the Baptist sent two of his disciples to ask Him: "Art Thou He Who is to come?" "Or do we look for another?" the Master answered, not with set speech, or syllogistic reasoning, or a formidable array of verbal proofs, but simply by pointing to His works: "Go, tell John what you have seen and heard. The blind see, the deaf hear, the dumb speak, the lepers are cleansed, the dead rise again," etc. Works count for more than words. One's deeds are his best credentials. Here are My works. They speak for themselves. No comment of mine is needed. Here are the works of the Messiah, as foretold by the Prophet Isaiah, and the rest of the prophets. Draw your own inference. "A good tree cannot bring forth bad fruit, nor an evil tree, good fruit." These are My fruits. They are undeniably good. Therefore the tree which produced them must itself be good. Here, before your very eyes, are effects which transcend the powers of nature, which prove conclusively a mastery over Nature. Hence their Author can be no other than Nature's God and Master.

It is the same old argument from cause and effect, and it was not the only time the Master used it. Time and again, when His hearers refused to accept His testimony concerning Himself, He thus addressed them: "If you will not believe Me, then believe My works, for the same give testimony of Me." If you will not judge Me by what I say of Myself, then judge Me by what I do. The effect cannot be greater than the cause.

The old soldier who has won his laurels on many a hotly-contested battle-field, amid the whizzing of bullets and the cannon's roar, has no need to proclaim aloud his bravery on

every street corner. Every one admits it. Nor is it necessary for any man who has made great sacrifices for his country's weal to be everlastingly prating about his patriotism. His deeds speak far more eloquently than any words.

And just so with the devotional, or ascetic, writings of the Church. They carry with them their own credentials, and have their own intrinsic worth. They offer one of the most striking proofs of the divinity of the Church, for they are manifestly the ripe fruits of a good, sound tree, the effects of a cause which can be no other than truth itself. And as such, bearing about them, upon their face, the very hall-marks of truth, they must, of necessity, appeal to each and every sincere truth-seeker who has a particle of reason in his mental make-up. It is an inductive process. Clever sophists may raise plausible objections to the very strongest and soundest of our controversial or apologetic arguments, but that the teachings found in our standard devotional writings are verily the ripe fruits of holiness not one of them can gainsay. And even where these works do not of themselves beget conviction, they are likely at least to give rise to a questioning attitude of mind, and a predisposition, which may eventually lead the thoughtful and earnest reader into the Temple of Truth.

The examples thus far given, of the effect produced by the devotional, or ascetic, writings of the Church, have all been taken from among eminent thinkers. It is not, however, the cultured alone who are favorably affected by this species of teaching. What has been said, applies with equal force, perhaps with even greater force, to the rank and file of the seekers after truth. Dialectics, the language of the head, is, after all, the language of the comparatively few, while asceticism, the language of the heart, is intelligible to the multitudes. The average man may not be able to follow a train of reasoning, but he can readily grasp the thoughts and meaning of the "Imitation of Christ." Let the preacher note the effects of both methods on his audience, and he will find this to be a fact.

Every preacher who has tried it, realizes the deep interest aroused, and the wholesome effect produced, by a liberal sprink-

ling of the devotional element in his sermons. It seems to strike at once a sympathetic chord in every heart. The hearer may not have heard much of the language of asceticism: he may even be listening to it for the first time in his life, but immediately and instinctively it appeals to him as just the proper and natural thing, and the good wrought by it is incomparably greater than that which results from frequent diversions into the highways and byways of learned scientific disquisition. Science enlightens, but the theology of ascetism edifies.

To the many, the philosophy of an Aristotle is an insoluble enigma; but the philosophy of an à Kempis is intelligible to all, and all can enter sympathetically into the mind and heart of the man who "had rather feel contrition than know its definition."

The presentation of the intellectual side of religion is profitable to some, but the devotional element is profitable always and for all. Mind speaking to mind is often a doubtful benefit, or even a positive waste of time and energy. But an appeal to the heart is always in order. In the Christian, as in the political, economy, it is well for the preacher to keep steadily in view "the greatest good of the greatest number," and that "greatest good of the greatest number" is best attained, not by lofty flights into the æther of metaphysics, or by excursions into the realms of profane science, not by the technical language of the philosopher, but rather by a plain and simple presentation of the plain and simple truths which appeal irresistibly to man's heart and affections; in short, by just such material as we find ready to hand in the devotional writings of à Kempis, St. Francis de Sales, St. Ignatius, Lawrence Scupoli, Scaramelli, St. Alphonsus, Tauler, Rodriguez, Father Faber, etc.

The writer has often thought, with the great Cardinal Newman, while listening to the devotional talks given during a retreat, what a pity it is that the whole Protestant world cannot drop in unannounced and hear them, and learn to know us as we really are. Such conferences would surely prove the very best object lessons for them, and serve better, perhaps, than any other single influence, to open their eyes to the real holiness

of the Church. The great trouble is that the vast majority of non-Catholics who know us at all, know us only, or mainly, through our apologetic or controversial writings and sermons which, frequently, as in the case of Newman, produce a questioning, or an unsettled, attitude of mind, and even, at times, draw them very nigh to conviction, but leave the heart cold and barren.

Speaking of the Christian faith, Hawthorne compares it to a grand cathedral with divinely-pictured windows. "Standing without," he writes, "you see no glory, nor can possibly imagine any: standing within, every ray of light reveals a harmony of unspeakable splendor." What he says of Christianity in general is peculiarly applicable to the Church. Until one is inside the pale, he can never, of course, understand Catholicity as it is in deed and truth. But the next best thing is to get the earnest truth-seeker as far as possible within the atmosphere of the Church, and that atmosphere is the element found in our standard devotional, or ascetic, works which furnish the key to the inner heart and life of the Church, and deal, not so much with the essentials and absolute requirements of faith, as with the supererogatory service arising, not from a mere sense of duty, but rather from an ardent love; whose motto, or ideal, therefore, is not the minimum, but the maximum, of service.

Is it inaccurate to state that sufficient attention is not given to this devotional phase of Catholic teaching by our theological students, or even by the rank and file of the clergy on the mission? From the writer's own observation as student, teacher, and priest on the mission, he has reason to believe that the statement is not inaccurate. Though ample opportunities are afforded us, as students and priests, to become acquainted with our standard devotional works, by far the greater number pass lightly over this department, seemingly regarding it as a matter of small importance, while in fact and truth it is the very essence and marrow and substance of our Catholic life. And not infrequently the language of ascetic theology is more of a stranger to the spiritual director than to those whom he is called upon to direct.

It is very easy to pick out the priest who is saturated with the spirit and writings of the ascetics. He is recognized particularly in the pulpit and the confessional. Such a one finds little or no difficulty in speaking to his people. He needs not have recourse to sermon books. He is never at a loss for matter of discourse, for he is filled to repletion with the very essence of the Gospel teaching and the Gospel spirit.

It is very easy too, to pick out the priest who is utterly unacquainted with the devotional side of Catholic theology. There is something wofully lacking about him, and though his people may not be aware of what that something is, they can scarcely fail to note the deficiency. There is almost the same difference between him and the priest well versed in ascetic theology as there is between the graduate of the grammar school and the trained university scholar. He may be an excellent rhetorician, or even a first-rate orator; his diction and delivery may be perfection itself; his reasoning may be flawless, his illustrations proof positive of his familiarity with many sciences, both sacred and profane. But, notwithstanding all these excellences, without a liberal infusion of the devotional or ascetic element, the vital sap is wanting to his discourse—the *pectus,* the *divinus afflatus*—and his auditors would be justified in leaving with the plaintive murmur, "We asked you for bread, and you gave us stones."

It is not a question here of the value of these devotional writings for the priest's own spiritual guidance. That much is taken for granted. The principal aim of the article is to emphasize their value in the work of conversion. But it is perfectly in order, nevertheless, to make a remark or two anent their value, their utility, and even absolute necessity, to the priest who means to deal squarely with his own people. Ascetic theology's place in the pulpit has already been pointed out. Its place in the confessional is of still greater importance.

In every parish there are devout souls not content to remain on the comparatively low level of mere adhesion to strict duty, souls animated with a generous love, who want to do, not barely what they have to, but what they can, who want to soar

above the common, and are earnestly striving after perfection, and do not know how to go about it. If they attempt to soar without the wings of spiritual science, they are sure to fall and grow discouraged. They need help, guidance and direction, and naturally look to the priest for it, and have a perfect right to expect it. But a mere acquaintance with dogmatic and moral theology, and sacred scripture, however thorough, will not suffice for this. To do the work properly, the director must be imbued with the spirit and teachings of the masters of the spiritual life. Piety will not make good the deficiency. Hence it is that St. Teresa preferred a learned confessor—one well versed in the tenets of the spiritual life—without great piety, to a pious director without the requisite knowledge.

The director of such devout souls will recommend devotional works for their guidance. And here again it is of vital importance that he know the precise character of the books which he puts into the hands of his penitents. Not all books of devotion are suitable for each and every individual penitent. It goes without saying that neither human souls nor human bodies can be treated in the mass. The efficient spiritual director, like the competent bodily physician, must know the individual conditions and needs of his clients, and the specific remedy for each and every specific ill. And this presupposes a fairly thorough acquaintance with the works of ascetic theology.

In some of the older ascetic treatises there is a good deal of chaff mixed with the pure wheat. And, while their doctrinal teachings are, in the main, or wholly, perfectly sound and fruitful, many of the examples and legends which they record are apt to raise a smile of amusement, or even contempt, on the lips of the modern reader. To put such a book into the hands of a cultured beginner in the spiritual life, or even worse, into the hands of a non-Catholic seeker after truth, without explanation or discrimination, would certainly do more harm than good. It would be just as bad as giving the wrong medicine to the sick man.

To recommend the life of a St. Aloysius or a St. Stanislaus, to a weak, timid, half discouraged toiler up the steep incline,

would be the height of imprudence. And, to say the least, it would be a mere waste of time and energy to attempt to nourish the spiritual life of the average layman or the woman of the world, on a diet specifically meant for monks and nuns. The same holds true, of course, for our own recommendations anent the spiritual life, whether in the pulpit or the tribunal of penance. In every instance, it is of the utmost importance to use good judgment, and adapt our advices to the character of the people with whom we are dealing.

We claim, and rightly, that the Church Catholic has ample means of grace for each and all—and this possession is one of the most convincing proofs of our genuine Catholicity. But to choose the most suitable means in every individual case, so as to produce the greatest possible amount of good, often requires considerable judgment and knowledge.

By way of illustration, the following quotation from Newman (*Apologia Pro Vita Sua,* pp. 194-5), is very pertinent. "Now it must be observed that the writings of St. Alfonso, as I knew them by the extracts commonly made from them, prejudiced me as much against the Roman Church as anything else, on account of what was called their 'Mariolatry'; but there was nothing of the kind in this book. I wrote to ask Dr. Russell whether anything had been left out in the translation: he answered that there certainly were omissions in one sermon about the Blessed Virgin. This omission, in the case of a book intended for Catholics, at least showed that such passages as are found in the works of Italian Authors were not acceptable to every part of the Catholic world."

"It is the common rule," says Faber, "that an ill-instructed person can never attain any considerable heights in devotion. He must have, for the most part, a knowledge of spiritual things." And how can the people be otherwise than ill-instructed if the clergymen are unenlightened? How can they know of the spiritual life, if their spiritual guides themselves are ignorant of it? How can the guides give what they do not possess? "The lips of the priest shall guard wisdom, and they shall require it at his mouth."

Nor is it only for the more devout souls in his flock that the priest needs an acquaintance with the teachings and methods of asceticism. It is useful likewise for the whole flock, at least in small doses; and not alone useful, but even necessary, if they are to be prevented from drifting into mere formalism, or externalism, and dry routine. No matter how much elementary dogmatic and moral theology we may give them, without a savor of the devotional element there will be little or no unction in their Catholic life, and they are likely to continue throughout nothing more than mere automata.

The plan of beginning the work of conversion with an introduction to the ascetical writings of the Church is not something altogether new and untried. Faber tried it years ago in England, and it proved a grand success. As his biographer informs us: "For the conversion of Protestants, the same means were relied on, (the means suggested in this article) and it was soon found that the simple, unargumentative explanation of Catholic truth was the most efficacious means of bringing wanderers into the fold." Or, as Faber himself puts it:

> "By haughty word, cold force of mind,
> We seek not hearts to rule;
> Hearts win the hearts they seek! Behold
> The secret of our school!"

And the biographer adds: "After the course of lectures on Protestantism, with which the daily evening exercises at the Oratory were commenced at Brompton, Father Faber never preached a controversial sermon."

It was Newman's method also, to a great extent, in his "Parochial and Plain Sermons"; and long before either Newman or Faber, St. Ambrose (as we have pointed out in the foregoing pages) tried it with the happiest results.

From all this it is very evident that the Catholic—priest or layman—who is thoroughly saturated with the spirit and teachings of asceticism, not only benefits himself personally, but is in a position to do the most effective kind of missionary work both among his own co-religionists and the large body of sincere, truth-seeking Christians who are still beyond the pale. With

all the opportunities afforded us of forming an acquaintance with the devotional writings of ascetic theology, it would be a shame for us to neglect this highly efficient means of adding to the growth of Christ's Kingdom—to pass lightly over this department, seemingly regarding it as a matter of little importance whereas, in fact and truth, it is the very essence and marrow and substance of our Catholic life.

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BOOK REVIEWS.

Geschichte der Altkirchlichen Literatur. Von Otto Bardenhewer, Professor der Theologie an der Universität München. Dritter Band. Das Vierte Jahrhundert mit Ausschluss der Schriftsteller Syrischer Zunge. Herder: Freiburg im Breisgau, St. Louis, Mo., 1912. Gr. 8°. Pp. x + 665.

The general plan of Professor Bardenhewer's monumental History of early Ecclesiastical Literature as distinct from his Patrology is too well known to be adverted to here. Both works deal with the same subject, but on an entirely different scale, for whereas Patristic literature was dealt with in one volume in the Patrology, this more extended work has gone into three large volumes, which reach only as far as the early part of the fifth century. Following his general scheme the author commences with a general survey of the life of the Church in the period with which he is concerned and classifies the various needs and developments of the time as showing the different forces and the various influences under which Christian writings assumed their special character. With this general survey the reader is placed in a position to grasp more readily, and at a saving of much repetition the lines of thought, controversial and constructive, which are exhibited in the works of the various authors. Another saving of time and attention is made by the division of authors according to countries, for while the general needs of the Church in doctrinal and polemical, matters were the same throughout, the peculiar local needs are better illustrated in the manner followed in this book. Biographical notices are confined to essentials and are written with the special view of throwing light on the literary activities of the various authors. How necessary this was will be evident when it is remembered what a distinguished list of writers and theologians the fourth century produced, and what an enormous output there was in all fields of ecclesiastical science. To say nothing of the minor authors whose works are mines of information on the many-sided conflict between expiring paganism and Christianity, space had to be found for the manifold activities of such men as Athanasius,

Didymus the Blind, Marcellus of Ancyra, the Great Cappadocians, Eusebius of Caesarea, Epiphanius of Salamis, John Chrysostom, Ambrose, Rufinus and Jerome. One feature of unique importance which will be appreciated by students, is the clearness and accuracy with which some departments of Christian literature are analysed and discussed. This applies especially to ascetical works, Christian poetry, and the few Itineraria which date from this period. On critical and bibliographical matters not much is left unsaid. The texts, translations and editions are enumerated, and a sufficient number of secondary sources indicated to put students and investigators in possession of all the information necessary for the profitable use of the works of the Christian authors of the fourth century. Dr. Bardenhewer has raised a lasting memorial in this useful and scholarly work.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

The Eve of Catholic Emancipation, being the history of the English Catholics during the first thirty years of the nineteenth century. By The Right Rev. Monsignor Bernard Ward, F. R. Hist. S. Vol. III, 1820-1829. Longmans, Green & Co. New York, 1912. Large 8°. Pp. viii + 390.

The struggle for religious freedom in the British Isles, which ended with the passage of the Emancipation Act is a subject which may be studied with profit even by those who have no special interest in the people or history of England or Ireland. Under the guise of Christianity the state assumed to dictate what the religion of its subjects should be. Monsignor Ward's study is directed especially to an examination of the condition of English Catholics. In their case the religious conflict was not intensified by national hatred as in the case of Ireland, and a picture is presented of what invariably happens when the civil power assumes to act outside its legitimate sphere. The contents of the book are interesting and various. A spirit of frank, but never bitter, criticism runs through it, which will not be taken amiss when the various influences at work among the Catholics and their opponents are borne in mind. Whatever of criticism does occur seems only to confirm the author in his general tone of optimism regarding the outlook for Catholicism in the British Isles at the present. The part which

the Irish and especially their great leader, Daniel O'Connell, had in bringing about the reform of the status of Catholics is not overlooked, and gives the author an opportunity for the irenic passage with which he concludes: "The English Catholics should never forget what they owe to their brethren in Ireland, without whose assistance in the time of struggle the modern development of Catholicity in this country would never have been possible." There is a valuable list of documents and appendices and a chronological table of events, which aid materially in elucidating many passages in the body of the history.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

The Price of Unity. By B. W. Maturin. Longmans, Green and Co. New York, 1912. Pp. xxxiv + 283.

The unity referred to is church unity or more specifically the unity of the Anglican and Catholic churches, and the price the sacrifices which those Anglicans who profess themselves members of the one, true church must be prepared to make in order to be so. Though necessarily controversial in character the book aims at being as much as possible non-controversial in tone. The author is one who made the passage from Anglicanism to Catholicism himself, and in discussing the reasons why members of the High Church party in the Anglican fold should, in the cause of consistency, take the same step, he views the subject throughout from the standpoint of men who are dealing with the same difficulties which beset him before his conversion. The place of the Church of Rome as the one, true church possessing historically and dogmatically the claim to be regarded as the church founded by Christ is set forth with vigor and cogency, though, from the special character of the arguments, addressed as they are to Anglicans and especially to High Church Anglicans, the discussion is limited to the field of Anglican and Roman controversy. In a sense the subject under discussion may be called the Psychology of Conversion. The author does not minimize the difficulties, intellectual and practical, which confront Anglicans who are desirous of entering the Catholic Church. He is at pains to show the many reasons which might be looked on as deterrent influences in such cases, reasons arising from the break with old associations and the

formation of new; but he points out that consistency should impel men to abandon a position which judged by their own professions is incongruous and untenable, and to judge the church which fulfills their conception of what the real church ought to be, not by the representations of its enemies, but by the opinions of those who know its spirit and its organisation from within. Written to meet the needs of a special class, this work ought to serve as a valuable aid and guide for those whose minds are beset with the difficulty of finding spiritual peace, and a church free from the doubts and uncertainties which arise from fluctuating and discordant doctrines.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Palladius, Histoire Lausiaque. (Vies d'Ascètes et de Pères du Dèsert). Texte Grec, Introduction et Traduction Française. Par A. Lucot, Aumonier des Chartreux a Dijon. Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1912. 12mo. Pp. lx + 425.

The Greek text published here is taken from Dom Butler's work in the "Cambridge Texts and Studies" with some emendations suggested by Dom Butler himself in the *Journal of Theological Studies,* and still further explained in a letter to the editor which is published in a footnote. There is a good, though brief, introduction dealing with various topics: Oriental Monasticism, The Life of Palladius, Manuscripts of the Historia Lausiaca, etc. Its contents, doctrinal and ascetical, will place the student in position to use the history itself with understanding and profit. The editors of the series are to be congratulated as well on the choice of texts which they have published as on the thoroughly satisfactory manner in which the work is executed.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Florilegium Hebraicum. Locos selectos Veteris Testamenti. . . edidit Dr. Hub. Lindemann. Freiburg i. B. Herder, 1912. Pp. xii + 215. Price 90 cents net.

The aim of the present chrestomathy is to acquaint the student with the different styles of the Hebrew Bible, both in prose and

poetry. The text used is the Massoretic text as reproduced mainly in the edition of Hahn, Letteris and Kittel. No vocabulary has been added to oblige the pupils to have recourse to a dictionary and thus increase their own efficiency.

In an Appendix, the author has added the Siloam Inscription, specimens of the Babylonian Massoretic punctuation, a page of Yiddish transcription and a table of the Rabbinical characters.

The selection, as a rule is judiciously made. The type is clear and large, and the whole book has a very pleasing appearance.

From an educational point of view, it would have been good to reproduce at least some sections directly from the best MSS. or from the edition of Ginsburg, in order to give the student an idea of what the Massoretic text really is.

We have no doubt that a student who cannot afford to buy a copy of the entire Bible will derive great benefit from this little publication. Even the one who has a copy of the Sacred Text can be guided by Dr. Lindemann in his selection of passages for reading and study.

R. BUTIN, S. M.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The following is the text of the discourse delivered by Reverend Doctor Fox in the chapel of Gibbons Hall, on the occasion of the Feast of the Conversion of Saint Paul:

Saint Paul a Patron of the University.

"Paul, standing in the midst of the Areopagus said: ye men of Athens I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious. For passing by and seeing your idols I found an altar also on which was written: To the unknown God. What, therefore, you worship without knowing, that I preach to you. *Acts*, XVII, 23.

We are assembled today to honor St. Paul, the Doctor of the Gentiles, in some respects the greatest of the Apostles, though in his humbleness he called himself the last, and one not worthy to be an apostle because he had persecuted the Church of God. The good men who founded this institution chose him as the Patron of the Theological School. Had there not been a tenderer and immeasurably higher claim he might with propriety have been taken as the Patron of the University at large. Even if there were one speaking to you today competent to undertake the task of describing the character of Paul or the wonderful story of his life it would be obviously out of place to attempt it on the present occasion.

The inspired writings introduce him first as among the enemies of the Gospel guarding the garments of those who stoned St. Stephen to death, while the martyr, following his Master's example, prayed for his enemies. That prayer was answered on the day when, still burning with honest but blind zeal for the religion of his fathers, on his way to Damascus to urge on the persecution of the converts, Saul was stricken to the ground by the Divine mercy while he heard the voice of Christ saying to him: "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" He fell a Jew, and arose a Christian.

Thenceforth he was the apostle not sent from men, nor by men, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father who raised Him from the

dead. Shortly afterwards, in Damascus, where he was to have co-operated with the Jewish persecutors, he entered on his mission by going into the synagogue to preach Christ crucified. A Hebrew of the Hebrews, as to the righteousness of the Law unblameable, and hitherto zealous to maintain that Israel alone was the people of God, he was yet the first to grasp fully the truth that in the New Dispensation there is no distinction of Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian and Scythian, bondsman and freeman, but Christ is all in all. Thereafter, for twenty years, with a zeal and devotion that knew no bounds, he spent himself in his august vocation of announcing the Glad-tidings; journeying from city to city, from town to town; now among the rude inhabitants of Lycaonia, now in the centres of Greek culture and Roman power, and, again, in places which had won a bad pre-eminence as the homes of Asiatic profligacy; at one time confronting the ignorance and pride of Paganism, at another, struggling with the Jews whose ignorance was all the darker and whose pride was all the fiercer because they were born of knowledge perverted and grace abused.

Need we recall the innumerable hardships and sufferings which, before the executioner's sword closed gloriously his career, befell the apostle, a man of weak frame and burdened with a life-long infirmity? Of these trials he himself gives but an incomplete enumeration when he tells us:

"Five times I received from the Jews the forty stripes save one; thrice I was scourged with the Roman rods; once I was stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck; a night and a day have I spent in the open sea. In journeyings often; in perils of rivers, in perils of robbers; in perils from my countrymen; in perils from the heathen. In toil and weariness, often in sleepless watchings; in hunger and thirst, often without bread to eat; in cold and nakedness." Through all his days only one ambition possessed him, one motive inspired him, to win souls to his Master; the charity of Christ urged him on and he could say truly: "I live, not I but Christ liveth in me."

Brought up in a university town, he was a man of cultured mind, well acquainted with his age. Profoundly versed in the Scriptures, he was able to vanquish the doctors of the synagogue on their own ground. At the same time, before another kind of audience he could make apposite citations from the heathen poets.

Versed in affairs he perceived that the shortest way to the conversion of the Pagan world was to spread the gospel in the great cities of the empire and especially in Rome itself. When the interest of his work demanded it, he who shrank from no ignominy on his own account, boldly asserted his claim to the proud distinction of having been born a Roman citizen and demanded reparation from the magistrates who, in violation of his rights through this title had imprisoned him. At another time, when he was to be subjected to trial that might have ended by interrupting his work, he pronounced the words which, when uttered by a Roman citizen placed him above the competence of every court of inferior jurisdiction: "I appeal unto Cæsar."

His physical courage never deserts him, whether he is in the clutches of an angry mob, or on the deck of a sinking ship, or amid the falling walls of a building overthrown by an earthquake. Nor does his higher moral courage ever fail before the learned or the mighty ones of the world; and, when principle is at stake, he, the last of the Apostles, resists even Peter to his face.

With the shrewdness of a trained lawyer or statesman, he divides his enemies and accusers by throwing among them a bone of contention. He introduces himself and his cause, when necessary, with all the ingratiating suavity of the accomplished rhetorician. "I think myself happy, King Agrippa, that I shall defend myself today before thee against all the charges of my Jewish accusers, especially because thou art expert in all Jewish customs and questions." When Agrippa, impressed in spite of himself by Paul's discourse, said to him, with courtly irony: "Thou wilt soon persuade me to be a Christian," Paul replied with his customary zeal, indeed, yet tinctured with graceful, almost playful courtesy: "Would to God that soon or late, not only thou but all who hear me today were such as I am," and he pointed to the manacles which bound him to the Roman soldier, his guard, "excepting these chains."

How can we describe the tender kindness and love which glowed in the heart of Paul for those whom he had begotten in the Gospel? It burns in every page of his letters to them. To cite the instances would be to repeat the Epistles; one must suffice. Let us recall his reproof of the wayward Corinthians. He treats them exactly as a loving mother would her naughty darling. He intended to visit them personally; but, instead, he wrote to them. Why? he

tells us: "I determined not again to visit you in grief; for if I cause you grief who is there to cause me joy but those whom I grieve? And for this very reason I wrote to you, out of much affection and anguish of heart; with many tears, not to pain you, but that you might know the abundance of my love." Love begets love. If we had no other indication of Paul's love for his children we might gauge its intensity by their affection for him—an affection manifested by their constant solicitude for his welfare, their longing when he was absent; their joy on hearing of his approach; their haste to meet him on the way, along the Ephesian shore, or the Roman road; the tears which they were wont to shed at his departure; their sorrow's crown of sorrow when the parting was rendered sadder by the conviction that they should look upon his face no more.

Only the hand of a master could draw even an inadequate picture of the human love, merged in the fire of divine charity of which in all his dealings, in all his writings, Paul gave unflagging proof, to his friends, to his converts, to the backsliders, to those who refused his gift of the Glad-tidings, and even to those who obstructed his mission and hated himself. That picture has been drawn by a master hand, in pages to most of you familiar, which shall last as long as our English speech.

Do we wish a picture of the merely natural man? Then, if his own example will permit us the license of recurring to the secular poet, we might find an epitome of Paul's human character in the words:

> **His life was gentle; and the elements**
> **So mix't in him that Nature might stand up**
> **And say to all the world: This was a man.**

If we should wish to select out of the varied episodes of Paul's career one that might be taken, in our own mind's eye, or as the subject of a tableau, appropriately to present the great Apostle as a patron of the University, which might we choose?

The victim stricken on the Damascus Road? The disciple of Gamaliel and of Christ confounding the learning of the Sanhedrin, the chained prisoner subduing with his eloquence the most noble Festus and his royal guests? The wandering missionary in loving converse with some band of his beloved neophytes? The inspired writer, pen in hand, recording in human characters the revelations

from on High; or the lonely old man, deserted by all, on trial for his life, standing undaunted before the judgment seat of imperial Cæsar himself?

St. Augustine has said: "Three things I wish I could have seen, —Rome in her glory, Paul in the pulpit, and the Saviour in the flesh." If, then, we agree with Augustine that Paul delivering a discourse best satisfies our imagination when assisting our intellect to understand and our hearts to feel the greatness and goodness of the Doctor of the Gentiles, it would seem that the University would find its Saint Paul in that historic scene, when, on the Athenian hill, in the person of Paul, the Gospel for the first time confronted Greek philosophy, the fine flower of mere natural reason. A man of wide knowledge, if not perhaps a profound scholar, Paul was at least acquainted with Greek literature. He knew the glorious rôle which Greece had played in the drama of the world; he spoke her language as his mother tongue. As he passed through the beautiful city, he saw monuments and edifices at every turn and on every hill, celebrating her glories and manifesting her still enduring supremacy in sculpture and architecture. High over all towered the majestic statue of Pallas Athene, cast from the brazen trophies gathered after the mighty battle in which Athenian valor had forever preserved European civilization from Asiatic despotism. Here were the memories of the Academy founded by the mind which reached a conception of God that still charms us by its beauty; memories, too, of the *Master of those who know,* and of that philosophy which in years still far distant was to be subdued to become the handmaid of the Gospel. The Stoic was there who, with all his pride and self-sufficiency, could teach man no higher precept than to play the Roman fool and die on his own sword. There, also, were the haunts and the representatives of that other philosopher whose teaching lived not merely in the schools, but was the practical maxim of society, high and low: Eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die. Everywhere around were superb statues and temples bearing witness to the truth that although the choice teachers of Greece had, through their knowledge of the visible world, reached a knowledge of the invisible Creator, yet they glorified him not as God, but in their reasonings went astray after vanity, till their senseless hearts were darkened so that they forsook the glory of the imperishable God for idols made in the likeness of perishable men, and, receiving in themselves the due recompense of their transgressions, became filled with all unrighteousness.

Paul who elsewhere gave expression to the zeal that burned within him by the exclamation, "Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel," could not disregard the signal opportunity of presenting Christ crucified to the unbeliever. So he accepted the call, when, after having attracted general attention by announcing the Gospel to the people in the market place, he was invited to address the intellectual *élite* of the city which might then be called the great university of the world, in the court of the Areopagus, around which gathered a thousand memories of great historic national causes and mythical associations.

With his customary prudence and address, Paul opened his discourse in a fashion apt to conciliate the civic pride of his hearers, and to introduce his doctrine as one which in some measure they already acknowledged. "Ye men of Athens: all things which I behold bear witness to your carefulness in religion. For, as I passed through your city and beheld the object of your worship I found amongst them an altar with this inscription: To the Unknown God. Him, therefore, whom ye worship though ye know Him not, Him I declare unto you." In his subsequent remarks, scholars see Paul presenting the true doctrine of the nature of God with surpassing skill of speech and philosophy, in such a manner that Stoic and Epicurean alike might acknowledge its grandeur and its resemblance to their own respective conceptions. He also quoted one of the Greek poets to support and illustrate his teaching; and then immediately passed on to announce the providence of God, the folly of idolatry, and the great doctrine of the Resurrection. His speech, as you know, lasted but a brief time; for it was cut short by an outburst of derisive laughter from part of the audience. As Paul departed, some, either through courtesy, or because they were impressed by the Apostle's words, kindly said to him: "We shall hear thee again on this matter." The result of Paul's effort, as far as the Scripture informs us was that Dyonisius, one of the Areopagites, a woman named Damaris, and a few others became his followers.

"But," it may be said, "Paul on the Areopagus, is scarcely a felicitous choice as typical of the University. Does it not appear that he experienced there a comparative failure? When, afterwards, he wrote to the Corinthians does he not seem by implication to declare that he had at least once trusted too much to surpassing skill of speech and the persuasive words of human wisdom?"

He himself tells us that when, shortly afterwards, he went to Corinth he employed no longer the resources of culture and education, and, instead, proclaimed his message not in the persuasive words of human wisdom. The Greeks had demanded philosophy; he had drawn, in the Areopagus, upon his knowledge of the philosophers; but to the Corinthians, and afterwards, he preached only Christ crucified, and the folly of the Cross, for the folly of God is wiser than the wisdom of men.

This may be all true; yet, notwithstanding that it is true, perhaps all the more because it is true, the University may look to Paul's rôle on the Areopagus as the type of its own.

The Church does not, and never did, place her strongest trust in human learning. Nevertheless, she has always cultivated it and employed it as a subsidiary auxiliary to her divine powers; an auxiliary which has its proper field. And never in the Church's history was there a more promising field than there is today for scholarship and university learning to do signal service to the cause of religious truth. The very existence of a Catholic University is in itself a triumphant answer to the most specious attack which unbelief directs against faith in our own day. What is the commonplace of our opponents? It is: Catholics remain Catholics only because they are behind the age. Let a Catholic once acquire a knowledge of the great sciences, of history, of archaeology, of modern philosophy; let him but once grasp the implications of the conquests which physical science has made concerning the universe at large, the origin of life in general, and of human life in particular; the path which nature has followed as the cosmic vapor proceeded along its evolving course through countless ages till it developed, first, life, and later, reason. Let him observe and study the ladder on which reason has slowly climbed from the non-moral existence of ape and tiger, by a slow ascent from lower to higher, in the development of morals; the records of long buried civilizations; the destruction wrought by modern learning on the evidence for Christianity; the witness of history against the claim of the Church to unchangeableness; the utter confusion inflicted by modern speculation on our time honored philosophy.—Let, they say, a Catholic become even moderately at home in all these subjects and you will find that his faith has evaporated like a mist before the noonday sun.

The cultured unbelief of today does not directly attack us—it rather ignores us; and believes that as the malarias and noxious

growths of certain regions are extirpated by bringing the land under cultivation, so the propagation of modern knowledge creates an atmosphere in which Catholic faith must languish and finally disappear.

Here, then, is the first service which the University has to render to the Church. The purpose of the University would be futile indeed if it aimed at bringing together a body of men, teachers and students, consecrated to scorn delights and live laborious days, while hiving wisdom with each studious year, merely for the love of knowledge, or, to use the favorite catchword of the day, the advancement of culture. It is instituted to give the lie to the assertion that present day knowledge and the Catholic faith cannot inhabit the same soul. If the University did no more than to offer to the world the spectacle of a body of teachers and disciples abreast of the learning of the day, and yet as strong in the faith as the simple and unlettered, it would have abundantly justified its existence. It does this, and it does a great deal more. It is not merely a silent monument witnessing by its existence to the truth that Catholicism and learning can walk hand in hand. All its different departments contribute in their respective fields to the active defense of the truth.

Its scriptural scholarship has to maintain in these days that God who at sundry times and in diverse manners spoke of old to our fathers in the faith by the prophets, in later days has spoken to all the world by His Son whom he appointed heir of all things; its dogmatic courses make good the profession of the Church that she has guarded the Divine deposit and still holds fast to the sound form of doctrine which she has kept from the beginning. The ecclesiastical historian, tracing the course of the Church through the centuries preaching Christ crucified, demonstrates that from the time she was scourged by the Roman rods, she, like Paul, has suffered all form of hardship from within and without, but made shipwreck—Never. The Schools of Morals and Law and Social Science set forth the eternal principles of righteousness on which alone can the individual life and society be rightly ordered. The School of Letters contributes to clothe all the other forms of learning with the grace and culture which, after the example of Paul, may be engaged in the commendation and defense of Divine truth. Need I say that today Catholic Philosophy, addressing the outside world of thought, finds its text ready to hand in the words of Paul: "As I pass through your city of books, and

behold the digests of your speculations, I find among them many an inscription to the God unknown and unknowable: Him that you ignore I declare unto you."

It may be said, however, that after all, the Catholic University, as a whole, or through the individual efforts of its members with voice or pen, does not seem to produce any very perceptible results upon non-Catholic thought. Perhaps. It is quite true that convincing presentations of the Church's doctrine, or the statement of our philosophy or our apologetics falls, for the most part, on deaf ears. Or, if a hearing is accorded to us and some impression is made, our opponents dismiss us with a polite "Paul, we shall listen to you more at length on this subject by and by"; and they go their unremembering way. Nevertheless, it is not in vain that the light shines in the darkness even though the darkness refuses to comprehend it. Besides, now and again, a Dionysius or a Damaris and, perhaps, some others, may be the visible return for our work, while its entire influence can be traced only by God himself. You, young gentlemen of the laity, remember that your ascription to the University has imposed upon you a special obligation. The generosity which maintains this institution expects that it will send forth young men, who, qualified to achieve an honorable position in their respective walks of life, shall be, in these positions, worthy representatives of the Catholic faith, examples of loyalty to the less instructed brethren, and always ready to do their best in the promotion of every good work. Act so that your non-Catholic associates, patrons, employers or employees, may habitually say of you: He is a Catholic, I can trust him. Loyalty to your religion will guarantee loyalty to your country; and if your reputation be such as I have described, then, when occasion calls on you to protest against any petty meanness of bigotry or irreligion that would trespass upon the rights of Catholic citizens you will speak with power, be it in private or in public, as you appeal against injustice, not to any individual Cæsar, but to the august Spirit of American Freedom.

In conclusion, dear Brethren, let us trust that as we are gathered here today to do honor to our great patron on his feast, he in return is looking down upon us with all his human tenderness not extinguished, but rendered a thousand fold more loving by his participation of the Vision face to face, and that he is bestowing on us his favorite blessing; that blessing which contains all blessings: May the grace of the Lord Jesus be with you.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Public Lectures. The following are the dates and subjects for the Winter Course of Public Lectures in McMahon Hall:

January 16.—"The History of Temperance in the United States." (Father Mathew Lecture). Rev. Dr. Walter J. Shanley.

January 23.—"Mithraism and Christianity." V. Rev. Dr. Charles F. Aiken.

January 30.—"Catholicism and America." V. Rev. Walter Elliott, C. S. P.

February 6.—"The Russian Church." Rev. Sigourney W. Fay, S. T. L.

February 13.—Catholicism and the Balkans." Rev. Sigourney W. Fay, S. T. L.

February 20.—"Minor Irish Poets (1800-1850)." Dr. Patrick J. Lennox.

February 27.—"Our African Missions." Monsignor Freri, D. C. L.

March 7.—"The Scholastics as Educators." Rev. Dr. Patrick J. McCormick.

Lenten Course of Lectures. Very Reverend Doctor Pace is delivering a Lenten Course of Lectures at St. Patrick's, Washington, D. C., on "Catholic Men of Science." Reverend Doctor Turner is giving a Course at La Salle Institute, New York, under the auspices of the Catholic Summer School of America, on "Catholic Philosophy and Contemporary Errors in Philosophy: Atheism, Agnosticism, Pantheism, Materialism, Idealism, Pragmatism."

Feast of St. Thomas Aquinas. On Friday, March 7, the Feast of St. Thomas, Patron of the Faculty of Philosophy, and secondary Patron of the University, was celebrated in the chapel of Gibbons Hall. The celebrant of the Mass was the Very Reverend Father Skinner, C. S. P.

The Catholic University Bulletin.

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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—St. Vincent of Lerins, *Commonit, c. 6.*

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MITHRAISM.*

It has become the vogue at the present day in rationalistic circles to view Christianity, and especially its oldest form, the Catholic Church, as a composite institution built up partly from Jewish, and largely from pagan elements. There is scarcely a religion of the past to which Christianity has not been declared a debtor. One of the favorite sources today from which Christianity is alleged to have drawn with a generous hand is Mithraism.

Mithraism is not to be confounded with Mazdaism, whether as practised by the great kings of ancient Persia, or as set forth in the sacred Iranian books that constitute the Avesta

* NOTE.—For the study of Mithraism in its various aspects, the following works may be consulted. The list is not exhaustive.

Franz Cumont, *Textes et Monuments Relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra.* 2 vols. 4to, Bruxelles, 1896-1899. To this great, authoritative work all students of Mithraism are indebted.

Les Mystères de Mithra, Paris, 2d ed., 1902, by the same author, is a rehearsing of the chief contents of volume 1 of the work just mentioned. There is an English translation by T. J. McCormack, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, Chicago, 1903.

A more recent work, also by Cumont, is *Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain*, Paris, 1909; English translation, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism.* Chicago, 1911. Chapter VI gives an interesting account of Mithraism.

There are a number of excellent short treatises on Mithraism by other scholars. Among these may be mentioned J. Toutain, *Les Cultes Pa͡ïens dans l'Empire Romain*, Paris, 1911, part I, vol. II, ch. 4; A. Gasquet,

(or Zend-Avesta). Mazdaism, of whose teachings and rites we have extensive and accurate knowledge, was a great national religion, which in its worship of the supreme god Ormazd, attained to a high level of religious and moral excellence. It was a near approach to monotheism, and deserves to rank first among all the religions of the pagan world. Mithraism on the other hand, was an heretical and more or less degenerate offshoot of Mazdaism transplanted in Phrygian soil, in which worship was centered not on Ormazd but on a deity honored in Mazdaism as one of Ormazd's heavenly creatures, Mithra, the ancient light-god, destined in this new cult to assume the position of supreme god and to be identified with the sun. This cult never attained to the dignity of a national religion, but wherever it thrived, was content to live in friendly rivalry with other pagan forms of worship. Of its rites and teachings, in great part, we have no certain knowledge, for they were hidden behind an impenetrable veil of secrecy, which was drawn aside only for the initiated, and which its worshippers were bound under solemn oath to keep closed from the rest of the world.

The mysteries of Mithra seem to have taken form in the third and second centuries before Christ, and to have spread rapidly over the eastern part of Asia Minor. Pontus, Cappadocia, Armenia, the mountainous regions of Cilicia as well as Commagene in Northern Syria presented a soil favorable to its growth. On the other hand, Greece and the adjacent islands, Palestine and the coast regions of Asia Minor were lands to which the Phrygian cult of Mithra remained forever a stranger.

Essai sur le Culte et les Mystères de Mithra, Paris, 1899; J. Réville, *La Religion à Rome sous les Sévères*, Paris, 1886; ch. 3; S. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, London, 1904, book IV, ch. 6; G. Wolff, *Über Mithrasdienst und Mithreen*, Frankfurt, 1909.

The following authors treat of Mithraism and Christianity: A. Harnack, *The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, N. Y., 1905, vol. II, p. 447 ff.; C. C. Martindale, S. J., article, *Mithra*, in vol. II of the *History of Religions*, St. Louis, 1910 (same treatise may be found in the *Month*, Oct.-Nov., 1908); A. D'Alès, *Mithriacisme et Christianisme*, in the *Revue Pratique d'Apologétique*, vol. III (1906-7), pp. 462 ff. and 519 ff.; J. Grill, *Die persische Mysterienreligion im römischen Reich und das Christentum*, Tübingen, 1903.

It was not so, however, for the Roman Empire of the West. Here Mithraism had a wide diffusion in the second and following centuries of the Christian era. According to Plutarch, the first knowledge which the Romans had of this oriental cult was derived from the pirates of Cilicia when, in the year 67 B. C., Pompey subdued them with a Roman fleet and put an end forever to their depredations on land and sea. In his life of Pompey, Plutarch tells of the havoc wrought by these murderous freebooters, and adds that they offered strange sacrifices and practised along with other secret cults the mysteries of Mithra, which still existed in his day, having been first made known by them.[1]

The first positive evidence we have of the presence of Mithraism in the West is an inscription of a freedman in the household of one of the Flavian emperors, and hence dating somewhere in the years 70-96 A. D. It was most likely in the latter part of the reign of Vespasian (69-79) or in the short reign of Titus (79-81) that the cult of Mithra made its way to Rome, being brought there by captives and slaves from Commagene and lesser Armenia after the conquest of these countries by Vespasian. To quote Cumont, *The Mysteries of*

[1] Some scholars on the basis of this passage of Plutarch assert that Mithraism was introduced at this time into Italy. So Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, 1899, p. 78. But Plutarch's words tell, not of an initiation of Romans into the Mithraic Mysteries, but rather of their earliest knowledge of the cult. It is hard to see how an obscure cult practised by a detested community of outlaws could have had any attraction for their Roman conquerors. Pompey may have brought some of these pirates with him to Italy, just as he transported Jewish captives after the taking of Jerusalem in 63 B. C., but of this we have no positive evidence. Cumont thinks it possible that in this manner a few oriental Mithra-worshippers found their way to Rome in Pompey's time. Be this as it may, Mithraism could not have thrived at this early period on account of the distrust and bittter opposition which the Roman Senate showed towards oriental cults. This intolerance was not relaxed till the time of Claudius. Cumont does not hesitate to say that such Mithra-worship as may have existed towards the end of the Republic was insignificant. "The influence of this small band of votaries on the great mass of the Roman population was virtually as infinitesimal as is today the influence of Buddhistical societies on modern Europe." *The Mysteries of Mithra*, 1903, p. 37.

Mithra, p. 36:—"Not till then were regular and immediate relations established between these remote countries and the Occident. The exigencies of administration and the organization of defence, the changing of governors and officers, the relieving of procurators and revenue officers, the levies of troops of infantry and cavalry, and finally the permanent establishment of three legions along the frontier of the Euphrates, provoked a perpetual interchange of men, products, and ideas between these mountainous districts hitherto closed to the world and the European provinces. Then came the great expeditions of Trajan, of Lucius Verus, of Septimus Severus. . . . These successive annexations of the Cæsars were the first cause of the diffusion of the Mithraic religion in the Latin world. It began to spread there under the Flavians, and developed under the Antonines and the Severi, just as did another cult practised alongside of it in Commagene, namely that of Jupiter Dolichenus, which made at the same time the tour of the Roman empire."

During the latter part of the first century and the first quarter of the second, Mithraism existed obscurely in Rome, maintained by foreign slaves and freedmen. Then it began to find favor with some of the Roman citizens, and soon won a respectful recognition from the state. Antoninus Pius (138-161) gave it the prestige of imperial favor by erecting a temple of Mithra in Ostia. Commodus (180-192) showed his devotion to the Phrygian light-god by being initiated into the Mithraic mysteries. Doubtless many obsequious courtiers hastened to imitate him and thereby increase the number of Mithra's worshippers. From that time on, Mithraism had in Rome a respectable standing and numbered among its votaries a fair proportion of men of distinguished families. Even in the latter part of the fourth century, when paganism in Rome was steadily declining, we find Mithraic inscriptions bearing the names of the high born and wealthy.

But it was in not Rome or in Italy that Mithraism had its largest number of adherents. The most numerous traces of its existence have been left along the old line of fortifications that

formerly stood as a barrier against barbarian invasions and marked the northern boundaries of the empire in Europe. This line, roughly speaking, followed the Danube and the Rhine, and in the island of Britain was fixed by the wall of Hadrian. It is along these immense stretches of land, in ancient Moesia, Dacia, Pannonia, Noricum, Rhenish Germany, and the northern limit of Britain that Mithraic remains most abound. The reason for this is not far to seek. Mithraism was first and foremost a military cult, brought to these regions by foreign Mithra-worshippers, who along with other orientals were enlisted in the Roman army and stationed in the numerous camps that dotted the extensive frontier on the North.[2] Some of the Roman soldiers, even centurions and higher officers, became initiated in the mysteries of the victorious light-god, and when afterwards they were sent to different parts of the empire, or made their way thither after being honorably discharged, they brought with them the devotion to the god in whom they recognized a benevolent and powerful protector. Again, not a few of the slaves imported from Asia Minor after the time of Vespasian were devoted to Mithra. Through them Mithra-worship was carried to many of the seaports of the Mediterranean, up along the Rhone, over Northern Italy, into Dalmatia and other neighboring countries, where many of them worked in mines and quarries, or served as scribes and subordinate officials in municipal and government service. It was thus a foreign cult, diffused chiefly by foreign soldiers, slaves and freedmen. But it also attracted to its temples native born Romans, including some of high rank. In the Mithraic inscriptions are to be found names of governors of provinces, prefects, legates, tribunes, though the names of the lowly are by far more numerous. Nor were Antoninus Pius and Commodus the only emperors who fostered the cult of Mithra. An inscription found in the ruins of a Mithraic temple a few miles below Vienna, on the site of ancient Carnuntum, records that Diocletian and his associates, namely Galerius and Licinius,

[2] The policy of recruiting large divisions of the Roman army with Orientals seems to have been first adopted by Vespasian.

who were in Carnuntum in the year 307, restored a temple to Mithra as patron of the empire, *fautori imperii sui.*

What was the character of this oriental cult which became so widespread in the Western Empire? It is to this question that we shall now turn our attention.

The deity who was the chief object of worship and from whom the cult took its name was Mithra. In the religion of the Avesta, and in the closely related religion of the Great Kings of ancient Persia, Mithra was a light-god, one of the numerous resplendent deities created by the supreme god Ormazd for the purpose of warring with the evil spirits of darkness. The origin of this deity goes back to the remote age when the ancient Iranians and the ancient Hindus formed one people and had a common religion; for the sacred Vedas tell of Mithra, god of light and friend of man, whose eye is the sun, and who sees and punishes all wrong-doing. In the Avesta, Mithra is venerated as one of the most powerful of Ormazd's heavenly assistants. He is closely associated, but not identified, with the sun. As light, he is everywhere present and nothing escapes his notice. He is "the sleepless one," "the Lord of vast lands, with a thousand ears and ten thousand eyes." He is the dreaded avenger of lying, deceit, and the breaking of contracts. He is the friend and benefactor of all who observe the holy law of Ormazd, bringing health, abundance, success, happiness and peace of conscience. As god of light dispersing the powers of darkness he is an invincible conqueror, protecting the faithful who call on him in battle, cutting down the ranks of the foes and putting them to flight.

It is easy to see how the Great Kings of Persia, while worshipping Ormazd as supreme god, had a special devotion for Mithra as the truth-loving and invincible god of victory. A prayer of Artaxerxes Mnemon (404-361 B. C.), chiseled on the ruins of his palace at Susa runs:—"May Ormazd, Anahita, and Mithra protect me." As early at least as the sixth century B. C., the name Mithradates (gift of Mithra) was borne by many of the noblest sons of Iran. The seventh month of the Persian year, corresponding to September 15-October 15, was called the month Mithra or Mihr, and the sixteenth day of this

month, the day Mihr, was held in greatest veneration. It was the popular belief that on this day the sun first appeared. On this day was celebrated the most popular festival of the year, the so-called Mithrakana, or Mihragan. So deeply rooted was this festival in the life of the people that long after the Sassanian Empire of Persia had been overthrown, it continued to be observed even by the Arab conquerors, and did not fall into disuse till the eleventh century.

In Mithraism, under Phrygian and Babylonian influences, ancient Mazdaism was changed into a form of heresy that the pious Zoroastrian could not but abominate. The supreme god Ormazd and most of his heavenly co-workers faded from view. Mithra, now identified by the great majority of his votaries with the sun, became the chief object of worship. About this mythical personage was clustered a cycle of legends, of which unfortunately no written account has been preserved. They are depicted in part in rudely sculptured scenes which the scattered monuments of Mithraism have brought to light. Cumont has attempted to reconstruct the story from these pictorial fragments, but the data are in part too scanty and too obscure to allow more than a conjectural interpretation.[3] His birth was miraculous. He sprang from a rock, a myth doubtless suggested by the rising of the sun from behind the rocky mountains of Phrygia.[4] Like another Moses, he caused water to gush from a rock by shooting an arrow against it. Like another Hercules he was the hero of mighty deeds. A scene depicts him half dragging, half-carrying a bull, whose hind legs he holds over his shoulders while its huge body hangs head downwards behind him. But the all-important scene in this sacred drama is his slaying of the mythical bull, from whose quickening blood was fabled to have sprung every form of animal and vegetable life.[5] This scene, reproduced with

[3] Cumont admits this himself. Cf. *Textes et Monuments Relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra*, 1896, II, p. 304, note 3.

[4] Justin Martyr mentions this feature of the Mithra-legend in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, ch. 70.

[5] This seems to be a modification of the Zoroastrian legend, according to which the primitive bull, created by Ormazd and wickedly slain by

little variation, was sculptured in low relief and given the chief place of honor in every Mithraic temple. The god in the form of a beardless youth, wearing the Phrygian cap, with his short tunic floating behind in the breeze, has his left knee pressed firmly on the back of the bull, which has been thrown to the ground in the very act of running. With his left hand clenched about its nostrils, he draws its head tightly back, while with his right hand he plunges a knife deep into its heart. From the wound flows a stream of blood at which a serpent and a dog are leaping, eager to taste its quickening essence. Two diminutive youths, resembling the god in features and in costume, stand close by in an attitude of repose, the one with an upright torch, the other with torch inverted, symbolic it would seem of the rising and the setting sun.

Such was the deity to whom the Mithraists looked as their chief god and protector—the radiant god of light, identified for the most part with the sun, to whose beneficence the earth owes its fertility and becomes a goodly habitation for man. Various are the epithets applied to him in the inscriptions that have come down to us. We find dedications to "the omnipotent god Mithra," (omnipotenti deo Mithræ), to "the holy god Mithra," (deo sancto Mithræ), but most commonly of all, to "the invincible sun Mithra," (soli invicto Mithræ). This was the favorite epithet applied to him by his military votaries, who venerated him especially as the victorious god of battle.[6]

The religion of Zoroaster, the form of Mazdaism that is best known, recognized in the material and spiritual world a sharply defined dualism. Ormazd was the creator of all that was good,

the evil spirit Ahriman, became the source of all animals and plants belonging to the good creation. Cf. Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, 1892, I, p. 316, and II, pp. 181, 285, 309. It is also taught in the *Bundahish*, XXX, 25, that on the day of the general resurrection, at the end of the world, a giant bull, now carefully guarded in a remote and inaccessible enclosure, will be slain in sacrifice, and its fat, mingled with the sacred Haoma, will confer immortality on all who shall be privileged to taste it. Cf. Darmesteter, *op. cit.*, II, p. 309.

[6] Invictus was not an exclusive title of Mithra. We find it given also to the sun-god of the cult set up by Aurelian, as well as to Mars, Hercules, and even Isis.

—the divine beings that aided him, heaven, earth, water, fire, and all beneficial animals and plants, as well as man. But the defects in nature,—severe cold, drought, disease, death, noxious animals and plants,—the wicked spirits also,—these were the creation of the malignant spirit Ahriman. Between these two armies was a bitter, unceasing warfare, which centered chiefly about man. It was the duty of man to live according to the holy law of Ormazd and thereby aid in repressing the powers of evil. After death, the good mounted to the bright home of Ormazd above, while the wicked were thrust into the dark hell of Ahriman. But the powers of evil were destined at last to come to naught. The world would be renovated, and faithful would rise again with immortal bodies.

How much of this teaching was retained in the heretical cult of Mithra? A definite answer is hard to give, for on these points the inscriptions tell us next to nothing, and we have no authentic written documents.[7] It is generally taken for granted that the Mazdean dualism in its main outlines passed over into Mithraism. We may note, however, that in one respect, at least, Mithraic dualism ran counter to Zoroastrian belief and practise. Among the evil animals created by Ahriman and abhorred by the Zoroastrian were the lion and the serpent. But to the Mithraist these animals gave no cause for repugnance. One of the subsidiary statues in many Mithraic temples was a grim monster, which Cumont conjectures to have been Zervan-Kronos, the personification of Boundless Time, but which may have been a fire-deity. It is a male figure with the head of a snarling lion, about whose human body is coiled a serpent, while its head rests on the shaggy head of the god. This would have been an abomination according to the religion of the Avesta.[8]

Again anything like a compounding with the evil spirit would

[7] Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, 1903, claims to have brought to notice an original and authentic description of Mithraic ceremonies, which, if truly portrayed descend to the level of buffoonery. Its authenticity, however, is contested. It throws little light on Mithraic teachings. Cf. Cumont, *Oriental Religions*, p. 260.

[8] Cf. *Mysteries of Mithra*, p. 105.

have shocked the Zoroastrian as an unpardonable sin. But if we may trust Cumont, the Mithraist sought by offerings to allay the malignity of Ahriman, to whom homage was paid as "lord of the underworld and master of the infernal spirits," to whom as *deo Arimanio* we find several dedication in the inscriptions.[9]

On the other hand the Mazdean doctrine of future retribution seems to have been retained by the Mithraists with little change. Tertullian mentions that the worshippers of Mithra looked forward to a bodily resurrection. On the basis of a statement of Celsus,[10] Cumont attributes to Mithraic belief an embellishment on the earlier doctrine of souls. The souls of men pre-existed in heaven. As the time approached for their union with a human body, they descended by a series of gradations through the sun, moon and the five planets, acquiring from each the dispositions and passions that were to determine their character on earth. After death, if their good deeds and religious acts were such as to merit a favorable judgment, they mounted in inverse order from planet to planet, leaving with each the characteristics it had received, till it finally reached heaven purified of all defects.

The Mithraic doctrine of souls and of individual destiny was distorted and vitiated by the superstitions of astrology, the fruit apparently of Chaldean influence. One of the inscriptions names a Mithraic priest who was an astrologist.[11] The sculptured monuments of the temples abound in astronomical symbols,—the sun with his quadriga, the moon with the crescent, the other five planets, and the signs of the zodiac. Cumont recognizes this element to be one of the dark blots on Mithraism, which, he says, "is partly responsible for the triumph in the West of this pseudo-science with its long train of errors and terrors.[12]

[9] Cumont, *Textes et Monuments*, I, p. 139 also *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, 1911, p. 153.

[10] Cf. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, VI, ch. 21 and 22. Cumont has an interesting note on this subject in his *Oriental Religions*, p. 269, n. 54.

[11] Cf. *Textes et Mon.*, II, p. 126, Inscr. 192.

[12] *Myst. of Mithra*, p. 125, *Textes et Mon.*, I, p. 301

To attain to a life of happiness in heaven, the rites proper to Mithraism were held to be of exceptional efficacy and importance. These sacred rites were hidden from the profane by a veil of secrecy, the observance of which was made binding on every initiate by a most solemn oath. They were performed, not in stately temples open to the sky, but in caves hollowed out of the solid rock, or in subterranean crypts so built as to exclude the light of day. One descended by a flight of steps to a vestibule, which in turn opened into the temple proper, sometimes on a still lower level. The rectangular interior, lighted by lamps, had at its further end a raised apse, separated from the entrance by a long troughlike depression flanked on either side by a raised aisle. On the wall of the apse, in full view of the worshipper as he entered, was the most conspicuous object in the temple, the sculptured scene of Mithra slaying the bull. Below this scene was an altar on which a fire was kept perpetually burning. Statues of other deities were disposed along the sides and near the entrance.

We know from Justin Martyr [13] and from Tertullian [14] that a sacred banquet formed part of the worship, at which an offering of bread and water—the counterpart, doubtless, of the Persian Haoma sacrifice—was offered to Mithra. According to Cumont, wine was mingled with the water as a substitute for the exhilarating juice of the Haoma-plant; but this is mere conjecture, resting on the slender evidence of three sculptured scenes in which the grape is associated with Mithra and the god Bacchus.[15] Sacrifices of bulls seem also to have figured at times in the liturgy.[16]

[13] *Apology*, ch. 66.

[14] *Praescript.*, ch. 40.

[15] Cf. *Textes et Mon.* I, pp. 320, 146-7; II, pp. 231, 365 and plate viii, 513 and plate ix. Cf. also *Myst. of Mithra*, p. 131.

[16] Socrates, *Eccles. Hist.* III, ch. 2, relates that in the ruins of the mithreum in Alexandria, human bones and skulls were found, the remains of unfortunate victims immolated in the worship of Mithra. Most scholars, however, reject this statement as an error. Lampridus, in his life of Commodus, says that the emperor desecrated the Mithraic mysteries by slaying a man who was being initiated. Human sacrifice thus seems to have formed no part of Mithraic worship.

Participation in these mysteries was denied to women, and was allowed to men only after a series of secret initiation rites, for which, as in the mysteries of Isis, fees were probably exacted. The ceremonies of initiation called for a more than ordinary amount of courage and physical endurance. The candidate had to pass through severe and terrifying ordeals, in which the chief scenes in the legendary story of Mithra were vividly depicted before him, culminating doubtless in the slaying of a bull. As in the mysteries of Isis and of other rival cults, the initiation was preceded by a period of fasting and by a purificatory bath, a sort of baptism.

In Mithraism there were seven grades of initiation, like the ascending scale of degrees existing in secret societies of our day. St. Jerome enumerates them in his letter (107) to Laeta, and his statement is confirmed by indications found in the inscriptions. The initiate, according to the grade to which he belonged, was known as Raven, Cryptic (cryphius), Soldier, Lion, Persian, Sun-runner (Heliodromus), and Father. In their secret ceremonies, it was the rule for the members to wear masks indicative of their respective grades and, if we may trust the statement of an early Christian writer, to act in imitation of the animals whose names they bore. "Some flap their wings imitating the cawing of crows; others growl like lions. . . . In such ways are those who call themselves wise, coarsely made the object of ridicule."[17] There is extant a rudely carved scene in which are depicted four attendants officiating at a sacred meal of bread and water. Two of them are dressed as Persian and Soldier, while the other two wear the masks of Raven and Lion. In the ceremony of reception into the grade of Soldier, there was a signing of the forehead, which Tertullian mentions as an imitation through diabolical suggestion of a Christian rite, namely Confirmation. Cumont is of the opinion that the "sign or seal impressed was not, as in the Christian liturgy, an unction, but a mark burned

[17] Pseudo-Augustinus, *Quaest. Vet. et Novi Test.*, cited in Cumont, *Textes et Mon.*, II, p. 8.

with a red hot iron, like that applied in the army to recruits before they were admitted to the oath.[18]

Tertullian gives another interesting feature of the reception rite of the Soldier. A crown supported on the tip of a sword, after a mock threat of death, was set on the head of the candidate, whereupon, acting according to instruction, he brushed it quickly aside so that it fell on his shoulder, saying: "Mithra is my crown." Ever after, he abstained from wearing a wreath of flowers, and his refusal to make use of it, together with the statement that his god was his crown, was a sign that he was a votary of Mithra.[19]

In the initiation rite of the grade of Lion, there was a purification by means of honey.

Some writers, as Gasquet,[20] Réville,[21] Dill,[22] and others, think that the Mithraic worship, at least in its palmy period, included the rite of purification known as the taurobolium. Prudentius has given a description of this bloody and repulsive rite which to the pagan mind was a quasi-sacramental baptism.[23] The recipient stood in a deep trench covered above by a wooden floor pierced with holes or made in the form of lattice-work. Above, with great pomp and ceremony, a bull was slain so that its blood, heavily dripping through the perforated floor drenched the worshipper below. By this bloody baptism the recipient was thought to be washed of all guilt and to be made worthy of a happy eternity in heaven. Hence the favorite expression in the inscriptions, borrowed perhaps from Christian terminology, *renatus in aeternum*. This strange rite, to which scholars assign a Phrygian origin, seems to have been brought to the West in the second century, towards the close of Hadrian's reign. It became one of the most imposing and popular rites in the mysteries of the Great Mother Cybele. It might easily have fitted into the liturgy of Mithraism as a

[18] *Myst. of Mithra*, p. 157.
[19] *De Corona*, ch. 15.
[20] *Culte et Myst. de Mithra*, p. 75.
[21] *Religion sous les Sévères*, p. 96.
[22] *Rom. Society from Nero to M. Aurelius*, p. 589.
[23] *Peristeph.*, x.

sacramental repetition of the mythical slaying of the bull. But Cumont,[24] Toutain [25] and others maintain that at no time did the taurobolium form part of the Mithraic ritual. While this view seems to be better grounded, it is still true that the taurobolium was piously received by Mithraic worshippers, an indirect confession of uncertain faith in the all-sufficiency of their own rites.

Of the Mithraic priesthood, but little is known. The higher grades of initiates seem each to have had their respective priests, the highest in dignity being the priests of the grade of Fathers. They were presided over by a high priest, styled in the inscriptions Father of Fathers, *Pater Patrum,* or *Pater Patratus.*

Cumont and others have asserted that the cult of Mithra had its consecrated virgins and celibates. This is a mistake. As women were not allowed to take part in the mysteries of Mithra, there was no place in this oriental cult for consecrated virgins. Cumont himself states plainly that women were debarred from Mithraic worship and says:—"Among the hundreds of inscriptions that have come down to us, not one mentions either a priestess, a woman initiate, or even a donatress." [26] Nor is there good ground for associating with Mithraism the practise of celibacy. In the Eleusinian and the Isaic mysteries the observance of absolute continence was sought by some, but we are not warranted in saying the same of Mithraism. This alleged practise of virginity and of celibacy in Mithra worship is not supported by a single bit of evidence either in Mithraic inscriptions or in pagan writings. It rests solely on a misinterpreted passage in Tertullian's *Prescriptions.*[27]

[24] *Textes et Mon.*, I, p. 334, n. 5.

[25] *Op. cit.*, II, p. 138.

[26] *Myst. of Mithra,* p. 173. He seems, however, to have overlooked inscription no. 189, given in his *Textes et Mon.*, II, p. 126, where a dedication to Mithra is recorded of a certain Varia Severa. D(eo) [i(nvicto)] M(ithrae) Varia Q(uinti) f(ilia) Severa v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito). Persons not initiated in the mysteries sometimes made donations and dedications to Mithra.

[27] This passage, chapter 40, runs thus:—"The devil baptizes some, to wit, his own believers and followers; he promises the remission of sins by an ablution; and if my memory still serves me right, Mithra there puts

What was the moral worth of this strange mystic cult? Most scholars who have touched on this question have rated Mithraism very high. In its ethical precepts and its uplifting influence on heart and will, it is said to have surpassed the religions of Greece and Rome, if not of the whole pagan world.[28]

a mark on the forehead of his soldiers. He also celebrates an offering of bread, brings in a symbol of a resurrection, and wins a crown under a sword. And what shall we say of his (the devil's) restricting the high priest (summum pontificem) to one marriage? He, too (the devil), has his virgins and his celibates." Cumont, following Wissowa, takes these last two sentences to refer to Mithra; but D'Alès, *Mithraicisme et Christianisme, Rev. Pratique Apologetique*, III, p. 520, and others rightly insist that they refer to the more remote subject the devil. With this interpretation Harnack agrees, *Expansion of Christianity*, II, p. 450, note. The Mithraic high priest is never styled *summus pontifex* in the inscriptions. That Tertullian in these last two sentences is speaking, not of Mithra but of the devil, and that by *summus pontifex* he has in mind the Roman high priest, the *flamen dialis*, is made plain by other passages in which he uses similar language, referring to the devil. Take, for example, ch. 13 of his *Exhortation to Chastity*, which is practically a paraphrase of the sentences under consideration:—"The wife of a *flamen* must be but once married, which is the law of the *flamen* as well. For since the high priest (pontifex maximus) may not marry a second time, the first place of honor must be given to monogamy. Now when Satan shows a leaning to God's sacraments, it is a challenge for us; nay more, it puts us to the blush, if we are slow to give God an exercise of continence which some give the devil, now in perpetual virginity, now in perpetual widowhood. We have heard of Vesta's virgins and Juno's at the town of Achaia, and of Apollo's among the Delphians, and of Minerva's and Diana's in some places. We have heard, too, of continents, such as the priests of the well known Egyptian bull." Tertullian, in his anxiety to multiply instances of pagan chastity, would hardly have omitted to mention Mithra's virgins and continents, had such existed. See also ch. 7 of his treatise, *To his Wife*.

[28] "Of all the Oriental cults," says Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, 1911, p. 159, "none was so severe as Mithraism, none attained an equal moral elevation, none could have had so strong a hold on mind and heart." Cf. also his *Myst. of Mithra*, pp. 141, 143. Réville, *op. cit.*, p. 78, is of the same opinion. Toutain, *Les Cultes païens dans l'Empire Romain*, 1911, II, p. 130, says, "No pagan religion had ever given so high a place to moral conduct." Dill, *Roman Society*, p. 81, quotes with approval the sentence in Bigg's *Neoplatonism*, p. 56, "The religion of Mithra was the purest and most elevated of all non-Biblical religions." Wolff, *Über Mithrasdienst und Mithreen*, 1909, p. 24, expresses a similar view. According to Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, II, p. 221, Mithra was the "celestial incarnation of conscience."

But if we seek to know on what ground this almost unanimous praise is based, we are surprised to find that of positive evidence there is next to nothing. It rests on the unproved assumption that in the cult of Mithra was preserved unchanged the superior moral tone that characterized the religion of the Avesta. Cumont himself says:—"What were the obligations that Mithraism imposed upon his followers? What were those 'commandments' to which its adepts had to bow in order to be rewarded in the world to come? Our uncertitude on these points is extreme, for we have not the shadow of a right to identify the precepts revealed in the mysteries with those formulated in the Avesta. Nevertheless, it would appear certain that the ethics of the Magi of the Occident made no concession to the license of the Babylonian cults, and that it had still preserved the lofty character of the ethics of the ancient Persians." [29] The alleged moral superiority of Mithraism is thus little more than an assumption.

On the other hand, there are grounds to justify the suspicion that the moral excellence of Mithraism has been exaggerated and that such ethical teachings as it may have derived from Mazdaism were but feebly emphasized. Perhaps, not much should be made of the fact that the sacred mysteries were revealed to Commodus, one of the basest characters that ever disgraced a throne. This may have been due to an act of weakness on the part of the Mithraic priests. But if Mithraism was as stern as many scholars declare towards all forms of evil doing, it is hard to see how it could have been a favorite cult with the Cilician pirates, to whom pillage and murder were a daily occupation.

Moreover, there is another fact that does not tell in favor of the moral superiority of Mithraism. It is its intimate association with the rival cults of Cybele and of Hekate. With the mysteries of Cybele, the Great Mother, the Mithraic cult was united by the closest and friendliest ties, although the moral tone of this barbaric sect, with its bloody orgies, and its priesthood of self-mutilated Galli, was none too high. In Ostia

[29] *Myst. of Mithra*, p. 141.

and in Saalburg, the temples of Mithra and of Cybele stood side by side. Nor can this intimacy of the two cults be explained on the hypothesis that the wives of Mithra worshippers, being excluded from Mithraism, were led to resort to the Mysteries of Cybele. The very priests of Mithra prided themselves on having submitted to the taurobolium. They did not scruple to take part in the mysteries of the Great Mother, to mourn with her at the spring celebration over the death of her youthful lover Attis, and in turn to rejoice with her at his restoration to life.

Of Hekate, goddess of the lower world, whose circle of mystic worshippers included many votaries of Mithra, and whose sculptured images were commonly honored in Mithraic temples, Farnell says in his erudite work, *The Cults of the Greek States,* 1896, II, p. 502:—"There was, indeed, a certain part of the true Greek ritual that was tainted with magic, but no such atmosphere of evil and debased superstition gathered around any figure of the Hellenic religion as around Hekate." And on page 519, he ends the chapter on Hekate with these words:—"But neither as a goddess of marriage or birth or agriculture was Hekate of any real national importance in Greece; her worship was without morality, and displayed energy only in sorcery and imposture. It was one of the evil things that grew up into prominence with the decline of Hellenism." Association with such cults as these makes it at least doubtful if Mithraism itself stood on a much higher moral plane.

Did Mithraism arrive at a conception of monotheism that merits comparison with the Christian idea of the one supreme God? Or did it present any points of resemblance with Christianity of such character as to show an indebtedness of the religion of Christ to the cult of Mithra? These questions will be considered in a supplementary article to be printed in the next issue of the *Bulletin.*

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

THE GREEK VIEW OF THE RELATION BETWEEN POETRY AND MORALITY.

The intention of the present paper is not to determine the relationship which ought to exist between poetry and morality. That more ambitious theme must be left to the poets and philosophers themselves for settlement. A mere historian of language and literature is not qualified to enter the lists on either side of such a controversy, but must content himself with the more modest task of studying the views taken of this problem by the people with whose history he is engaged. To attempt this for the Greeks of the fifth century before Christ must be considered peculiarly appropriate, because their poetry formed the basis on which the philosophers first attacked the problem; while a special interest must also attach to the solution, because Greek literature is the fountainhead of modern literature, and whatever ideas were then held have conditioned, and are still conditioning, our own development.

The question at issue between the poets and philosophers may be put briefly as follows: Is poetry to be judged by an aesthetic or by an ethical standard? Or, restating the problem with more detail, we may ask: Has poetry an end, a purpose of its own, so distinct and independent that criticism must rest when it has determined, how and in what measure a given poem has fulfilled this end? Or, is the true end of poetry to subserve larger but more remote educational and moral purposes; so that criticism cannot stop without deciding, whether a given poem tends to make its hearers wiser and nobler men. The attitude of the Greeks towards these questions is a historical problem with two sides which it is important to keep separate. Of these the first is to determine the answers given to such questions by the philosophers of Greece. Difficult tho it be, this is the easier part of the problem, but it is also for the history of Greek literature the least important part. By the time of Plato and Aristotle the great days of Greek poetry were past.

Potent as the theories of these philosophers proved for Alexandria, Rome and the modern world, the classical poetry of Greece was already beyond their influence. How that poetry had been conditioned, what beliefs had been held by the great poets of Athens and by their audiences before the speculations of the philosophers began;—these are the questions which interest much more intensely the student of Greek literature. They indicate sufficiently the second side of the problem, the question of the popular attitude, the people's theory of the subject. Obviously something more vague, more intangible, more difficult to define—even had the sources of our knowledge flowed more freely than they actually do—it remains, nevertheless, for the historian of Greek literature the matter of greater interest. It is to it that I desire to direct attention, but the best approach is by way of the philosophical theories.

Unfortunately only a portion of Aristotle's treatise on the Art of Poetry has come down to us; and partly for this, partly for other reasons, his concept of the end of poetry is not stated so clearly as to put it beyond question. A reading of the *Poetics,* however, has convinced me that we must either regard its standard as aesthetic, or miss the meaning of the philosopher. The treatise opens by telling us that the various branches of poetry which are to receive consideration are all *mimeseis* or modes of imitation; that is they are to be classed under the category of *mimetic art,* the closest equivalent in Greek for our expression fine art. Here a definition of mimetic art is not given, but we should recall the passage in the *Metaphysics* (1. 1. 981b. 17) in which the useful and the fine arts are distinguished according to their ends; the purpose of the useful arts being to minister to some need, while the end of the mimetic arts is to afford us pleasure or rational enjoyment. From this distinction and the subsumption of poetry under the category of mimetic art, it follows that the ends of the various branches of poetry were regarded by Aristotle as different varieties of pleasure.

Passages in accordance with this conclusion occur throughout the *Poetics.* Thus we hear from Aristotle that Epos, Tragedy

and Comedy have each a pleasure peculiar to itself, and we are warned by him (1453b. 11; 1462b. 13) not to demand of one of them pleasure of any and every kind, but only its own appropriate pleasure. On this principle also (1453a. 35), Aristotle depreciates for Tragedy a certain form of plot, because it affords not the tragic pleasure, but pleasure of the kind which should be given by Comedy; and again (1459a. 21) he explains his reason for demanding unity in the Epic to be in order that the work may be able to afford its own appropriate pleasure. What these appropriate pleasures are, we should expect to learn from the definitions of the various branches of poetry. Of such definitions, however, we have but one (1449b. 24f.), and at the very point where we would learn from it, it is famous for the controversy it has provoked. It tells us that the end of Tragedy is the *katharsis* of pity and fear, but whether that means the purification or purgation of these emotions, has already taken volumes to determine, and the end is not yet. Into this question it is not necessary to go, except to the extent of saying that the *katharsis* must be some form of pleasure; both because pleasure is the end of all mimetic art, and because Aristotle elsewhere (1453b. 11) speaks of the end of Tragedy as being the pleasure which through *mimesis* may be derived from pity and fear.

Not only does Aristotle thus hold that the end of each branch of poetry is some peculiar form of pleasure, but he also names (1448b. 4f.) pleasure as one of the two sources to which ultimately the origin of poetry is to be traced. These are, according to him, the human instinct of imitation, and the fact that delight in the products of imitation is universal. It is equally significant to note, that Aristotle while keeping pleasure in view throughout the *Poetics,* never in that treatise regards any further end. Not once for instance does he demand that something be done or avoided, because it may improve or corrupt the spectator. As for didactic poetry, we may discover the philosopher's view from his remark (1447b. 17), that Empedocles is a physicist rather than a poet, that he has nothing in common with Homer except his meter. From these facts there can result for my mind but one conclusion, which may be

stated in the words of Mr. Butcher: Aristotle had "a clear conception of fine art as a free and independent activity of the mind, outside the domain both of religion and politics, having an end distinct from that of education or moral improvement."

This does not at all mean that questions of morality are entirely irrelevant in the criticism of poetry. For every man of right feeling the aesthetic ideal must contain certain moral elements; from what conforms to these elements he may receive pleasure, what disregards or flouts them is certain to cause him pain. The ethical ideal is thus always implicitly involved in the aesthetic standard; and to this extent, but only to this extent, does it affect Aristotle's theory of poetry. A poem would not be judged by him to be bad poetry because it would corrupt, but because the elements in it which tend to corruption would be offensive, repulsive, displeasing to the aesthetic taste of any man qualified to act as critic. For Aristotle the standard of poetry as poetry is in the last analysis always a question of pleasure or of pain. His method of thought may be illustrated from Cardinal Newman's criticism, which is thoroughly Aristotelian when he writes in *Poetry with Reference to Aristotle's Poetics* (*Essays Critical and Historical,* vol. II, p. 22): "The occasional irreligion of Virgil is painful . . . Lord Byron's Manfred is in parts intensely poetical; yet the delicate mind naturally shrinks . . ." and p. 16: "Lady Macbeth on the contrary is the conception of one deeply learned in the poetical art. She is polluted with the most heinous crimes, and meets the fate she deserves. Yet there is nothing in the picture to offend the taste . . . ." Such criticisms are not applying an ethical standard to poetry, they are only appreciating at their proper value the ethical elements which the aesthetic standard itself implies.

Some scholars to be sure would hold that there are in the *Poetics* passages in which Aristotle's criticism is affected by moral principles more fundamentally than could be accounted for by the considerations adduced in the last paragraph. In short, that there are passages in which his judgment is distinctly ethical. Before proceeding further I wish to review rapidly

these passages. In doing so it must be remembered that the question is not simply, whether Aristotle approves what is ethically good, and condemns what is ethically bad; in each case it is necessary to examine further and see whether the motives underlying his verdict are ethical or aesthetic.

In the first place Aristotle (1452b. 34) condemns any tragic plot, which shows either a good man falling from happiness to misery or a bad man rising out of misery to happiness. Neither condemnation, however, is made on the ground that such examples might have a bad moral effect. On the contrary, the first plot is rejected simply as being odious; the second, because it arouses neither fear nor pity—the emotions proper to Tragedy —nor even a feeling of commiseration. In the same breath moreover Aristotle condemns a form of plot, which the moralist would regard as an extremely salutary spectacle. The passage of an out-and-out villain from happiness to misery is, according to the philosopher, no subject for Tragedy; because, while we might commiserate such a man we could neither pity him, nor be inspired with fear by his fate. Secondly, Aristotle ranks (1453b. 26f.) the four forms of tragic plot in the following order of merit: (1) the deed of horror may be meditated in ignorance, but its execution prevented by a timely discovery; (2) the deed may be done in ignorance, the discovery coming too late; (3) the deed may be done with full knowledge; (4) the deed may be meditated with full knowledge but left undone. It has been claimed that this gradation is based not on the emotional but on the moral effect produced upon the spectator; some moral shock there must be, since Tragedy must center around some deed of horror, but Aristotle's wish is to minimize this shock as far as possible. The superiority of the two first plots lies, on the contrary, in the fact that they alone contain a discovery; the supremacy accorded them is to be explained on purely aesthetic reasons. That the philosopher's criticism here is not ethical, results also from the fact that on a moral basis the third form of plot must be ranked below the fourth. Finally, Aristotle demands (1454a. 16f.) that the characters of a tragedy be good; a demand which must be understood in the light of an earlier

statement (1453a. 7) that the tragic hero must not be pre-eminently virtuous, and a later passage (1461b. 19) which decries all needless exhibition of baseness. This demand, however, is not made of all poetry; it is, on the contrary, according to Aristotle, the province of Comedy to represent men, not altogether base, but still worse than the average. This passage consequently, has probably nothing to do with ethics, but merely contains a warning to Tragedy to remain in her own sphere. Even if taken as ethical the passage could prove nothing more than that Aristotle felt needless depiction of vice as offensive to good taste.

Looking back over these passages I can find in them nothing which should lead to a modification of the conclusion previously expressed. In the *Poetics* Aristotle has exercised the right to treat poetry in itself as poetry, without reference to the ideals of any other science, except in as far as they may be implied in the aesthetic ideal. To vindicate in this way an independent position for Aesthetics is one thing; to assert that Aesthetics is either the final or the sole judge of Art is another. The latter Aristotle did not do; the former he did, and did consciously, for he tells us (1460b. 13): "the standard of correctness is not the same in Politics and Poetics, nor is it the same in Poetics and any other art." To this I may add a passage in which Newman (*op. cit.*, p. 29) expands and illustrates this idea: "As the aim of civil government is the well-being of the governed, and its object is expediency; as the aim of oratory is to persuade, and its object is the probable; as the function of philosophy is to view all things in their mutual relations, and its object is truth; and as virtue consists in the observance of the moral law, and its object is the right; so Poetry may be considered to be the gift of moving the affections through the imagination, and its object to be the beautiful."

On turning from Aristotle to Plato we find a concept of the function of poetry which stands at the other pole. The difference too is one which at first sight seems to accord little with the characters of the two philosophers. The prosaic Aristotle is willing to consider poetry as it is, and hence is led to write

a theory of the art, a treatise on Poetics. Plato, the first prose poet of the world, one of the greatest of the poets of Greece. refuses to consider poetry except in its relation to education and government, and accordingly his treatment of the subject forms merely a part of the *Republic* and of the *Laws*. The explanation lies in the fact that Plato was only too keenly aware of the charm exercised upon him by poetry, while his philosophy compelled him to regard this charm as a dangerous fascination, as a struggle of the lower part of his soul to obtain the mastery, a struggle which must be controlled and subdued by reason. So, with the cry " Homer must not be set above truth " he turned from poetry as he knew it to the contemplation of poetry as he wished it to be. With the details of his conception of an ideal poetry in an ideal state, I have here nothing to do, my sole purpose being to consider the function of poetry as Plato conceived it. In this connection it is significant to note that he thinks it proper in seeking to determine the value of a poet to ask: what city has obtained a better constitution because it had Homer or some other poet as its lawgiver; what war was conducted better because of his advice; what useful idea or invention can be traced to him; what individuals did he educate. Such questions will prepare us for Plato's ultimate demand that the poet's work shall serve to instill and inculcate the beliefs and actions which the wisdom of the state has determined to be best, and has embodied as such in its laws. That virtue is happiness, that the same mode of life is at once the best and the sweetest, must be the burden of its teaching. It is to consist of hymns of praise and prayer to the gods, and of encomia on good men. These are to be composed and performed under the watchful supervision of the state with diction, harmony and rhythm of befitting austerity. To one accustomed to poetry as the world knows it, such poetry may seem unpleasing and cold, but this will not be the case for one educated under its influence. For him poetry as Plato would have it, will be no less pleasing, and it will possess the inestimable advantage of making its hearers better men. How far poetry is beneficial as inculcating wisdom and virtue is for Plato the supreme and sole test.

The next step must be to trace the elements of these theories beyond the philosophers who have thus formulated them, and again we may begin with Aristotle. To such an interpretation of the *Poetics* as I have sketched, the objection has been made, that it detaches the treatise from the whole framework of Greek thought. To this the reply has been given that it is true, but that the recognition of the independence of aesthetics was a step forward in the progress of thought, and that it is our duty to place this step to the credit of Aristotle. To me it seems necessary to modify these views, and I should say that the theory of pleasure as the end of poetry is not merely Aristotelian, but Greek and older than Aristotle.

If this is true, we should naturally expect to find this theory forming part of the hedonistic philosophy against which Plato waged a ceaseless warfare. Now on turning to Plato's discussion of poetry we actually find him fighting steadily against such a theory which he designates as the theory of the many; the engagement, to be sure, does not become a pitched battle, but the firing along the picket line breaks out repeatedly. Thus in the *Laws* (ii. 655c) Plato says: "And yet most people tell us that the ability to provide pleasure is the standard of correctness for the choral art" and pronounces this view unbearable and unholy. A little later Plato restates this theory of the many in the words: "he who brings it to pass that we are cheered and delighted the most, must be deemed the most competent, and be adjudged the victor," and suggests that there is herein an element of truth which he formulates as follows: "This much I too concede to the many, the choral art must be judged by pleasure, not however by the pleasure of any and everybody; but, roughly speaking, she is the fairest Muse who delights the best and the educated; or, to be precise, she who delights the one man pre-eminent in virtue and education." A sharp skirmish begins in 667b but there is no occasion to follow it, as we are concerned merely with the existence of the theory, and not with Plato's reasons for rejecting it.

If such passages were confined to the *Laws*, it would be possible to maintain that the theory of an aesthetic standard

for poetry developed only towards the close of Plato's life. In reality, however, we find this same theory present in the *Republic,* although it is there brushed aside more lightly. An instance is the passage (iii, 387b) where Plato begs forgiveness of Homer and the other poets for cancelling some verses descriptive of the terrors of Hades, "not because they are not poetic, and in the opinion of the many pleasant to hear; but, the more poetic they are, the less are they fit for the ears of boys and men, who are to be freemen, afraid of slavery more than of death." The poetic vocabulary of this sphere of thought—so Plato continues—is filled with words which make us shudder. For fear that these may cause the courage of his warders to lose its temper, he demands that such words be avoided "though perhaps they do serve some other end." The end which he thus disdains to discuss can hardly be anything but pleasure; others may reckon with such an end, Plato will have none of it. The same attitude is taken in 390a, where certain outbursts of temper towards a superior are condemned, "because, I suppose, it is not conducive to self-control for young men to hear them; we need not be surprised, if they produce in their hearers something else, namely pleasure." Again the implication is that such a theory is beneath discussion. The contrast between this theory and Plato's own views crops out in 397d; Socrates has distinguished three types of style, the simple which scorns all unworthy imitation, a style which imitates anything and everything, and one blended of these two; he asks Adeimantos which of these styles they shall admit into the new state, and on being told the simple style, proceeds as follows:

"And yet, Adeimantos, the blended style also is at all events sweet; while the style opposed to your choice is by far the sweetest in the opinion of children, pedagogues and most of the vulgar herd."

"Yes, it is the sweetest."

"But, perhaps, you mean that it would not fit our Republic." A little later (398a) comes a famous passage in which we can again catch the undertone of the opposing theory: "And so it

seems that if a man, able in virtue of his art to become every sort of creature and to imitate everything, should come to our city in person and wishing to exhibit his productions, we would prostrate ourselves before him in the belief that he was sacred, marvellous and pleasing; but we would tell him that there is not a man of his sort in our city, nor is it lawful for there to be one; and we would send him away to some other city after pouring myrrh upon his head and crowning him with a woolen fillet; while we ourselves would employ a more austere and less pleasing poet for the sake of the public good." This note is still clearer in a passage from the tenth book (607cd): "Nevertheless let it be said that if the poetry and imitation which aims at pleasure can give any proof that it ought to exist in a well-governed city, we will be delighted to receive it; for we are well aware that we are enchanted by it: . . . And we will grant to its representatives, to such as are themselves not poets but only lovers of poetry, an opportunity to speak in its behalf (provided they forego the aid of meter), for the purpose of showing that it is not only pleasing, but also of service to governments and humanity. For undoubtedly we will gain if it appear not merely pleasing but also beneficial."

In the *Gorgias* Socrates declares that poetry as practised at Athens aims solely at the delectation of its audiences; and Callicles either accepts this proposition outright, or is content to hint at the possibility of making some limitation. Here we are not told explicitly that the many believe this is what poetry ought to do, but such an understanding is suggested by the passages just cited from the *Laws* and the *Republic*. This interpretation serves also to explain why Socrates' assertion passes unchallenged, and at the same time makes the course of the dialogue more dramatic. The previous argument has shown that an art which seeks merely pleasure is, in reality, not liberal but servile; the reader now sees suddenly, as if revealed by a lightning flash, that poetry as he knows it, is in Plato's eyes merely a species of flattery, the true analogy for the poet being not the physician but the pastry cook.

The basic idea of the *Poetics*, that the purpose of poetry is

to please, can thus be traced back on the evidence of Plato to the beginning of the fourth century. Of the genesis of this idea Plato has unfortunately chosen to tell us nothing. Whether it was actually as wide-spread and as crudely hedonistic, as Plato represents it to be, may be doubted; but for the central fact—that such ideas were held by Greeks of his time—we have Plato's testimony, and there is no reason for impugning it. On the contrary I think it reasonable to believe that the idea is older than the point to which we can trace it, although I know that to say this is to run counter to one of the commonplaces of the history of Greek literature.

For Plato's theory the fundament is the concept of the poet as the people's teacher, and this we are told is the way in which the Greek people themselves were accustomed to view their relation to their poets. The assertion is so familiar that there is little effort to substantiate it. Sometimes, to be sure, it is asserted that folk poetics are always ethical, a conclusion reached by observing the force with which moral sentiments appeal to the galleries of all modern theaters. This argument however confuses two things, delight in moral sentiments with the belief that the duty of the poet is to instruct and improve. The former seems a universal trait of popular thought, and for Athens could be proved directly by pointing to the number of *gnomai* or moral maxims which the tragedies contain. The second point is not established as universal by any induction from modern theatrical life, and we are warranted in demanding definite proof before conceding that such was the popular belief of Athens in the fifth century.

As such evidence is regularly cited a passage in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes. In the Old Comedy there occurs normally in each play a scene of stereotyped form, known technically as the *contest* or *agon,* during which the action of the play is suspended, while some fundamental question is being thrashed out in debate. The *agon* of the *Frogs* takes place in Hades, the contestants are Aeschylus and Euripides, the question at issue is the right to occupy the seat of the master tragedian, the god of the theater Dionysus himself is present, nominally

as umpire, in reality to play the buffoon and see that the scene remain comic. Comedy could devise no situation better adapted for enlightening us about the end of Tragedy. I will quote in Rogers' admirable translation the verses (1008 ff.) which bear most directly upon our question:

Aesch. Come tell me what are the points for which a noble poet our praise obtains.
Eur. For his ready wit and his councils sage, and because the citizen folk he trains
To be better townsmen and worthier men. *Aesch.* If then you have done the very reverse
Found noble-hearted and virtuous men, and altered them each and all, for the worse
Pray what is the meed you deserve to get? *Dio.* Nay, ask not him. He deserves to die. . . .
Aesch. But Phaedras and Stheneboeas? No! no harlotry business deformed my plays,
And none can say that ever I drew a love-sick woman in all my days. . . .
Eur. Was then, I wonder, the tale I told of Phaedra's passionate love untrue?
Aesch. Not so, but tales of incestuous vice the sacred poet should hide from view.
Nor ever exhibit and blazon forth on the public stage to to the public ken.
For boys a teacher at school is found, but we, the poets, are teachers of men.
We are BOUND things honest and pure to speak.

This passage is universally taken at its face value; the views expressed are believed to be those of Aristophanes himself, and it is thought that in them he is merely voicing the convictions of the people. For the older school of Aristophanic interpretation no other understanding was possible; for, according to it, Aristophanes was a patriotic, wise and brave statesman, whose primary intention in producing a comedy was to teach Athens the lesson of the greatest value at the time. To set forth even in outline my reasons for dissenting from such views would require more space than this article permits. I must, therefore, be content to write for those who are willing to assume that the true view of Aristophanes' work is summed up in the saying of Wilamowitz, the comedies are meant to

be farces, and must be understood as farces. For the earlier school Aristophanes' seriousness was always earnest, for us it may be only mock seriousness, which is a very effective method of provoking laughter; and we realize accordingly, that whenever Aristophanes seems most in earnest, we must be most on our guard against the danger of misunderstanding him. It will be well therefore to see whether he is not in this passage from the *Frogs* sneering covertly at the theory which he is so ardently preaching.

There are several reasons for disbelieving that the theory of the poet as 'teacher of men' is either a popular belief or representative of Aristophanes' own ideas. In the first place there is the isolation of the passage. To be sure passages from other comedies have been cited to show that Aristophanes so regarded himself, but on examination they serve only to strengthen our suspicions. In the *Acharnians,* for instance, we are told that the King of Persia predicted success in the war for whichever party had the benefit of Aristophanes' abuse; and in the *Wasps* Aristophanes, on the ground of his fight against Cleon, claims to be a second Heracles, one who has cleansed the land of its monsters. In reality, the King of Persia never heard of Aristophanes; while Cleon lived and died at the head of the Athenian state, and if we knew the details of the fight, there is good chance that we should find Aristophanes a second Dionysus masquerading with club and lion skin. The grotesque exaggeration and distortion of the facts is evident, and points to the conclusion that, when Aristophanes presents himself as a serious adviser, the pose is meant to be ludicrous. The best modern commentary is the picture of *Judge* pointing to the full dinner pail. The theory of poetry presented in the *Frogs* may be illustrated from Plato, from Isocrates and from other writers under the influence of Plato, but no editor has adduced a single parallel from tragedy. This indicates that the concept is philosophic rather than popular. For, if such a view had existed among the Athenians, it must have reacted upon their poets, and we should then expect to find somewhere in Tragedy a passage showing that the poet was

conscious of his high calling and of his responsibilities. It is true that the opportunity would have been restricted by the objectivity of tragedy, still Euripides does manage to find means of expressing his own ideas and feelings. It is true also that the bulk of Tragedy has been lost, still such a passage, had it existed, could hardly have escaped quotation by some later moralist. Allowances may be made on both these grounds and still the silence of Tragedy will remain significant.

To argue from a man's actions to his theories, to infer his preaching from his practise is always perilous. Particularly is this so, when, as with the writers of Old Comedy, the man's standards of morality are so far removed from modern ideas of decency and refinement, that it is difficult to put oneself in his place. Still, the composition of a play such as the *Thesmophoriazousai* runs so directly counter to the concept of the poet's calling preached in the *Frogs;* there is in it such a 'blazoning forth on the public stage to the public ken' of things which the 'sacred poet should hide from view'; that the sincerity of the preaching in the *Frogs* is inevitably brought into question. If the contradiction concerned merely some detail, we might be content with noting that Aristophanes did not always practise what he preached; but a contradiction, which affects the very foundation of the poet's art, must be regarded more seriously. To strengthen our suspicions:— the corollary to the proposition that the poet is 'the teacher of men,' is that the state must supervise the production of poetry. Plato plans expressly for state censorship, and it is inconceivable that Aristophanes should have missed the necessary connection between the two ideas. Now for Old Comedy state censorship was a danger ever present, and threatening to its very existence. Freedom of speech, *parrhesia,* was the life blood of Aristophanes' art, and he was no true friend to any theory which threatened to check its flow.

If these considerations incline us to question the seriousness of Aristophanes, and to doubt the popular origin of this ethical concept of the poet's calling, let us see whether it is not possible to frame a better hypothesis. An essential charac-

teristic of Greek poetry is its union with religion—Gilbert Murray has recently (*Atlantic Monthly,* Nov. 1912) given beautiful expression to this idea—resting on the fact that the thoughts and interests of men were then much less differentiated than is the case nowadays. The union was so intimate that there could be no question at that time of the relationship between art and religion, because the two were perfectly at one. The beautiful and the good were viewed as identical, and the whole man responded to the work of the poet, without distinguishing his pleasure, his instruction and his moral betterment. This was the true folk attitude of the Greeks, and the dissolution of the harmony came not from popular reflections about the end of poetry, but from philosophical speculations. The leaders in the new movement were the sophists, and how the change was brought about, can be seen from the *Protagoras* of Plato. The program of these wandering lecturers offered a practical training for the purpose of making, as Protagoras himself expresses it, ' worthier men ' and ' good citizens.' This training was in reality something new in the intellectual life of Greece; but the sophists, in their effort to dispel popular prejudice, endeavored to show that such had been the secret intention of the great poets; that the latter, though striving to conceal the fact, had actually labored to instruct and improve the people.

Such ideas were the germs from which the theory presented in the *Frogs* springs, and perhaps we may even go a step further and indicate as Aristophanes' immediate source a work of Protagoras. In the *Ecclesiazousai* Aristophanes makes merry over the form of family life which Plato advocates in the *Republic.* This comedy was produced in 389 B. C., and consequently some scholars have been led to argue for a publication of part of the *Republic* before that date, while others have sought to compromise on the assumption that Plato's ideas had been circulated orally in advance of their publication. The connection between the *Frogs* and the *Republic* is also obvious, though hitherto it has seemed without significance, because of the belief that both Plato and Aristophanes had

started from a folk idea. If that belief is abandoned it becomes necessary to find some explanation for this double bond of connection between the comedies of Aristophanes and the *Republic* of Plato. Now malicious gossip reaching us through Diogenes Laertes (3. 37) had it that the *Republic* of Plato was a plagiarism from Protagoras. The charge need not be believed; but it could never have been brought, unless there had been a work by Protagoras bearing to the *Republic* a resemblance sufficient to lend some color to the accusation. This work is the common source which both the comedian and the philosopher have used, each in his own fashion. In it Protogoras must have handled the relation of poetry to the state, and the dialogue of Plato which bears his name suffices to show that the sophist must have depicted the poet as a forerunner of his own art, as a 'teacher of men.'

The formulation of this doctrine by Protagoras must have evoked promptly its antithesis, the theory that the end of poetry is to please; and there must have been also various attempts to reconcile these antitheses, to find some *via media* between the two extremes. For the existence of the theory of pleasure we have the evidence of Plato at a time but little later, and one is inclined to connect this theory with the name of Gorgias. For the compromises direct evidence is lacking, unless it be afforded by the attitude of Callicles in the *Gorgias;* they may, however, be assumed as intrinsically very probable. At all events we may be certain that the question was discussed vigorously in the literary circles of Athens towards the close of the fifth century. This debate gives the background for the true understanding of the passage in the *Frogs.*

An important element in the success of Aristophanes was his ability to amuse at the same time the most diverse elements in his audience. For religion the matter has been treated excellently by Couat, and there is no occasion to rehearse here the details; it being sufficient to recall the general fact that Aristophanes helps consciously the sophistic attack on religion at the very moment when he seems most ardent in its condemnation. Similarly the *agon* of the *Frogs* has a different mean-

ing for different classes of spectators. For the unsophisticated there is the simple surface meaning; they may thrill with delight at the high morality and noble sentiments of this picture of the poet's calling. Meanwhile the enlightened litterateur will catch at the outset the allusion to the theory of Protagoras, and doubtless was to find as the scene progressed, many clever side hits which either escape us entirely, or are beyond the possibility of proof, because the original of the parody is lost. One such must have been the encomium on the *Seven against Thebes* as 'with the war-god filled' which is a quotation from Gorgias; we may also note that both Aeschylus here and Protagoras in Plato appeal to Orpheus, Musaios and Hesiod, but any attempt to follow the matter in detail must prove fruitless.

Aristophanes' precise position in the debate remains indeterminable, because he has no real wish to convince, but is merely seeking to amuse. That he cannot be, as would appear on the surface, simply in agreement with Protagoras, is clear from what has already been said, and is besides indicated by two points in his handling of the theme. If the conflict between Aeschylus and Euripides were really in Aristophanes' eyes a conflict betwen the good and the evil of an art devoted entirely to the moral betterment of men, he could never permit himself on account of minor defects to rake Aeschylus as severely as he does. Aeschylus emerges from the fight as victor, but he has been as badly marked as Euripides. Virtue triumphant, but with a countenance so disfigured, is no edifying spectacle.

Besides this there is the puzzling end of the contest. I do not refer to the sudden shifting of the prize, in consequence of which the victor is to return to earth with Dionysus, and still retain his right to the chair of Tragedy in Hades. That shows perhaps that the play was worked at from different points of view, which the poet did not finally succeed in combining with perfect smoothness. That is another question which at present need not concern us. Even apart from it the method of finally determining the victor is surprising. The competition passes

from the fundamental principles of Tragedy to various phases of the art; the prologues and odes of the contestants are searched for merits and demerits; their verses are put on the scales; and then suddenly everything is made to hinge on a political catechism. Whichever can give the best advice about dealing with Alcibiades shall be the victor. How puzzling this is, can best be shown by a quotation from Rogers: Dionysus declares "that he will choose, not necessarily the better tragedian (which was the sole object of the poetical competition) but the man who can give the state the wiser political counsel . . . . Yet the decision though made without the slightest reference to the dramatic merits of the two contending tragedians carries with it strangely enough the right to occupy the Tragic Chair." An admirable remark from the standpoint of modern criticism, but on Protagoras' theory the man who can give the state the wiser counsel is *ipso facto* the better tragedian. There is then no better way of finding the best dramatist than by asking him whether he is for or against Alcibiades, that being the paramount issue of the day. In comparison with his answer to this question, his prologues, his odes, his verses count for nothing; the only real test of his value is whether he is fitted to be a 'teacher of men.' This amounts to a *reductio ad absurdum* of the theory, and it must have been so intended by Aristophanes.

To conclude with a summary of my view:—the question of an aesthetic or ethical standard for poetry rests on a differentiation of ideas too subtle for the popular thought of the time when Greek poetry was at its zenith. The discussion was opened when the sophists claimed that the poets had been secretly, what they themselves were professedly 'teachers of men.' The development of this idea, most notably by Protagoras, started the opposite theory of an aesthetic standard, more or less modified by ethical considerations. Aristophanes parodied the debate for the amusement of the litterateurs present, at the same time counting on its high moral sound to please the simpler people. Plato adopted Protagoras' theory of the function of the poet in preference to the aesthetic concept

of poetry which he regarded as crudely hedonistic. His originality lay in his minor premise, that poetry as the world knew it, did not and could not comply with the requirements of the major. Aristotle on the contrary upheld the aesthetic standard, striving at the same time to give proper emphasis to the ethical values it necessarily implies. In later times Eratosthenes followed Aristotle, but the main current of Greek thought continued to flow in the channel opened by Protagoras.

George Melville Bolling.

SOME MINOR IRISH POETS (1800–1850).

For the first fifty years of the nineteenth century Ireland presents, on the whole, a woeful picture.

In 1800 the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland was effected. The Act of Union was a solemn treaty made between two sovereign states; but, with the disappearance of her parliament, there disappeared from Ireland the last vestige of her independence. Previously a separate kingdom, she lost that character with the loss of her separate constitutional existence. The kingdom of Ireland was merged in the United Kingdom, and the British monarch was thenceforward no longer king of Great Britain *and* king of Ireland; he was now king of Great Britain and Ireland.

The splendid promises and the brilliant prophecies, which had been used as arguments to bring about the Union, were not destined to be fulfilled. Instead of peace and quietness, there were turmoil and agitation and bad feeling, which at different times went perilously close to war, and on two occasions, in 1803 and in 1848, did actually eventuate in open insurrection; instead of religious freedom and the wholesome spirit it engenders, there were fierce sectarian animosity and all the bitternesses and all the meannesses which those words seem necessarily to imply; instead of national progress, the growth of national wealth, and social happiness, there were grinding poverty and fearful discontent, which led to the formation of one secret society after another and, through them, to daylight and midnight murder and other forms of the wild justice of revenge.

There are certain features of the history of that period which, in connection with the topic now under discussion, are specially noteworthy. The first of these was the agitation for Catholic Emancipation, which was continuous from 1800 to 1829, and reached its height from 1823 onward to its close. In 1829, mainly through the instrumentality of Daniel O'Con-

nell and the priests and stout-hearted electors of the County Clare, the Catholic Relief Act was passed. Although grudgingly given, surrounded by offensive limitations, and accompanied by the disfranchisement throughout the country of that very class of forty-shilling freeholders whose votes in Clare had made its enactment imperative, this measure of emancipation was a great boon to the 6,500,000 Catholics of Ireland, as well as to their co-religionists in Great Britain.

The Tithe Reform agitation followed, and it led to great misery and persecution and lamentable loss of life. The people naturally objected to contribute to the support of a church to which they did not belong, and resented and, to the utmost of their power, resisted payment of the hateful tax. The Tithe War, as it was not inappropriately called, was long drawn out. Its acute phase, marked by harrowing scenes of violence and bloodshed, was between 1831 and 1838. The struggle was brought to an end, not in a very satisfactory manner indeed, by the Tithe Commutation Act, passed in 1838.

The strongest and fiercest agitation of all, though not disfigured by criminal violence, was that for Repeal of the Union. It began as early as 1810 and was carried on intermittently until 1840; it then grew in intensity and volume until 1843; reached its climax in 1843 and 1844; and flickered out in slow collapse between 1846 and 1849.

The Repeal agitation died amidst a dying Ireland. There had been famines, some local but all serious, in 1821, 1822, 1831, 1835, 1836, 1837, and 1842. But the famine of 1846-1847—or, to say rightly, 1846-1850—eclipsed them all. It was caused by the failure of at least half the potato crop in the autumn of 1845, and by its total failure in the autumn of 1846. The loss in money in 1845 was estimated at not less than £9,000,000; in 1846 it was calculated to be at the lowest £20,000,000, but £40,000,000 would probably be nearer the mark. But worse than the money loss was the toll of human lives. In 1846, acording to Mitchel's calculations, 300,000 persons perished either of sheer hunger or of fever caused by hunger; in 1847, 500,000 died of famine and disease. Death stalked triumphantly through the land. Even a dispassionate

description of the scenes enacted in Ireland in those dark and evil days causes more genuine horror than do the most fearsome passages in Dante's *Inferno*.

Nor did the devastation cease with those two fateful years. In 1848 there was a partial failure of the harvest, and the dearth thus occasioned, with fever and dysentery thrown in, sent many to their graves. Cholera added its terrors in 1849, and was directly responsible for the carrying off of 36,000 souls. The total number of deaths from famine and disease in this year was 240,000.

Owing to the iniquities of bad land laws and a rapidly increasing population, emigration to foreign countries had been going on in a continuous stream from 1831 to 1841, the average being 43,000 a year. This number was increased in the next five years. In 1846, 106,000 persons left Ireland for places abroad, in addition to 278,000 who fled in search of work to England. In 1847, 215,000 emigrated; nearly as many in 1849; in 1851, when the famine was at an end, 257,000 took their departure. The population, which had been 8,175,124 in 1846, should normally have risen to 9,018,799 by 1851: instead, it had fallen to 6,552,385. The ratio of decrease was so great and so continuous that five years later the London *Times* exultantly boasted that ere long a Celt would be as rare in Ireland as a Red Indian on the shores of Manhattan, as obsolete as the Phœnicians in Cornwall, and that the Catholic religion would be as forgotten as the worship of Astarte.

The evictions, the great clearances, began on the grand scale in 1849, and within twelve months 500,000 persons were dispossessed of land and home. The failure of the Repeal agitation and the miseries of the people led to the ill-starred and abortive insurrection of 1848, and, when that was promptly quashed, Ireland settled down into an apathy and a gloom from which she did not entirely emerge for more than a generation.

From a country so disturbed and so afflicted it is natural to ask if much poetry could be expected. At first blush it might be said that the answer must be, No. But we cannot dogmatise in that hasty fashion. In the first place, it must be

remembered that not every one in Ireland was starving, even in "black '47." There were more than six millions whom the famine did not reach.

In the next place, we must not think that every one was caught up in the whirlwind of the various agitations. Sitting remote amid the rush and bustle of great cities, many a solitary writer turned out his copy of ode or ballad or sonnet, unperturbed. In quiet country homes or within the walls of rectory or manse, of college or convent, many a gentle soul assiduously wooed the Muse.

It must not be forgotten, too, that others than gentle-folk were now beginning to be able to write in English. If we look back to the great names of the Irish writers of English of the eighteenth century, we find that, in addition to belonging to the educated classes and to being as a rule English by descent, they were in every case non-Catholics in religion. No Catholic appears in the list made up of Swift and Steele, Goldsmith and Sterne, Berkeley, Brooke, and Burke. Nor is the reason far to seek. By the shameful provisions of the penal code, Catholics were prevented during nearly all the eighteenth century from giving or receiving an education at home or abroad. A violation of this cruel enactment led to the infliction of dire pains and penalties. Of course the law was evaded in a great many cases; but the general result was that the most quick-witted and intelligent peasantry in Europe were, with rare exceptions, unable to read or write. But after the Emancipation Act of 1829, and particularly after the establishment of the system of National Education in 1831, all that was speedily changed. The schoolmaster was abroad in Ireland then with a vengeance, and schoolhouses filled the land. The generation that received the first benefits of the National Education system was precisely the one that spoke out loud and bold during the great days of the *Nation* newspaper from 1842 to 1848. Among the most valued contributors to that organ of public opinion were artisans and mechanics and sons and daughters of the soil.

Mention of the *Nation* newspaper brings me to the last point that I now wish to make. War and agitation, and even misery,

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are not without their spokesmen in verse and prose. Thus it was the ferment in Germany in 1813 and the war for German liberation that gave to the world the *Leyer und Schwert,* the wild war-songs of Karl Theodor Körner; it was the French Revolution that produced the *Marseillaise.* In the Bible we have the picture of the chosen people sitting sorrowful and weeping by the waters of Babylon, as well as Miriam's song of triumph; we have the *Miserere,* as well as the *Magnificat;* we have Job, as well as Judas Macchabæus. So in Ireland the war spirit and the spirit of unrest and of misery itself were vocal in verse and prose; they all found expression through various channels, and especially in the columns of the *Nation,* which was called into existence by the exigencies of the Repeal movement, " to create and foster public opinion in Ireland and make it racy of the soil."

By the limitations of my subject I am debarred from considering any but minor Irish poets. Accordingly, I at once eliminate Thomas Moore; James Clarence Mangan; Sir Samuel Ferguson; William Allingham; Denis Florence McCarthy; Aubrey de Vere; and his father, Sir Aubrey: these I rank unquestionably among major Irish singers. I also eliminate Thomas Davis, because, whatever opinion I may entertain of his poetry as poetry, I recognise that he was a great Irishman, and that by his poetry, as well as by his prose, he accomplished great things for Ireland. In Ireland, at least, he would be a bold man who should associate anything minor with the revered name of Thomas Osborne Davis.

There is still left a large residue of poets: over a hundred by actual count. Now, if I should attempt to deal with all these, it would be like the reciting of the Litany of Irish Poets. There would be a string of names as long as the Litany of the Saints—and that is a rather exacting penance, as some of us may have ere now learned. Such a penance I do not intend to impose. What I propose to do is to notice a few of the less known and a few of the better known of the minor Irish poets of the period. I deal only with those Irish poets who wrote in English.

In the eighties of last century, when a few of us were trying, not entirely without success, to galvanise life into a paper known as the *Irish Fireside,* there used to come occasionally into the office in Abbey Street, Dublin, two elderly men, whose ostensible motive was to offer kindly advice and valuable suggestions, but who really wanted to talk of the brave days of old. They always found willing listeners, for each of them was a man of note, and each formed a link with what then seemed to us a remote past. These two venerable personages were no other than Charles Patrick Meehan and John Kells Ingram.

Father Meehan had been born as far back as 1812, and loomed large in our eyes as the great historian of *The Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell* and *The Geraldines,* but still more as the friend and companion of Davis and Duffy and Mangan. He was a young man when the *Nation* was founded in 1842, and he was a contributor to it almost from the beginning. His pieces were signed either with his own name or with the pen-name of "Clericus." He lived on until 1890, and during my student days and afterwards as a young professor in University College, I saw much of this kindly Irish gentleman, and from him I always derived encouragement and inspiration. If for nothing else than the following piece, which appeared in the *Nation* on November 5, 1842, he deserves a place among Irish poets. It is entitled:

Boyhood's Years.

Ah! why should I recall them—the gay, the joyous years,
Ere hope was cross'd or pleasure dimm'd by sorrow and by tears?
Or why should mem'ry love to trace youth's glad and sunlit way,
When those who made its charms so sweet are gather'd to decay?
The summer's sun shall come again to brighten hill and bower—
The teeming earth its fragrance bring beneath the balmy shower;
But all in vain will mem'ry strive, in vain we shed our tears—
They're gone away and can't return—the friends of boyhood's years!

Ah! why then wake my sorrow, and bid me now count o'er
The vanished friends so dearly prized—the days to come no more—
The happy days of infancy, when no guile our bosoms knew,

Nor reck'd we of the pleasures that with each moment flew?
'Tis all in vain to weep for them—the past a dream appears;
And where are they—the lov'd, the young, the friends of boyhood's
years?

Go seek them in the cold churchyard—they long have stol'n to rest;
But do not weep, for their young cheeks by woe were ne'er oppress'd;
Life's sun for them in splendour set—no cloud came o'er the ray
That lit them from this gloomy world upon their joyous way.
No tears about their graves be shed—but sweetest flowers be flung,
The fittest off'ring thou canst make to hearts that perish young—
To hearts this world has never torn with racking hopes and fears;
For bless'd are they who pass away in boyhood's happy years!

John Kells Ingram was born in the County Donegal in 1823. He was a many-sided man. He held in succession in Trinity College, Dublin, the Professorship of Greek, the Professorship of English Literature, the Senior Lecturership, the Librarianship, and the Vice-Provostship. He was also President of the Royal Irish Academy and a Commissioner for the publication of the Ancient Laws and Institutions of Ireland. Further, he was something of an economist and sociologist. Indeed his reputation in these respects was so great that it was he who was selected to write the articles on "Political Economy" and "Slavery" for the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* In addition to his other accomplishments he was a poet. In 1900, when he was in his seventy-eighth year, he published a volume of poems which gained great favour among the cognoscenti. While he was yet a student he sent to the *Nation* the celebrated lyric, *The Memory of the Dead,* and it appeared there without signature. It used to be said that in later years he was rather ashamed to have been so violently national and was inclined to disown the poem, and Carlyle said of him in his Irish tour of 1849 that his opinions had already changed. I believe that then or later they did change; but so far was he from repudiating *The Memory of the Dead* that he formally acknowledged it to be his by including it in the volume of his poems to which I have already referred. Ingram wrote beautiful sonnets and other pieces; but I think I am safe in saying

that to nine-tenths of the Irishmen who know of him at all he is known solely by his youthful lyric. If we imagine that at a banquet or some such function somebody had spoken disparagingly of the men who rose in rebellion in Ireland in 1798, and that the poet, with fire in his eye, gets up to rebuke the slanderer by proposing the toast of the memory of the dead patriots, we shall have the *mise en scène* and will thereby perhaps better understand the spirit of the poem. It is entitled:

THE MEMORY OF THE DEAD.

Who fears to speak of Ninety-Eight?
  Who blushes at the name?
When cowards mock the patriot's fate,
  Who hangs his head for shame?
He's all a knave or half a slave
  Who slights his country thus:
But a true man, like you, man,
  Will fill your glass with us.

We drink the memory of the brave,
  The faithful and the few—
Some lie far off beyond the wave,
  Some sleep in Ireland, too;
All, all are gone—but still lives on
  The fame of those who died;
And true men, like you, men,
  Remember them with pride.

Some on the shores of distant lands
  Their weary hearts have laid,
And by the stranger's heedless hands
  Their lonely graves were made;
But though their clay be far away
  Beyond the Atlantic foam,
In true men, like you, men,
  Their spirit's still at home.

The dust of some is Irish earth;
  Among their own they rest;

And the same land that gave them birth
  Has caught them to her breast;
And we will pray that from their clay
  Full many a race may start
Of true men, like you, men,
  To act as brave a part.

They rose in dark and evil days
  To right their native land;
They kindled here a living blaze
  That nothing shall withstand.
Alas! that Might can vanquish Right—
  They fell, and passed away;
But true men, like you, men,
  Are plenty here to-day.

Then here's their memory—may it be
  For us a guiding light,
To cheer our strife for liberty,
  And teach us to unite!
Through good and ill, be Ireland's still,
  Though sad as theirs, your fate;
And true men, be you, men,
  Like those of Ninety-Eight.

A third of the poets of the *Nation* with whom I was brought a good deal in contact towards the close of his long and honourable career was Denny Lane. He was born in Cork in 1818 and died there in 1896. He is known as a poet principally by two pieces which appeared in the *Nation* in 1844 and 1845, entitled, respectively, *Kate of Arraglen* and *The Lament of the Irish Maiden*. He retired from verse-making to the pursuit of commerce, and was a successful and prosperous manufacturer and merchant in Cork. He took a great interest in the Irish industrial revival; nor did he forget his old love, for he was active in the literary movement in Cork. *The Lament of the Irish Maiden* is often called simply "Carrigdhoun." It has been set to music and has secured a great vogue as a popular song on concert platforms. Many a one who is captivated by

the music does not know who wrote the words. Its metrical structure is closely allied to the Gaelic. Here it is—without the music:

THE LAMENT OF THE IRISH MAIDEN.

On Carrigdhoun the heath is brown,
The clouds are dark o'er Ardnalee,
And many a stream comes rushing down
To swell the angry Ownabwee.
The moaning blast is sweeping past
Through many a leafless tree,
And I'm alone—for he is gone—
My hawk is flown—*Ochone machree!*

The heath was brown on Carrigdhoun,
Bright shone the sun on Ardnalee,
The dark green trees bent, trembling, down
To kiss the slumbering Ownabwee,
That happy day, 'twas but last May—
'Tis like a dream to me—
When Donnell swore—aye, o'er and o'er—
We'd part no more—*astore machree!*

Soft April showers and bright May flowers
Will bring the summer back again,
But will they bring me back the hours
I spent with my brave Donnell then?
'Tis but a chance, for he's gone to France,
To wear the *fleur-de-lis;*
But I'll follow you my Donnell Dhu,
For still I'm true to you, *machree!*

Another of the poets of the *Nation,* about whom I learned a good deal through College tradition and also from friends who had known him well, but whom I never met for the good reason that he died before I was born, was Richard Dalton Williams. He was born in Dublin of Tipperary parents in 1822, and was a student at Tullabeg, at Carlow College, and afterwards at Dublin and Edinburgh. Just before the rising of 1848, when

Mitchel had been convicted and his paper, *The United Irishman,* suppressed, Williams and Kevin Izod O'Doherty established *The Irish Tribune,* in which they at once started to preach plain sedition. For this offence O'Doherty was put on trial and convicted; but Williams, tried on the same charge of treason felony, was acquitted. He subsequently took a medical degree, and after practising in Dublin for about two years, he came to this country, and was professor of Belles Lettres in the Jesuit College at Spring Hill, Mobile, Alabama. He married Miss Connolly of New Orleans in 1856, and in that city resumed his practice of the medical profession, and carried it on with considerable success. His health, however, was breaking, and he sought change at Baton Rouge and at Thibodeaux in Louisiana. Here he wrote his last poem, the *Song of the Irish-American Regiments,* and here he fell a victim to that disease whose ravages he had so pathetically described in *The Dying Girl.* He died of consumption on July 5, 1862, in his fortieth year. A monument of Carrara marble, erected by his countrymen serving in two companies of the 8th Regiment, N. H. Volunteers, marks his last resting-place. He had grown weary of the struggle with the world, as is shown by the following lines which he wrote on the death of one of his children:—

ON THE DEATH OF HIS INFANT DAUGHTER, KATIE.

Dear baby-daughter! in the light divine
No angel waves a purer wing than thine.
Soon may my sorrows, like thy days, be o'er—
Soon may I see, love, wonder and adore,
Gazing on God with thee for evermore!

When I was a student in Carlow College, I occupied the room which Williams had occupied in his day, and on one of the panes of glass in the window he had scratched his name with a diamond. One is inclined to ask with Thackeray regarding Goldsmith's still more famous signature in Trinity College, Dublin: Whose diamond? In the Book of Honour in Carlow College are preserved ten of Williams's juvenile

pieces which have never been published. From Carlow as a student he sent up to the *Nation* his celebrated lyric, *The Munster War-Song,* which appeared in the issue of that paper of January 7, 1843, over his pen-name of "Shamrock." It attracted wide attention. In the issue of January 21, 1843, the editor asserted that "'Shamrock' is a jewel. He cannot write too often. His verses are full of vigour, and as natural as the harp of Tara." The result was that when Williams went up to Dublin to pursue his medical studies, he was appointed to a position on the staff of the *Nation.*

William's poems may be divided into four classes: national, devotional, humorous, and pathetic. In his martial odes there is the very crash of battle. His religious poems are not nearly so well known as they deserve. His outbursts of religious piety in *Before the Blessed Sacrament* and *Contrition—Adoration* are really remarkable. His paraphrases of the *Dies Irae,* the *Adoro Te Devote,* and the *Stabat Mater* were given a wide circulation by their inclusion in a *Manual of Devotions* compiled by the nuns of St. Vincent's Hospital, Dublin, to which Williams was at one time attached. Many persons still read them without knowing who was the author. Williams had a fine vein of humour, but it ran rather to the technical order. He was a successful parodist. He parodied Davis's *Oh! for a Steed!* in *Oh! for a Feed!*, O'Hagan's *Dear Land* in *Dear Law,* Mangan's *Time of the Barmecides* in *The Barmaid's Eyes,* and Drayton's *Battle of Agincourt* in *Romance in Real Life.* His two best known pieces are perhaps *The Sister of Charity* and *The Dying Girl.* This is

THE DYING GIRL.

From a Munster vale they brought her,
  From the pure and balmy air,
An Ormond peasant's daughter,
  With blue eyes and golden hair—
They brought her to the city,
  And she faded slowly there:
Consumption has no pity
  For blue eyes and golden hair.

When I saw her first reclining,
  Her lips were moved in pray'r,
And the setting sun was shining
  On her loosened golden hair.
When our kindly glances met her
  Deadly brilliant was her eye,
And she said that she was better,
  While we knew that she must die.

She speaks of Munster valleys,
  The pattern, dance, and fair,
And her thin hand feebly dallies
  With her scattered golden hair.
When silently we listened
  To her breath with quiet care,
Her eyes with wonder glistened,
  And she asked us what was there.

The poor thing smiled to ask it,
  And her pretty mouth laid bare,
Like gems within a casket,
  A string of pearlets rare.
We said that we were trying,
  By the gushing of her blood,
And the time she took in sighing,
  To know if she were good.

Well, she smiled and chatted gaily;
  Though we saw in mute despair
The hectic brighter daily,
  And the death-dew on her hair.
And oft her wasted fingers
  Beating time upon the bed,
O'er some old tune she lingers,
  And she bows her golden head.

At length the harp is broken,
  And the spirit in its strings,
As the last decree is spoken,
  To its source exulting springs.

Descending swiftly from the skies,
  Her guardian angel came,
He struck God's lightning from her eyes,
  And bore him back the flame.

Before the sun had risen
  Through the lark-loved morning air,
Her young soul left its prison,
  Undefiled by sin or care.
I stood beside the couch in tears,
  Where pale and calm she slept,
And, though I've gazed on death for years,
  I blush not that I wept.
I checked with effort pity's sighs,
  And left the matron there,
To close the curtains of her eyes,
  And bind her golden hair.

Any account, however slight, of the poets of the *Nation* would be certainly one-sided and lacking in courtesy, unless some mention were made of the three most famous of the women writers who adorned its pages. They are known, respectively, as "Mary," "Eva," and "Speranza." "Mary" was Ellen Mary Patrick Downing, who, born in Cork in 1828, entered a convent in 1849, and died in 1869. Her religious poetry has been collected in two volumes under the titles of *Voices of the Heart,* published in 1868 and again in 1880, and *Poems for Children,* published in 1881. Her national and love poetry remains uncollected. Of the latter category the two best known pieces are *My Owen* and *Talk by the Blackwater.* I select this tender lyric:

MY OWEN.

Proud of you, fond of you, clinging so near to you,
Light is my heart now I know I am dear to you!
Glad is my voice now, so free it may sing to you
All the wild love that is burning within for you!
Tell me once more, tell it over and over,

The tale of that eve that first saw you my lover.
Now I need never blush
At my heart's hottest gush;
The wife of my Owen her heart may discover.

Proud of you, fond of you, having all right in you!
Quitting all else through my love and delight in you!
Glad is my heart, since 'tis beating so nigh to you!
Light is my step, for it always may fly to you!
Clasped in your arms where no sorrow can reach to me,
Reading your eyes till new love they shall teach to me,
Though wild and weak till now,
By that blessed marriage vow,
More than the wisest know your heart shall preach to me.

"Eva" was Eva Mary Kelly. She was born at Headfort, in the County Galway, about 1825. She was engaged to be married to Kevin Izod O'Doherty when he was brought to trial on the charge of treason felony. The jury twice disagreed, and then he was offered a virtual pardon in the shape of a nominal sentence, if he would plead guilty. He sent for Eva. "What ought I do?", said he. "Do?", said the brave girl, "why be a man, and face the worst. I will wait for you, however long the sentence may be." He was tried again next day, found guilty, and sentenced to ten years' transportation. In course of time he returned, and two days after he arrived in Ireland the faithful couple were made man and wife. They emigrated to Australia and there attained to considerable eminence.

"Speranza" was the pen-name of Jane Francesca Elgee, who subsequently by marriage became Mrs. Wilde and later Lady Wilde. She was a Protestant clergyman's daughter and was born in County Wexford in 1826. In 1844 she began to contribute to the *Nation* in prose and verse. Her contributions came to be eagerly looked for, and they helped materially to increase the circulation of the paper. When Gavan Duffy, as editor of the *Nation*, stood in the dock in 1848 on the charge of high treason, the most telling article read against him was one entitled *Jacta Alea Est* ("The Die is Cast"). It was an

unparalleled revolutionary document, a sort of prose poem, a frantic appeal to arms, and, as sentence after sentence fell on the hushed court, the effect was electric. When the Attorney-General had finished his reading, there was a murmur of long pent-up emotions, and then suddenly from the ladies' gallery came a cry, "I am the culprit, if crime it be." It was Speranza who spoke: *Jacta Alea Est* was her production. Her intervention was not without effect. Three different juries disagreed in Duffy's case, and at length his prosecution was abandoned. Lady Wilde lived until 1896, and was an ardent litterateur almost to the last. Among her many other titles to fame, she was the mother of that unfortunate man of genius, Oscar Wilde, who died in Paris in 1900.

I should give but an imperfect picture of the period under notice, if I made it appear that all the Irish writers belonged to the *Nation* or shared its political views. There were some who were bitterly opposed to its policy; others who apparently were unmoved by the great political struggle. Of the latter type let me present Cecil Frances Alexander. She was the daughter of Major Humphreys, an officer in the Royal Marines, and was born in the County Wicklow in 1818. She was early attracted by the Tractarian or Oxford Movement, which was begun by Keble's Oxford Assize Sermon on National Apostasy in July, 1833. She came under the influence of Dr. Walter Farquhar Hook, Dean of Chichester, who was very friendly to the Tractarians, and subsequently of Keble himself, who edited and wrote a preface for her *Hymns for Little Children.* Like Keble, she did not cross the Rubicon into Catholicism. Instead, she married the Rev. William Alexander, then a Protestant Rector in the north of Ireland, but destined subsequently to be Bishop of Derry (1867), Archbishop of Armagh (1896), and Primate of All Ireland (1897). In 1846 Miss Humphreys, as she then was, published her first book, *Verses for Holy Seasons.* Her *Hymns for Little Children,* with Keble's preface, came out in 1848. Besides these, she published several volumes of poems. Those worthiest of remembrance were edited soon after her death (which took place in 1895) by her

husband, under the title of *Poems of Cecil Frances Alexander.* She is best known as a hymn writer. Her most popular hymns are perhaps *The Roseate Hues of Early Dawn; Jesus calls us o'er the Tumult;* and, especially, *There is a green Hill far away.* Of these latter words Gounod said that they were so harmonious and rhythmic that they seemed to set themselves to music. She could also write on secular subjects. There is scarcely a more inspiring or nobler ballad in the English language than her *Siege of Derry.* I say this although my sympathies are not on the side which the ballad represents: assuredly, had I been alive in 1689, I should have joined my kinsmen in shouldering a musket or trailing a pike for King James. But as we can admire courage even in a foe, so we can admire ability in a literary opponent. The successful defence of the "Maiden on the Hill" through a siege of 112 days was certainly a glorious one, and it deserves to be sung as Cecil Frances Alexander has sung it. I shall let her be represented here by that noble piece which appeared at first anonymously in the *Dublin University Magazine* in 1856, and of which Tennyson said that it was one of the few poems by a living author that he would care to have written. It is entitled:

The Burial of Moses.

By Nebo's lonely mountain, on this side Jordan's wave,
In a vale, in the land of Moab, there lies a lonely grave;
And no man knows that sepulchre, and no man saw it e'er;
For the angels of God upturned the sod, and laid the dead man there.

That was the grandest funeral that ever passed on earth;
But no man heard the trampling, or saw the train go forth—
Noiselessly, as the Daylight comes back when Night is done,
And the crimson streak on ocean's cheek grows into the great sun,

Noiselessly, as the spring-time her crown of verdure weaves,
And all the trees on all the hills open their thousand leaves;
So, without sound of music, or voice of them that wept,
Silently down from the mountain's crown, the great procession swept.

Perchance the bald old eagle, on gray Beth-Peor's height,
Out of his lonely eyrie, looked on the wondrous sight;
Perchance the lion stalking still shuns that hallowed spot,
For beast and bird have seen and heard that which man knoweth not!

But when the Warrior dieth, his comrades in the war,
With arms reversed and muffled drum, follow his funeral car;
They show the banners taken, they tell his battles won,
And after him lead his masterless steed, while peals the minute-gun.

Amid the noblest of the land we lay the Sage to rest,
And give the Bard an honoured place, with costly marble drest,—
In the great minster transept, where lights like glories fall,
And the organ rings, and the sweet choir sings, along the emblazoned wall.

This was the truest warrior that ever buckled sword;
This the most gifted poet that ever breathed a word;
And never earth's philosopher traced with his golden pen,
On the deathless page, truths half so sage as he wrote down for men.

And had he not high honour,—the hill-side for a pall?
To lie in state, while angels wait, with stars for tapers tall?
And the dark rock-pines, like tossing plumes, over his bier to wave!
And God's own hand, in that lonely land, to lay him in the grave!

In that strange grave without a name,—whence his uncoffined clay
Shall break again, O wondrous thought! before the judgment day,
And stand, with glory wrapt around, on the hills he never trod,
And speak of the strife that won our life, with the incarnate Son of God.

O lonely grave in Moab's land! O dark Beth-Peor's hill!
Speak to these curious hearts of ours, and teach them to be still.
God hath his mysteries of grace, ways that we cannot tell;
He hides them deep, like the hidden sleep of him he loved so well.

Now, it may naturally be asked, where is that sparkling wit, that sprightly humour, for which the Irish race is supposed to be so peculiarly noted? I answer that it is largely absent from

the poetry composed in Ireland between 1800 and 1850, and I think that the circumstances mentioned in my introduction are sufficient explanation. It did bloom, somewhat exotically, among the Irishmen who wrote poetry in England for English consumption. With them it is by turns bright and flashing, and keenly satirical and incisive, as anyone will perceive who turns to the *Odoherty* papers contributed by William Maginn (1793-1842) to *Blackwood's Magazine,* or to his various parodies and *jeux d'esprit* to be found in *Fraser's Magazine* from its establishment in 1830 onward; or to the even more versatile and witty things which Francis Sylvester Mahony (1804-1866), either as Father Prout or Oliver Yorke, published in *Fraser's Magazine* from 1834 to 1836. It must be remembered, however, that the piece by which Mahony is universally known, namely *The Shandon Bells,* is rather of the gently pathetic and reflective than of the humorous order. Its humorous element is derived from the fact that Father Prout quizzically accuses Moore of having plagiarized from it in his *Evening Bells.* In places the quaint rhyme-scheme may also be held to add a slightly humorous tinge; but the whole piece is, to my mind, suspiciously closer to tears than to laughter.

THE SHANDON BELLS.

With deep affection
And recollection,
I often think of
  Those Shandon bells,
Whose sounds so wild would,
In the days of childhood,
Fling round my cradle
  Their magic spells.
On this I ponder
Where'er I wander,
And thus grow fonder,
  Sweet Cork, of thee;
With thy bells of Shandon,
That sound so grand on
The pleasant waters
  Of the river Lee.

I've heard bells chiming,
Full many a clime in,
Tolling sublime in
  Cathedral shrine;
While at a glib rate,
Brass tongues would vibrate—
But all their music
  Spoke nought like thine;
For memory dwelling
On each proud swelling
Of the belfry knelling
  Its bold notes free,
Made the bells of Shandon
Sound far more grand on
The pleasant waters
  Of the river Lee.

I've heard bells tolling
Old "Adrian's Mole" in,
Their thunder rolling
  From the Vatican;
And cymbals glorious
Swinging uproarious
In the gorgeous turrets
  Of Notre Dame.
But thy sounds were sweeter
Than the dome of Peter
Flings o'er the Tiber,
  Pealing solemnly—
O the bells of Shandon
Sound far more grand on
The pleasant waters
  Of the river Lee.

There's a bell in Moscow,
While on tower and kiosk O,
In Saint Sophia
  The Turkman gets;
And loud in air
Calls men to prayer,

From the tapering summits
  Of tall minarets.
Such empty phantom
I freely grant them;
But there is an anthem
  More dear to me—
'Tis the bells of Shandon,
That sound so grand on
The pleasant waters
  Of the river Lee.

There was much humorous work produced in Ireland during this period, but it was mostly in the shape of prose fiction: if I mention the names of William Carleton (1794-1869), Samuel Lover (1797-1868), and Charles James Lever (1806-1872), it will be sufficient indication of what I mean. All these three wrote poetry, as well as prose. Lover indeed was a many-sided genius: painter, poet, novelist, dramatist, musical composer. Some of his poetry is exquisitely pathetic. Some of it is deliciously humorous, such as *Molly Carew, Widow Machree, The Low-backed Car, The Whistlin' Thief, I'm not Myself at all!, Rory O'More,* and

BARNEY O'HEA.

Now let me alone, though I know you won't,
    Impudent Barney O'Hea!
    It makes me outrageous
    When you're so contagious,
And you'd better look out for the stout Corney Creagh;
    For he is the boy
    That believes I'm his joy,
So you'd better behave yourself, Barney O'Hea!
    Impudent Barney,
    None of your blarney,
    Impudent Barney O'Hea!

I hope you're not going to Bandon Fair,
For indeed I'm not wanting to meet you there,
    Impudent Barney O'Hea!

For Corney's at Cork,
And my brother's at work,
And my mother sits spinning at home all the day,
So no one will be there
Of poor me to take care,
So I hope you won't follow me, Barney O'Hea!
Impudent Barney,
None of your blarney,
Impudent Barney O'Hea!

But as I was walking up Bandon Street,
Just who do you think that myself should meet,
But impudent Barney O'Hea!
He said I looked killin'
I called him a villain
And bid him that minute get out of the way.
He said I was joking,
And grinned so provoking,
I couldn't help laughing at Barney O'Hea!
Impudent Barney,
None of your blarney,
Impudent Barney O'Hea!

He knew 'twas all right when he saw me smile,
For he was the rogue up to ev'ry wile,
Impudent Barney O'Hea!
He coaxed me to choose him,
For if I'd refuse him
He swore he'd kill Corney the very next day;
So, for fear 'twould go further,
And just to save murther,
I think I must marry that madcap, O'Hea!
Bothering Barney,
'Tis he has the blarney
To make a girl Mistress O'Hea.

Lever's novels are bubbling over with high animal spirits and are packed full of humorous situations and dialogue, and even if he is not always quite fair to certain classes of his fellow-countrymen, we are disposed to forgive him because he

has provided us with such a fund of inextinguishable laughter. He was not much of a poet, but he has introduced into his novels some gay and rollicking songs which are in keeping with his prose. *The Man for Galway* and *The Widow Malone* may be mentioned as samples.

* * *

One word by way of postscript. When Charles Gavan Duffy (1816-1903) emigrated in disgust and despair in 1856, he said that there was no more hope for Ireland than for a corpse on the dissecting table. Luckily he was a bad diagnostician, and he lived long enough to realise it and be glad. Ireland has recovered from her lethargy. She has renewed her youth. She is pulsing with life, bounding with activity. In a thousand ways she is voicing the new feelings. Not the least remarkable of the phenomena which the future historian will have to recognise and chronicle, and, if possible, explain, is the wonderful literary revival that took place in Ireland towards the end of the nineteenth century and has continued in apparently unabated vigour down to this day. It is one of many symptoms that give cause for hope that Newman's prophecy may yet be fulfilled.

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CATHOLIC PHILOSOPHY AND THE KNOWABLENESS OF GOD.

Agnosticism is one of those terms, which, unfortunately, are used in a variety of different meanings. The task of distinguishing these meanings and defining the term in the sense in which it is used is one that we should gladly dispense with. It is, however, absolutely necessary that we should distinguish and define, if we are to avoid confusion, and misunderstanding. In a very large sense of the word, Agnosticism means doubt or skepticism. It is the attitude of exaggerated caution in reference to theories, explanations and inferences, the unwillingness to go beyond the facts of the case, as the saying is. It is a state of mind that we find very often among scientists, and among those who affect the scientific attitude. It is a very praiseworthy quality of mind, if kept within the limits of moderation and reason, and, when kept within those limits, has no quarrel with Catholic philosophy nor Catholic philosophy with it.

More specifically Agnosticism is the doctrine that certain things commonly supposed to be knowable are really not knowable at all. It is a conviction, in this case, as well as an attitude of mind. And this kind is, again, twofold. There is philosophical Agnosticism, which, distinguishing between appearances and the underlying reality, holds that appearances alone are knowable, and that the underlying reality cannot be known by the human mind. Agnostics call the appearances *phenomena*, and the reality back of them the *noumenon*. Thus, if one were to ask you whether you knew what gold is, you would probably not hesitate to answer in the affirmative. The philosophical agnostic, however, would bid you hesitate before you answer so confidently. He would have you consider that gold has some surface qualities which we all know, yellow color, a high degree of malleability, the power to resist acids, and so forth. These

are appearances, or phenomena. And, when you study gold in the laboratory, or when you investigate the question of its distribution in the mineral world, or inquire into the manner of its occurrence in nature, or study its economic and commercial uses, you are adding to your knowledge of the phenomena. There is, indeed, an underlying something, the essence of gold, the ancients called it, the noumenon as it is called by more recent thinkers; but this is unknown to you and must remain unknown and unknowable. You do not really know then *what* gold is, though you know a good deal *about* it. This is the doctrine of Kant, with which, happily, we are not immediately concerned here and now, except to mark it off from theological agnosticism, to which it bears a striking resemblance, and to which, indeed, it is very closely related.

Theological agnosticism is a derivation from the doctrine just described. From Kant to Hamilton, from Hamilton to Mansel, from Mansel to Huxley and Spencer—this is the line of descent of contemporary theological Agnosticism. To Huxley we owe the name, to Mansel the first explicit formulation of the doctrine. It was Mansel who in his lecture "The Limits of Religious Thought" (1858) formulated the doctrine that God is unknowable, or rather, that human reason cannot attain a knowledge of "the being and attributes of God." For Mansel was not an Agnostic at all in the later sense of the word. He believed that revelation is necessary because of the shortcomings of human reason and because of our inability to know God by natural reason or moral conscience. Spencer and Huxley, of course, made no such qualification. Their agnosticism was complete and thoroughgoing. It was not an attempt to protect revealed religion against the attacks of philosophy. It was, on the contrary, an indirect attack on revealed religion, a vindication of the materialistic method as the only scientific method of interpreting the Universe. Spencer, especially, contends that science and religion are coördinate; that each has its own separate sphere; that the sphere of science is what is known, while the sphere of religion is that which, though present in consciousness, yet transcends human knowledge. Each, he says,

interprets reality in its own way, and the only reconciliation possible is on the principle that they deal ultimately with the same unknowable. This is agnosticism as the term is popularly understood, a doctrine which relegates God and all religious truth to the realm of the unknowable. This agnosticism does not deny God; it is not atheism. It affirms that God exists, but affirms also that He is unknown and unknowable.

The reason why agnosticism as an attitude towards religious truth has met with so widespread a response in modern times is neither logical nor theological. It is, rather, psychological. Agnosticism appeals to many minds because, in an age that is busy with a multitude of material concerns and material cares, there are many minds that shirk the obligation of serious thinking. We experience something of the kind, occasionally, in ourselves. When we are tired, mentally, and seek respite from work in the company of our friends, we sometimes meet with a dialectician or a doctrinaire who seeks to engage us in argument or discussion. Do we not often seek an easy way out by answering, "Oh, I know nothing about it?" The profession of ignorance, real or assumed, is a subterfuge, an evasion, an attempt to escape the business of thinking. Is not agnosticism often a similar device? The age is weary with much thinking about matters of science and government and the material conduct of life. The clash of warring sects has occupied the field of religious thought, and has added to the world's weariness of much discussion. No wonder that there should be some who, as the line of least resistance, follow the profession of agnosticism and proclaim somewhat flippantly their despair of knowing anything.

Catholic philosophy takes up the argument against philosophical agnosticism first, on the ground of the absurdity of such an idea as that of the unknown God. A God who is not known is a contradiction in terms. For by the word *God* is understood not merely a *deus philosophicus,* an abstract, or an ultimate scientific concept, but a Being who is the object of human love, adoration, worship and reverence, a Being to whom prayer may be addressed and sacrifice offered up. A God about

whom we know nothing might as well not exist, so far as these acts of service and devotion are concerned. There is, indeed, a worthless legend to the effect that Aristotle prayed "Cause of Causes, have mercy on us." Such a prayer is an absurdity, and Aristotle could not have been so unreasonable as to utter it! No one can pray to anything but a person, no one can offer sacrifice to anything but a person. And, since, all down the ages, the name *God* has been used to designate the object of prayer and sacrifice, the Agnostic may well be accused of inconsistency when he uses the term in an illogical context. But, whatever name he use, the Agnostic is debarred from talking about the unknown God as the ultimate of Religion. The unknown may, conceivably, be the object of science or of philosophy, but never of religion, since religion consists essentially in acts that imply a knowledge on our part of the object of those acts. The Agnostic, of course, will say "You *think* you have a knowledge of God; but you have not." To which the answer is, "If you convince me that I cannot in any sense, know God, I must cease to worship Him, and, for me He is no longer the ultimate religious, nor, indeed, anything religious at all."

The next point that Catholic philosophy makes is this. The Agnostic inevitably contradicts himself. It is well enough in theory to distinguish between existence and nature, and say that, while we are convinced of the existence of God, we can know nothing of the nature of God. But, it is a distinction that cannot be maintained very long. When you say *that* God exists, you surely must know something about *what* He is. Spencer has no sooner told us that we can know nothing about God than he straightway speaks of God as the power behind nature, "the power," as he says, "manifesting itself in phenomena." This, as anyone can see, is, virtually to concede the position of the theist. For, if God manifests Himself in phenomena, then He is knowable, at least imperfectly, by means of those manifestations. The Agnostic contradicts himself because human nature is more powerful than the logic of his position. And it is not merely the fact that he falls into

self-contradiction that we emphasize. We emphasize also the circumstance that he does so invariably, and, as it were necessarily, thus unconsciously revealing the intrinsic weakness of his position.

If, now, we turn to the grounds on which Agnosticism rests, we are in a position to deal more philosophically with the Agnostic. In general, the nature of the human mind, and of knowledge, is made the foundation of the conviction that God is unknowable. Now, the human mind is a wide field of enquiry, and the nature of human knowledge is a complicated problem. There are, thus, many avenues to Agnosticism, devious paths of psychology along which the Agnostic wends his way. The great highroad, however, is the doctrine that our knowledge does not put us into contact with reality either in science or in theology. Our concepts are not representations: they are merely symbols. We can attain such knowledge of reality as a blind man has of colors, or a deaf man of sounds, but we cannot reach any knowledge worthy of the name. There is a wealth of contradiction here. It is true that some of our concepts are merely symbolical. For instance, a man's concept of the greatest depth of the ocean. He expresses that concept in the words "five miles," but he has no power of definitely representing the depth of the ocean by means of a picture in his mind. Nevertheless, his symbolical concept is true: it is a state of mind that is correct, so far as it goes. It is not erroneous, although it is imperfect. And it may be made less imperfect by continued effort to fill in the symbol, and make it a representation. Because, then, some of our concepts are mere symbols, it does not follow that all of them are. And because some of our knowledge is symbolical it does not follow that even that kind of knowledge is erroneous. Imperfect knowledge is not false knowledge, so long as we remember that it is imperfect, and do not act as if it were perfect and adequate.

It would be a tedious task to pick out all the misunderstandings, confusions and contradictions in the Agnostic attempt to show from the nature of the human mind that a knowledge of

God is impossible. There are, however, three favorite phrases of the Agnostic which it will, I think, repay us to examine in detail. They are: first, "All knowledge is relative," second, "To know is to condition," and third "A knowable God is no God."

The assertion that "All knowledge is relative" is true in a sense. It is because it is true in one sense, or in several senses, and false in another sense that it is dangerous. The same may be said of many of the utterances of the Agnostic. If he were altogether in the wrong, and if there were not even a grain of truth in his contentions he could easily be left to his own devices. Because he is partly right, and because what he says is generally true in part, he finds favor with those who are not able to discriminate between a partial truth and a truth pure and simple. Let the phrase "All knowledge is relative" serve as an example. Our knowledge *is* relative. It is relative to our powers of knowing. If we had a mind more richly endowed we should, undoubtedly, know more than we do. If we had six senses instead of five we should, perhaps, be able to perceive directly some of the qualities of material things which, in our present condition, we know only indirectly, by their effects. By the sense of sight we are made aware directly of the colors of bodies. If we had a sixth sense we might just as easily be aware, for instance, of the current in an electric wire, or we might perceive directly the different rays, Roentgen rays, cathode rays, or whatever one wishes to call them. With our actual endowment of understanding and reason we discover many laws of nature; were we endowed with a wider understanding and a more vigorous power of reasoning we should certainly discover other and perhaps more fundamental truths about the world around us. Knowledge is, consequently, relative to our powers of knowing. Knowledge is also relative to our opportunities of knowing. Nature and human nature reveal themselves to us by their qualities and activities. If they revealed themselves more fully, we should know them more adequately. This is true of the knowledge which we obtain of our neighbor's character. There are, as you know, persons

whom one may meet day after day without ever coming to know them. Such persons are reticent and reserved. They are cautious and even mysterious about the most trivial things that concern themselves; they are non-committal on politics and even on that apparently impersonal topic, the weather. There are others who err in the opposite direction, who reveal themselves too easily, who, on the first or second occasion that we met them, tell us all about themselves. Both types are, of course, exceptions. They serve, however, to illustrate the point. Nature yields up the truth about herself freely and generously to him who takes the trouble to study. But, if she were more generous, and yielded up the secrets of science more freely we should know the hidden truths of nature more perfectly. Knowledge is relative to our opportunities of knowing. Thirdly, knowledge is relative in the sense that we know only those things which are brought somehow into relation with us. It is possible, for example, that somewhere outside the visible universe there is a beautiful constellation that has never yet sent its rays of light as far as us. If by force of gravitation it were visibly or noticeably to influence the course of other heavenly bodies which we do see, and whose path we observe, then the astronomer could tell that it exists and could tell, perhaps, something about its dimensions and its distance. But, if, even in this indirect way, it has never come into relation with us, we cannot know anything about it. For us it is, we say, non-existent. The truth is that it may exist and yet we may know nothing about it, because it has not come into relation with us in any way.

It is undeniable, therefore, that knowledge is relative to our powers of knowing, to our opportunities of knowing, and in a third sense it is relative in so far as the object, in order to be known, must somehow be related to us directly or indirectly. But this is not what the Agnostic means by relativity. He maintains that we know only the relations of things, not the things themselves. We do not know the flower, we know the color and the fragrance of the flower; we do not know the sun, we know only the light and heat and other rela-

tions of the sun to us. Now this assertion, it seems to us, is absolutely false. We do know the flower, we do know the sun. We know the flower in so far as it has color and fragrance; we know the sun in so far as it affects us by its light and heat. In other words, the relation of the thing to us is not the *term* of our knowledge, though it is the *measure* of our knowledge. Permit me to illustrate once more from our knowledge of human nature. You may know your neighbor only by appearance, never having spoken to him nor heard the sound of his voice. You know his height, you can guess his weight, you know his manner of walk, his gestures, his habits of dress, and so forth. Or you may know him by his voice merely, having heard him talk on the telephone, let us say, but never having seen him. In either case it is correct to say that you know the man's appearance, or the man's voice. But, it is also correct to say that you know him, although the measure of your knowledge is the man's appearance or the man's voice, as the case may be. "We know only the relations of things" is one assertion. "We know the related things, but only in so far as they are related to us" is another assertion. One may, perhaps, think that there is only a negligible difference between them. On the contrary, there is a vast and an enormously important difference. If it is true that we know only the relation of things to us, not the things themselves, then the Agnostic is right; we cannot know anything about God. If, on the other hand, it is true that we know the related things, the theist is right: we can know God in the measure in which He has manifested Himself to us in nature and in history. And our knowledge of God is not especially untrustworthy or unsatisfactory; for it is in the same way that we know anything which we do know. That is the actual human method of knowing, and, if we do not know God because that method is inadequate, then we do not know anything at all.

The second maxim of the Agnostic is "To know is to condition: therefore, since God is the Absolute, the Unconditioned, He is unknowable." Let us not be detained by the statement that God is the Absolute. Fortunately, we are not obliged to

go into the rather abstruse question of the nature of the Absolute, except so far as to say that the Agnostic and the idealist, when they talk about the Absolute are like a painter who with great ceremony and elaborateness of preparation, sets up his canvas, gets out his brushes, mixes his paints, and then finds that he cannot proceed with his work because the subject he has chosen—Nothing—has neither color nor outline nor any other determination. The first part of the argument, "To know is to condition" claims our attention here. It is an assertion which has not even the dangerous advantage of being partly true. It seems to me to be plausible only because it is vague. "To know is to condition," if it means anything, must mean that the act of knowing places real conditions on the object known. And that is in no sense true. The fact that you see an object or hear it, or know it in any other way implies a change in you, but makes no difference to the object seen or heard or known. The English have a saying to the effect that "The cat can look at the king." We may imagine that it makes a world of difference to the cat; the glimpse of royalty may change his whole career as a cat; it may brighten his outlook on life; it will, at least, give him something to tell his companions about, something to remember all the rest of his life. But, the point of the proverb is this: it makes no difference to the king. To be looked at, to be seen, to be known, implies no real change in the object of our vision or our knowledge, but only on the part of the subject. "To know is to condition," therefore, is a phrase which, in spite of its formidably technical sound, is simply false.

We come next to the third, and most popular maxim of Agnosticism: "A knowable God is no God." And at this point the Agnostic can afford, he thinks, to assume an attitude. The theist, he says, especially the theologian, belittles his God by claiming to know what He is. How can the finite compass the Infinite? he asks. How can our minds so prone to error and to illusion dare to comprehend a Being Whose immensity exceeds all the visible universe? The container must be at least as great as the contained, and the Boundless cannot dwell within the

confines of mind that is hemmed in by a thousand limitations. In this way the Agnostic seems to read a lesson in reverence to the theist and to place himself with the prophets and the psalmist whose business it is to exalt the sublimity and infinity of God. There is here, however, a very elementary misunderstanding. If we claimed to have an adequate knowledge of God, if we imagined that we can comprehend His infinite perfection, or define His greatness or any of His other attributes, the indictment would be just, and the guilt of the Christian theologian would be evident. But, the theist does nothing of the kind. He is the first to proclaim the inadequacy of his knowledge of divine things. "We know in part and we see only in part" is a fundamental truth for the theologian and for the Christian philosopher. A God whom we could adequately comprehend would, indeed, be finite, and, therefore, no God at all. This was freely admitted by the greatest of Christian thinkers long before Agnosticism was heard of. St. Augustine says, "Our thoughts are inadequate to express the nature of God, and our language is inadequate to convey our thoughts about Him," and St. Thomas of Aquin, "We are like little children, lisping a language which we do not understand," when we talk of God and divine truth. This form of intellectual humility, this modesty of mind, was more common among the schoolmen than the Agnostics seem to imagine. Aristotle, their master, was often quoted as saying that the mind of man in the presence of the highest truths is like the eye of the owl dazzled by the noonday sun.

There is, indeed, what may be called a Christian Agnosticism, an Agnosticism inspired, not by the despair of knowing anything about God, but by a deep reverence for the sublime greatness of God and a candid recognition of the limits of human knowledge. God is a Pure Spirit, an Immaterial Substance, a Power, a Force, a Personality, infinite, eternal, unchangeable. Our mind is fettered by material conditions, hampered by restrictions of time and place; our span of life, the whole cycle of human experience, is a period all too brief for the study of a subject inexhaustible. In a word, the Infinite, of its very

nature, eludes the effort of the finite mind to understand it adequately, or, as we say, to comprehend it. Our knowledge, therefore, of the infinite, and our manner of expressing it are both imperfect. We may think about God and speak about God in negative terms. Thus, we may contrast His Nature with that of the gross material world around us and say that He is immaterial or incorporeal. We may compare the immutability of God with the ever-changing flux of phenomena in the physical world and say that He is unchangeable. We may consider that, while forces and substances in our experience begin and end, and are conditioned by time and space, He is eternal and above all the limitations of time and space. We may compare with the imperfections, the shortcomings, the vicissitudes of other things, the absolute perfection of God, His lack of limitations, His freedom from defect, and therefore, call Him Infinite. Immaterial, incorporeal, changeless, eternal and infinite —these are terms which, as we understand them, are negative. We may, besides, proceed in a positive way to follow the analogical method and thus add affirmative assertions to our statements about God. We may liken Him to the ruler who is responsible for the conduct of affairs in a group or community, and call Him the Ruler of the Universe. We may have in mind the dependence of a piece of work on the agent who produced it, and, ascribing to God the production of created nature, we may call Him the Author of the universe. We may think of Him as looking forward to His creatures' wants, supplying our daily needs, as a thoughtful parent does, and in this analogy we call Him the Provider of the Universe, or Divine Providence. But, most reliable and most philosophical of all our ways of knowing God is the so-called way of causation.

It is a principle of common sense as well as of philosophy that every effect is like its cause. Of course, there will occur at once to our minds a multitude of apparent instances to the contrary. What resemblance is there between a piece of coal and the light in an electric lamp, although one is in a very true sense the cause of the other? What similarity is there between the decaying matter at the roots of a rose-tree and the

delicate colors of the bloom, though every rosegrower knows that the one is an indispensable cause of the other? These difficulties arise from the fact that cause and effect in nature and in our experience are mingled in very great complexity, and no one effect can be assigned to one single cause. Let us take an example from human anture. There are many forces and influences that go to form the character of a man. Among them one force, one influence, is certainly education, and "Like master, like pupil" is an adage that has truth as well as antiquity in its favor. But, would it be fair to judge that because the pupil is dishonest or untruthful or bad-tempered, that, therefore, his teacher possesses these undesirable qualities? By no means, because, our common sense tells us, the pupil may have "got" these faults from some other influence, inheritance, perhaps, or "evil communications," or bad example, or from reading bad literature. But, if these faults are due to the influence of his teacher, then, of course, we shall look for the same faults in the teacher. The principle must be understood in this sense "Every effect is like its cause in so far as it depends on that cause." It will be unlike it in so far as it depends on other causes. If now, our reason compels us to admit that this whole universe has a cause, one cause from which all things depend, then reason also compels us to admit that from a knowledge of the universe we can learn something of the perfection of its Creator. To the poetic mind especially, that is to the mind sensitive to esthetic values, the world is an open book in which the soul may read the story of God's perfections. There, especially, where man has not marred by sin and folly the beauty of God's handiwork, in the vast regions of interstellar space, in the immensity of the ocean, in the majesty of the storm, in the solemn beauty of the forest, in the multiplicity and regularity of color and design in plant life, in the marvelous instincts of animals, a mind like Ruskin's can discern transcriptions of the divine attribtutes. And in human nature itself, especially in the study of aggregate human nature in history, if one resist the impulse to be cynical and pessimistic, one may see not only the intervention of Providence

in the crises of human affairs, but also the ever-brooding presence of God in prevalent prosperity and the constant though slow and reluctant progress towards better things. Oh, one needs at times a robust confidence. There are those things in human history that try one's faith in God. But, robust confidence is needed everywhere. It is needed by the scientist, lest he become discouraged. It is needed by the teacher lest he give way to faintheartedness. It is needed by the idealist and the reformer lest he be overcome by the difficulties that beset him or listen to the voice of the friend who would restrain him. With confidence in the triumph of right and the gradual advance of enlightenment, one may find God in history as well as in nature, and learn to know Him.

Such knowledge of God as we glean from nature and from history will necessarily be imperfect. There remains another source, our own conscious life, the world of our own thoughts and feelings and emotions and sentiments. For some Christian philosophers this is the most abundant and the most reliable fountain of knowledge. This was true of St. Augustine; it was true of the great mystics, and it is true of many minds to whom mysticism and theology are closed books. There are many men who are introspective by native endowment, to whom physical science does not appeal at all, and history hardly at all. They live the adage that "the proper study of mankind is man." For them the way to God is the interior way, the path of self-study and self-knowledge. If the busy world would only let them stop to think, if the cares and interests of life would only cease to occupy them, they could learn more by quiet thought than by much reading. Their minds may need the stimulus of another mind like Plato's, or St. Augustine's, or Pascal's, or Emerson's, or Newman's, or the incidental reflective line is some minor poem; but once the line of thought is started it goes on to its term, God, a knowledge of whom, as the mystics taught, is indispensable to us if we are to know ourselves.

When, however, all these ways of knowing God are taken into account, it remains that our knowledge of God is imperfect.

We agree, then, with the Agnostic in acknowledging the inadequacy of our knowledge of God. But we differ with him in several important respects. First, our knowledge, though imperfect, is not, therefore, erroneous. If we realize its limitations we may rely on it. Our powers of mind may be "weak"; they are not on that account "deceitful," so long as we are aware of the weakness. There are very few things that we know completely; yet our knowledge of most of them is considered reliable. The Agnostic demands too much; he is like the man who would insist that one should drink every drop of water in the Atlantic before one could say that it is salt. In the second place, while we freely grant that our knowledge of God has limitations, we hold that beyond those limits is the region of Faith, not the region of Nescience. Reason lights our path up to a certain point; beyond that there is darkness, says the Agnostic; beyond it, says the Christian philosopher, our way is lighted by the torch of revelation. What we know about God is, after all, comparatively little: what we believe about Him adds very much to what we know. Instead, therefore, of the Agnostic despair of knowing anything, we have the Christian hope of adding to our knowledge by Faith.

And here, let me emphasize one aspect of Faith as a source of knowledge. Some one has said that religion is the metaphysics of the multitude. It is, in so far as it takes the place of a metaphysics which the multitude could never attain. There are few who have an aptitude for philosophical thinking, especially for that kind of thinking which requires long discipline, protracted application, profound concentration. It is not easy for us to rise above the conditions of bodily existence; and, as few of us can attain the self-abnegation of the saints, so too, few of us can attain the wisdom of the greatest philosophers. Our bodies, as Plato taught, hinder our souls. They make it easy for us to think of material things and difficult to think of spiritual things, at least, to think of them in that unusually obstinate way that is characteristic of metaphysicians. Faith, consequently, takes pity, as it were, on the weakness of our condition. It makes allowance for our propensity to think of

things in terms of the material and the corporeal. It presents God and divine truth in the imagery of the senses. It uses pictorial representations in canvas and in stone; it has recourse to the allegory, the parable, the descriptive vision which uses words as its art-material; it appeals to our sense of harmony, inviting us to lay hold of the Infinite by means of the most spiritual of the arts; finally, by putting before us the examples of the saints, it leads us to a knowledge of the divine attributes by a means which, following Ruskin, we may call transcription of those attributes in human nature. Rites and ceremonies, Catholics believe, have an efficacy of a special kind. We are not concerned here with that aspect of them. They have also an educational value, and with that we are concerned. The Church, we think, does well to deal with man as he really is, a creature of sense and sentiment as well as a creature of intellect and reason. It is, we believe, an inestimable advantage to have the senses and the sentiments appealed to, and to have them aid intellect and reason in the quest for a knowledge of God.

But, such a method leads to a false idea of God, the Agnostic contends. It leads to anthropomorphism. Let us examine how much truth there is in the contention, and see if it damages the case of the Catholic philosopher who makes Faith aid Reason. First, let us see if we understand what anthropomorphism means. Of course, it means literally the error or mistake of ascribing to God a human appearance. In this crude form it occurred among many primitive peoples and among some who were highly civilized. Among the Greeks, for example, this error vitiated all the popular conception of the deity. It was against this mistake that Xenophanes, almost at the dawn of philosophical reflection, composed his invective which breathes the fiery spirit of the Hebrew prophecies. "Each man," he said, "paints the gods as he himself is, the Ethiopian as black-faced, and snub-nosed, the Thracian as fair-haired and blue-eyed, and if horses and oxen could paint, they would, no doubt, represent the gods as horses and oxen." This is, I need hardly say, the crudest kind of anthropomorphism

and characteristic of a primitive stage of civilization. There is, in the next place, a less crude form of the same error when human ways of thinking, human thoughts and human sentiments are attributed to the Deity. This, I say, is less crude. It is, on that account, more subtle and insidious, and, as a fault, difficult to eradicate especially from the undisciplined mind. Many a Christian moralist, and many a theologian has been betrayed into it. The man who is by nature narrow and severe, who is straight-laced and unduly strict in his ideas of propriety, inevitably reads these qualities into his idea of the Deity, and paints God as a rigid, almost a merciless taskmaster. Such a man will live under the Old Testament and not under the New. His God is the God of Sinai, not Jesus of Nazareth, a God of wrath, not a God of love. This anthropomorphism is, in a measure, unavoidable. If we know that it is only a *manner* of speaking, or at most, a *manner* of thinking, we realize that it is not misleading.

Let us take as an illustration our habits of speech in general, and our way of thinking about the soul, in particular. We use many phrases and forms of speech which we know to be false in the literal sense. The sun does not really "rise," the moon does not really "set," the stars do not move in their silent journey round the earth; but we preserve these modes of speech because they are established. The wind does not "sigh," the valley does not "smile," the sun does not "shed" its radiance, the sea does not "spread" before us, the sky does not form a blue dome above us; still we say these things, and language would be robbed of much of its picturesqueness if we were obliged to discontinue saying them. Especially, when we speak of the soul and its activities we have to borrow material phrases which we know to be literally inapplicable. We use the words "high" and "low," as if the soul had dimensions or direction: "high-minded," "low-minded," "high" ambition, "low" aims. We talk of hot and cold, as if the soul had temperature; "hot" anger, "cold" calculation. We talk of dark and light conditions of soul, as if the soul had color or were visible: a "dark" thought, a "bright" mind, a "bright" disposition.

We talk even of "heavy", and "light," as if the soul could be weighed in a scale or balance. Now, we know that none of these terms are strictly applicable to the soul, and yet we use them, not merely because they are picturesque or vivid, or because the use of them has been sanctioned by custom, but mostly because, although we know that the soul is immaterial and incorporeal, we cannot help thinking of it in terms of matter and material qualities. Try and realise this peculiarity of our nature. You know that your soul is a spirit, and yet you cannot keep thinking of it for more than a minute without finding that you are thinking of it in terms of body, and you can hardly talk about it for two minutes without apparently ascribing bodily qualities to it. If you were a spirit, and only a spirit; I mean, if you had no body, you could, of course, think of your soul as a spirit. But, while we are in these bodies of ours, these habitations of clay, in which the soul, so the Platonists think, is imprisoned, we must clothe our thoughts in material images and express them in words that have primarily a material meaning. And no harm is done, so long as we *know* that the soul is a spirt.

The same is true of our effort to think about God and to express our thoughts about Him. It is always wise to recognise one's limitations. We should recognise frankly that we are creatures of earth as well as of heaven, and that, if we know spirtual truths and speak of them we must expect to find in our knowledge and in our language the influence of matter as well as of mind, of body as well as of soul. We should not be afraid of using sense-images when thinking of God, so long as we know that He is above the sense-world. We should not be afraid of speaking of Him in language that is inadequate, so long as we know that it is inadequate. We should not be deterred by the fear of anthropomorphism from trying to increase our knowledge of God. To learn more about Him is the all-absorbing task of the mystic and the saint. To learn something at least, and to increase that something is the duty of everyone who believes that there is a God. To hold that such knowledge is possible is the privilege of Christian philosophy.

And here, as elsewhere, philosophy has much for which to thank revelation. Faith in God, as organized and institutionalised in the Churches adds to our knowledge of God in many ways. Most of all has the oldest of the churches done signal service to philosophy by admitting frankly and fearlessly the peculiarity of our nature as beings partly material and partly immaterial. She has maintained against all criticism and amid a great deal of misrepresentation the value of rites and ceremonies. She has justified these on the ground that they appeal to the senses, and that it is through the senses, after all, that knowledge enters the soul. She knows that there is danger of superstition, since the grossly material mind may and does cling to the material symbol and miss the spiritual meaning. She knows that the ignorant and sensual mind will misunderstand and misuse the rite or ceremony and miss its true efficacy. But, she is not deterred by fear of superstition, because she knows that superstition may be held in check. She knows the danger of anthropomorphism; yet she uses pictures and statues, painted or sculptured symbols of spiritual realities; she even allows within limits representations of the Infinite Himself. She sanctions or tolerates a whole mass of popular literature about God and the saints, which speaks of spiritual things in language that is very human. She does this knowing that there is a remedy for the abuse of all these, while the use of them brings God and divine things home to many minds that would otherwise fail to grasp any spiritual truth at all. For this she has been misunderstood, and sometimes, it would seem, misrepresented. But, like all great teachers she accepts this as her portion and inheritance, the price that she pays for the right to bring spiritual truth down, so to speak, to the minds of the lowly. The fear of idolatry is founded on a distrust of human nature. So is this other fear of which we have been speaking. A great and a historic institution can afford to trust human nature and to trust itself.

Let me remind you once more of the fundamentals in this discussion. Catholic philosophy claims that Faith aids Reason. At the same time, it contends that the two are distinct. Reason

has its rights and rational philosophy has the privilege, as has all the other sciences, of using its own method. In the use of that method the Catholic philosopher borrows nothing from the Church, the Bible or any source of authority. He discusses the knowableness of God, just as a Protestant, a Jew, or even a Saracen might discuss it, from the standpoint of reason. He meets the Agnostic on common ground, and, as I say, takes no advantage of him in the matter of method. Face to face, and sword-blade to sword-blade (if a discussion on so sublime a problem may be so described), the Catholic philosopher meets the Agnostic. His weapon and his armor are reason and rational principles. The contest is a fair one, so far as these are concerned. But the Catholic philosopher is also a believer. When he is not arguing but meditating; when he has laid aside the weapons of controversy and is thinking out his problems for himself, we contend he ought to bring his faith to the aid of his reason. The philosopher and the believer are not two persons, but one. His logic is not for weekdays and his faith for Sunday use. It is a fatal mistake to separate the two. When reason has discovered all that it can discover about the nature and attributes of God, is it not natural for the reasoner to turn to revelation and supplement his knowledge by borrowing from that source? The demand for "more light," in this case, is not the cry of the rationalist but of the believer who turns to the light shed from above, not exactly the light of Divine Grace in which the mystic sees all things as in a golden evening twilight, but rather the clear white light that revelation vouchsafed to all. It is a light like that of reason itself, satisfying where reason disappoints, sustaining where reason fails, confirming, encouraging and inspiring reason in its own actvities. In this way reason is aided by faith in its effort to know God.

WILLIAM TURNER.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The Catholic Encyclopedia. New York, Robert Appleton Company.

The fifteenth volume of *The Catholic Encyclopedia* brings to a close this monumental work. The promises made to the public when this work was undertaken have been more than fulfilled. The highest hopes of the friends and wellwishers of the *Encyclopedia* have been abundantly realized in all things pertaining to the character and magnitude of the work, but it will be a long time, even under the most favorable circumstances, before the work will produce the full fruitage of which it is capable. A multitude of teachers and preachers and writers must acquaint themselves with the resources which it offers and grow accustomed to turn to these splendid volumes for authentic information on all things Catholic.

The history of education from a Catholic standpoint has not yet been written, but the teachers of this subject in our normal schools will find in the articles scattered throughout the *Encyclopedia* a wealth of material on every phase of the subject. For example, under the article *Universities* in Vol. xv there will be found an admirable introduction to a study of universities and university education under the following five subdivisions: Origin and Organization, Academic Work and Development, Renaissance and Reformation, Modern Period, and Catholic Action. After a study of this article the reader will turn with profit to the history of the principal Catholic foundations which have been treated in separate articles. In this way the *Encyclopedia* offers a very extensive history of the rise and development of universities in the Middle Ages and of the notable Catholic universities of the present and of the past. Moreover, as each of these articles is provided with an extensive bibliography, the key is placed in the reader's hands by which he may gain access to everything worth while that has been written on the subject.

In a similar way, the teachers of general history and of church history will find in the *Encyclopedia* a wealth of authentic infor-

mation on practically every topic that they will be called upon to treat in their classes. There is nothing more deadening than to confine thought to the narrow limits of the text-book. The teacher cannot hold the respect of his pupils or maintain their interest if he has no other source to draw upon than the text-book that is in their hands. The *Encyclopedia* will be of incalculable benefit to the zealous teacher. It offers a well-balanced treatment of the various topics under appropriate heads and it supplies the bibliography which makes it possible for the teacher to follow up the subject to any extent which may seem desirable.

There is much more harm done to the developing minds of our children and youths by the assumption that the modern world owes its development in science and inventions to the unbeliever than by explicit misstatements of historical facts or gross calumnies against the rulers of the Church. Glaring falsehoods serve as a challenge which drives the Catholic to seek out the truth and to defend himself, but the quiet assumption disarms him and undermines his faith; for this there is but one remedy, we must make our young people familiar with the glorious fact that the great discoverers and men of science have been, for the most part, practical Catholics who found not only that the Catholic Church did not oppose their progress but offered them help and guidance in the pursuit of truth. In the lives of such discoverers as Copernicus, Kepler, Spalanzani, Schwann, Van Beneden, Muller, Pasteur the youth will find the best antidote for many of the evil tendencies of our times. The *Encyclopedia,* moreover, will help to bring home to everyone, Catholic and non-Catholic alike, some realization of the all-important role which the Catholic Church has played in the development of our civilization. Painting, sculpture, architecture, music, letters, mathematics, science,—whatever has tended to lift man up from earth towards heaven, whatever has tended to chain the flesh and to free the spirit of man, has come out of the bosom of the Church. In the Church the teacher will find concreted the great fundamental principles of education; here he will be enabled to trace the marvelous work that the Church has accomplished in domesticating supernatural truth in the lives of men and in rendering it fruitful in shaping their actions.

The non-Catholic who is anxious to learn the attitude of the Church on a question that is at present calling forth so much

earnest endeavor from many non-Catholic bodies, will turn with pleasure and profit to the article entitled *Union of Christendom* from the pen of Sydney F. Smith. From this he will learn with what interest Catholics view the present movement and how sympathetic they are towards it, but he will also learn the uncompromising principles that have governed the Church's attitude in the past and that will doubtless continue to govern it in the future. However desirable the union of Christendom may be, the Church can not purchase it by the sacrifice of principles or by the minimizing of truths of which she is the divinely appointed guardian.

We are expending on our schools vast sums of money annually for buildings, equipment, and teachers. The burden at times is very heavy, but it is the worst kind of economy to fail to provide that which is essential to the effective working of the school. It has often been said that it is not the building or the equipment but the teacher that makes the school. However true this may be, it is well to remember that no teacher has within himself a perennial source of information; he must rely upon his library for daily mental food no less than for inspiration and enthusiasm. A good working library is often an expensive thing quite beyond the reach of the faculties of some of our schools. In such cases the *Encyclopedia* may well take the place of a library. There is sufficient information on almost every theme which should occupy the teachers in our Catholic schools within the covers of these fifteen volumes and where the supply of information may be short on any given subject the bibliography furnished will enable the teacher to borrow or procure the few books needed. Where the means provided for library purposes are more ample, it goes without saying that the *Catholic Encyclopedia* should be considered indispensable.

It is the duty of every Catholic to assist in destroying error and in spreading the light of truth. This may be done in many ways: from the pulpit, through the press, in conversation, but there is no more effective way available than by having the *Catholic Encyclopedia* in every public library where fair-minded men and women may be given an opportunity to learn the truth about a multitude of things Catholic. If the Catholics in any village or town would interest themselves in the matter, they would find it an easy matter to render this service to themselves and to the Church no less than to their non-Catholic fellow citizens. If the library in question

depends entirely on donations for its books, the Catholics might club together and present a set of the *Encyclopedia* to the reading room.

The value of the *Encyclopedia* would be considerably enhanced for many a teacher and student if courses of reading were mapped out on various subjects. One might be interested in looking up the biographies of the notable Catholic men of science, but not knowing their names would find it some little task to search them out in the pages of the *Encyclopedia.* Again, the teacher who had only Protestant histories of education at hand might not know what articles to turn to to find the Catholic viewpoint and to learn of the work done by Catholic institutions and Catholic individuals. What is true of these subjects is equally true of many others. The non-Catholic who is examining the Church with a view of entering the fold would be benefitted by pursuing systematic courses of reading in the *Encyclopedia,* but some guidance is necessary in order that the best results may be achieved with the least expenditure of time and energy.

The Index volume will doubtless go a long way toward meeting the needs of those who use the *Encyclopedia.*

THOMAS EDWARD SHIELDS.

Dictionnaire Apologétique de la Foi Catholique, sous la Direction de A. D'Alès. Fascicule VIII. Paris, C. Beauchesne, 1912.

The eighth fascicule of the new Apologetic Dictionary is a praiseworthy continuation of this very useful and interesting work. It offers the reader no less than twenty-two articles, all of them of general interest and of scientific merit.

The first article, *Church Government,* by Father G. Neyron, professor in the University of Beirut, is a skilful justification of the strongly centralized authority exercised by the Holy See, based on grounds of reasonableness and equity. The Abbé E. Tobac, professor in the Theological Seminary of Mechlin, devotes ten pages to the careful study of grace on the basis of scriptural evidence, which he examines under four heads,—the Old Testament, the Synoptic Gospels, the Pauline Epistles, and the Johannine writings.

The Assumptionist, Father M. Jugie, professor in the scholasticate of Kadi-Keui, Constantinople, has a valuable article of twenty-five pages on the *Greek Schismatic Church.* After a survey of the four great groups into which this church is divided, the Greek proper, the Greco-Arabian, the Slavic, and the Roumenian, he gives a history of the Greek Schism, in which the causes leading to this lamentable separation are carefully noted. He then sets forth the differences in doctrine and ritual which help to keep the Greek Church aloof from the Church of the West, dwells on the narrowness and bitterness that characterizes the polemics of the Greeks and Russians when dealing with the Church of Rome, and suggests the proper apologetic method of meeting their prejudices and objections. The most interesting part of this long article is the section, seven pages long, in which the author sedulously notes the points in doctrine, ritual and discipline, in which the Greek Church is in disagreement with the Latin. These divergencies are more numerous than is ordinarily thought. Thus, in the last century, the Russian Church adopted the view that the deutero-canonical books are not inspired. This view is now held also by a large number of the Orthodox Greeks. In the Ecumenical Patriarchate, centered in Constantinople, the recognized grounds for divorce with the privilege of remarriage are, besides adultery, abortion procured by the wife, chronic insanity, incurable contagious discase, absence without consent for the period of three years, a change of religion after marriage, even to Catholicism, banishment for conspiracy aginst the established form of government, conviction of an infamous crime. The article has by way of supplement a rich bibliography.

Father J. Huby, S. J., has an erudite article of eleven pages on the *Religions of Pagan Greece.* He could have made it more complete, however, by telling in a few sentences of the ancient Greek belief in a future life in heaven as a reward for the just. Dr. Van der Elst is the author of three related articles, *Miraculous Cures, Hypnotism,* and *Hysteria,* in which he shows that there are extraordinary cures obtained through prayer for which suggestion in any of its forms fails to give the adequate explanation. To the subject, *Man,* four contributions are devoted. The first, by the editor, Abbé d'Alès, treats of man according to the teachings of Genesis. The second, on *Prehistoric Man,* is the joint contribution of three writers, the Abbé H. Breuil, professor in the School

of Anthropology, Paris, and the two brothers, also priests, A. and J. Bouyssonie. In this learned article of fifteen pages, the story of primitive man is told with a freedom of treatment not generally found in Catholic works dealing with this difficult subject. A large amount of information, neatly and clearly arranged, including the valuable data afforded by recent discoveries, has been compressed into this article. It is thoroughly up-to-date. The third contribution is an able exposition of the scientific proofs for the unity of origin of the various races of men. The author is the well-known Sulpician, Abbé J. Guibert, superior of the Seminary attached to the Catholic University of Paris. The fourth and last contribution is by Teilhard de Chardin, who treats of man according to the teachings of the Church and the conclusions of sound scientific philosophy. The Abbé H. Dehove, professor in the University of Lille, has a solid article of fourteen pages on *Idealism.* The subject of *Immanence* is treated at even greater length. The article on the *Philosophic Doctrine of Immanence,* by Father A. Vanensin, S. J., is followed by a long double article on the *Method of Immanence,* with particular reference to the system of M. Blondel. The exposition of the subject is given by Abbé Albert Vanensin, the critical examination of its worth is confided to Father Valensin, S. J. The other articles in this fascicule are *Halley's Comet,* by Father J. Stein, S. J., the articles on *Heresy* and *Ecclesiastical Immunity* by Father L. Choupin, S. J., the question of the *Safe-conduct of John Hus,* by Father A. Kroess, of Innsbruck, and the unfinished article of the Abbé J. Besson on *Cremation,* the last part of which is reserved for the next issue.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

Commentaire Français Littéral de la Somme Théologique de Saint Thomas d'Aquin. Par R. P. Thomas Pègues. T. VII, *Les Passions et Les Habitus.* Toulouse, Edouard Privat, 14 Rue des Arts: Paris, Pierre Tèqui, 82 Rue Bonaparte.

The preceding volumes of this luminous translation and commentary have been noticed in the *Bulletin* (see May, 1912). The seventh volume deals with thirty-four questions of the *Prima Secundae,* (Qq. xxii-lv), containing St. Thomas' treatise on the Passions and Habits. Nowhere perhaps is there to be found such

a patient and complete analysis of the acts of the human mind and heart as that given by the Angelic Doctor. Scholastic philosophers did not have all the advantages enjoyed by men who devote themselves nowadays to experimental psychology. We do not expect to find in their writings that wealth of information about brain-action, nerve centres and the like, which modern writers supply in superabundance, and in a language more puzzling, alas, to the unitiated than the terminology of thirteenth century authors. But they studied and analyzed the hearts of men, giving to the world a rational psychology which will always remain true and up-to-date because human nature will be ever substantially the same as it has been. That in constructing their system they did not neglect experiment and analysis is evident from their writings. St. Thomas devotes twenty-eight questions (xxii-xlix), with an average of four articles in each question, to the study of the passions. He treats them as a moralist, ethically rather than psychologically, but the true interpretation of the moral law presupposes a knowledge of human nature. The passions come under the laws of morality in so far as they can be controlled by reason: merely as acts of the sensitive faculty they are common to men and brutes. In modern works on psychology the word *passion* is restricted to violent emotions: what the scholastics called passions modern writers designate as *feeling, sentiment, emotions, mental states,* etc., etc. (See Maher, S. J., *Psychology, Empirical and Rational,* pp. 221, 425, 426). The schoolmen applied the term (*passiones*) to all acts of the sensitive appetency (*appetitus sensitivi*), and divided them into two classes, the *passiones partis concupiscibilis,* having for their direct object something which is apprehended as agreeable or repugnant in itself, and the *passiones partis irascibilis,* whose object is apprehended under some condition of difficulty or danger. In the former there are six passions, or rather pairs of passions: joy (or delight) and sadness; desire and aversion (or abhorrency), love and hatred. In the latter five are enumerated: hope and despair, courage and fear, and anger. All of these St. Thomas analyzes with remarkable skill and patience, condescending, *e. g.,* to explain why it is that hope abounds in the young and those who are stimulated by strong drink (Qu. xl., a. 6). The reading of his treatise will be rewarded by a clearer insight into the workings of human nature.

To habits in general he devotes six Questions (xlix-lv), which

are of great value both for the psychologist and for the moralist. An acquired habit has been well called a second nature, and this truth must be constantly in the minds of all who are laboring for the uplift of mankind. In the training of youth, for instance, nothing is so important as the formation of good habits. This fact is considered by all intelligent educators and criminologists: it is best known by those who deal most intimately with the souls of men, the priests of the Catholic Church. Although St. Thomas wrote principally as a theologian, his treatise abounds in natural psychology, and it furnishes a solid philosophical foundation for the tracts that are to follow dealing with the Virtues and Vices.

D. J. KENNEDY, O. P.

Le Problème du Salut des Infidèles. Essai Historique. Louis Caperan. Beauchesne, Paris, 1912. Pp. vii + 112.

Le Problème du Salut des Infideles. Essai Theologique. Louis Caperan. Beauchesne, Paris, 1912. Pp. x + 550.

1. The call of all men to salvation everywhere and always is clearly indicated in the Scriptures, old and new. The universality of the Redemption is thus undeniable, though to share in the fruits of Calvary a religious knowledge is necessary. Had the ancient pagans the requisite knowledge? The early apologists declared that the pagans existing before the Gospel had come into actual contact with the revelation of Israel, and had even enjoyed revelations of their own, as for instance in the Sibyline prophecies. This reply of the apologists of Celsus and Porphyry effectively disposed of the charge that Christianity, of set purpose, excluded all pagan antiquity from salvation. The Alexandrians, notably Clement and Origen, went further still in their views, imagining that Christ had descended into Hell for the express purpose of preaching the Gospel to the dead and making converts. But this theory of "a second chance" was plainly at variance with the accepted principle that the time of trial and probation was over at death, and consequently this strange idea of the evangelization of the dead quickly disappeared from the thought of the Eastern Church, never having secured a foothold in the Latin West. It remained for Protestant-

ism to revive the idea in recent years, in a vain attempt to broaden the un-Christian narrowness of the doctrines of the reform.

With Saint Augustine the problem changes from an apologetic to a theological point of view, largely owing to the need of refuting the contention of the Pelagians that those who lived before Christ were saved *without* Him. Saint Augustine promptly refuted this heretical statement which did away with the necessity and universality of the Redemption, and reduced Christianity to the mere force of moral example. He maintained against these heretical simplifiers of Christian truth the objective reality and value of the Redemption, bringing out into salient relief the central principle that faith in Christ is necessary for salvation to those who lived before the Gospel, as well as to those who came after. Times have changed, he said, not faith. Accordingly the bishop of Hippo emphasized his doctrine of the necessity and gratuitousness of grace, refusing to recognize in the pagans of antiquity any virtues really availing for salvation,—a statement which the reformers later forced out of its context and exaggerated to their bitter cost.

Not so the Schoolmen, of whom Saint Thomas was easily the prince. Instead of taking the words of Augustine to the letter, they rather considered the great Christian thought he was trying to express against the innovators of his time. This was his insistence on the necessity of faith in Christ as necessary for salvation. Saint John Chrysostom had expressed the opinion that faith in the true God was sufficient to save the Gentiles of olden time. The Schoolmen reconciled both statements in the theory of the sufficiency of implicit faith in the world's redeemer. Saint Thomas held that faith in the Mediator is necessary for salvation since the Fall. But he also pointed out that belief in God the Rewarder is implicit faith in Christ the Mediator, since it is only through Him that men obtain their reward. This belief is supernatural in its object; it is in fact an obscure, veiled, remote faith in the incarnation and the Christian mysteries. Through this obscure belief, under the motions of grace, the savage of the forest and the otherwise benighted heathen could make an act of faith and be saved, God doing His part, if they did theirs, either by an interior inspiration, a special revelation, or the sending of a missionary. This theory of implicit faith, which Saint Thomas so well developed, sacrificed no essential of the Augustinian position, but merely gave it a larger perspective, in which the uncovenanted mercies of God

could be seen at work in heathendom, penetrating the darkness with the rays of faith and grace, preventing that "tragic fate of the heathen," upon which the so-called reformers were to descant later, apparently with much gusto. It is to the credit of scholasticism that it thought out this high and noble concept of the providential bounty of God, without having any apologetic interest to safeguard save that of the noble Catholic tradition which had been handed down. It was in no spirit of subtlety or concession, but simply as a natural development of the thought of Saint Augustine, that this generous doctrine had come to be recognized. There was a baptism of desire, as well as one of water and of blood. "Facienti quod in se est (ex gratia), Deus non denegat gratiam.

This classic solution of the problem might have spared the Catholic apologists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries much labored explanation, when the discovery of America and its hosts of unevangelized Indians gave a concrete and vivid turn to the question of heathen salvation. The fear of the Jansenist and Protestant uproar seems to have held them back from a wholehearted acceptance of the scholastic theory, but only for a while. Caught between the two fires of Jansenists on the one hand, and sceptics like Rousseau and Voltaire on the other, the apologists contented themselves with the supposition that a limbo for adults existed as well as for infants, and to this the Indians were consigned. Protestant theology, with its ideas on predestination, free will, and justification maintained that the whole mass of Indians were damned. But in 1772, F. X. de Feller, a doctor of the Sorbonne, published a reply to Voltaire in eighty-six pages, in the course of which he clearly stated the theory of the sufficiency of implicit faith, according to the Indians that possibility of salvation which the early apologists of Christianity and the Schoolmen had not refused to the ancient pagan world. The classic theory thus won its way again into recognition, although the theologians of the sixteenth century acted for all the world as if it was a new class of Pelagians, and not the poor American Indians, with which they were confronted. It was the texts of Saint Augustine, rather than the Indian question, which inspired the pessimism of their utterances and the evasive character of their proposed solutions. Later, traditionalism came to disturb the serenity of the classic position, but nothing could stand in the way of its final acceptance. The scholastic revival and the Leonine encyclical on the spread of

devotion to the Sacred Heart completed its triumphant re-entry into Catholic thought.

The foregoing affords but a meagre account of this excellent volume, packed with erudition, good sense, sound Catholic principles, and sympathetic criticism. It is the first time, to the reviewer's knowledge, that this important subject has been historically investigated, and we congratulate the author on the success of his labors, and most especially on the manner in which he has done justice to the five dogmas involved. It was no easy task. We are also glad to see that the author maintains the absolute priority of predestination to any human causes of the same, and that he does not fail to add correctives to principles that have been somewhat loosely employed in the stress of controversy. The reviewer confesses to laying down the volume with a distinct sense of indebtedness to the author for having brought all this converging material together into a scientific whole, and the hope is ventured that many will profit by a careful reading of this volume, which we can sincerely assure them beforehand, will repay their study and interest. Too bad that Sabatier had not lived to read it. He would have seen the unscholarliness of his charge that the tragic fate of pagan peoples is a necessary consequence of the exclusiveness of the Christian religion. In a journalistic age like the present, when sources are neglected and information obtained at second-hand, a volume such as this silences the scoffer and lets him see the depths of his misinformation. We could say much more, but the economy of space forbids further comment.

2. The second volume is a detailed exposition of the theological theories mentioned in the first, and a criticism of them from the standpoint of Catholic principles. These theories are three in number, the author rejecting the first two and defending the third. Two additional chapters follow on the act of faith necessary for the salvation of the infidel and on the extraordinary means of salvation.

The author dismisses the theory of the evangelization of the dead as in contradiction with the biology of grace, and without serious scriptural or traditional foundation. The theory of the admission of the pagans to Limbo is likewise dismissed as an unfounded speculation. Man has only a supernatural end, and consequently a middle state like Limbo can exist only for infants

or irresponsible persons, these being the only exceptions in favor of which the theory of a natural beatitude may be invoked. And then again, if God invites all infidels to salvation, as He does, it is vain to suppose that He will aid them by His grace to make but half the return journey to Him. A half-way solution is out of question, at variance as it is with the constant tradition of the Fathers and the theologians. There remains therefore only the doctrine of the universal offer of supernatural salvation. The grace of Christ is not withheld from the pagans; that proposition has been condemned more than once. The condition on which the fulfilment of the divine promise depends is the non-opposition of the pagan to the entrance and action of grace in his soul. There can be no question of any positive disposing of one's self for grace. Grace effects the disposition if there be no obstacle to its working. The famous " Facienti quod in se est, etc." is the result of grace, and not a disposition positively leading to its concession. All the theoretical antinomies disappear, if we admit with Saint Thomas that, while grace is gratuitous and cannot be merited, it is conceded to all. The pagan in his first real moral awakening finds the grace of God knocking at the door of his heart. The real domain of the Church is not co-extensive with its visible possessions, such as those which a geographical chart exhibits; it extends beyond all such boundaries.

The faith that saves the Pagan is an assent to revealed truths, an assent which is explicit on the elementary dogmas, but which may be implicit on the others. Explicit adhesion to a minimum of truths is therefore necesary as a means of salvation. The pagan must believe in God as a pupil believes in the master teaching him. No vague faith in God, gathered from the spectacle of nature, will save the pagan, and such is not the faith which God offers him. And what is the object of the pagan's faith? It is the remunerating Providence of God, " the substance of things to be hoped for, the evidence of things that appear not." The faith of the pagan called to justification rests on the same motive as the faith of the Christian. The whole difference is in the number of truths necessary to be believed.

Out of the Church there is no salvation, it is true, but then a man may belong to the Church at heart, and so his belonging to the visible communion of Christ is accomplished in desire, if not in full reality. All grace in the present divine economy is given

as an attractive force towards the Church, and it is this bond of implicit faith which unites all souls in good disposition. Primitive tradition, if it has not perished, may furnish the pagan with the idea of God the Rewarder. Interior inspiration may make good the lack of preaching. And then there is always that supernatural Providence of God dispensing the favors of grace to the souls of those who sit in darkness. "Deus non alligavit sacramentis potentiam suam."

We need only say of this second volume that it is a fit companion to the first in every way. The history of the reduction of the supernatural truths necessary for pagan salvation, to a minimum, shows how much needed the scholastic revival was, as all this doctrine was clearly announced in the Middle Ages, circumstances contributing to obscure it later in the minds of those who had the defense of Christianity at heart. It is good to refresh our souls once more at the olden founts. We wish these two volumes the widespread recognition which they deserve.

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

The Science of Logic. P. Coffey. In two volumes. Vol. I. Longmans, Green and Co., London and New York, 1912. Pp. xx + 445.

The aim of this treatise is, "in the first place, to present in a simpler way the Principles of the Traditional Logic expounded by Aristotle and his scholastic interpreters; secondly, to show how the philosophical teachings of Aristotle and the Schoolmen contain the true basis for modern methods of scientific investigation, inductive no less than deductive; and finally, to extend, rather than supplement the traditional body of logical doctrine by applying the latter to some logical problems raised in more recent times." The first volume deals with conception, judgment and inference; the treatment of the inductive process being reserved for a second volume.

Although the author "is quite unconscious of having said or intended anything new or original," he has none the less made a noteworthy contribution to the literature of a subject which is of fundamental importance in the Scholastic and in every other sys-

tem. Whatever view be taken of the Scholastic methods, it must be admitted that they were logical; and one of the best means of appreciating them rightly is to understand the principles of logic on which they are based. The Schoolmen at any rate were not afraid to let the "dry bones" of their reasoning stick out at every point—an exposure which is wisely avoided in arguments where there are no bones beneath the tissue of words.

The present work, however, is not merely an exposition of the traditional logic. In each chapter one finds a recognition and a careful discussion of modern theories. Special attention, naturally, is given to English writers on logic; but the leading authors in other countries receive due notice and criticism. It is satisfactory and encouraging to see that both in the foot-notes and in the bibliographies which close each chapter, the references are accurately given—a detail of technique which is sometimes overlooked in publications that are supposed to widen out the student's acquaintance with the literature.

Through a happy combination of the old and the new, Dr. Coffey has succeeded in giving a very complete treatment of each topic: his account of the syllogism occupies about one hundred pages and abounds in illustrations drawn from various sources other than the classic. This fulness will be helpful to the student who desires something more than the condensed statement usually offered in manuals of logic. The teacher, in particular, will find in this work many useful suggestions both for his own handling of the subject and for the guidance of his students in their collateral reading. As the author indicates in his preface, the advanced portions, printed in smaller type, may be omitted by the beginner and the remaining portions may be used as a text-book. A list of questions and answers subjoined to the volume enhances its utility for class-room purposes. With the practical training which is thus provided and with a diligent study of the text, both the graduate and the undergraduate student will be enabled to discern "the suggestive and illuminating truths which may be gathered from a serious analysis of the thinking processes of the human mind."

E. A. Pace.

Jérusalem: Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire. Tome premier, Jérusalem antique par le Père Hugues Vincent, O. P. de l'École biblique. Tome second, Jérusalem nouvelle par les PP. F. M. Abel et H. Vincent, O. P. de l'École biblique. Ouvrage publié avec le concours de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Fascicule premier. Librairie Victor Lecoffre, J. Gabalda, Editeur, Paris, France.

In the standard work of Introduction which has enjoyed successively the patronage of Popes Leo XIII and Pius X, at first in its unabridged and then in several editions of its more compendious form, Fr. Cornely, S. J., writes: "Saeculi xix initio . . . vix ulla invenitur aetas sterilior, quum omnibus in disciplinis theologicis tum maxime in studiis scripturisticis." (Ed. 1894, I, 724.) Troublous times were the cause. "Postquam autem Ecclesiae et mundo pax est reddita, una cum aliis disciplinis theologicis etiam exegesis resuscitata est, neque desunt *germina,* quae laetos jam ejus fructus *promittunt.*" (Hagen's Cornely, ed., VII, 1911, p. 172.)

On the appearance of the first fascicle of "Jérusalem," it is fitting to observe that exegesis is dependent on a large group of allied sciences for a substructure, and that without these it is doomed to be tottering, warped, untrue in a thousand details and lifeless. It was the Marquis de Vogüé who first conceived the happy idea of cultivating the study of Sacred Scripture and cognate branches in a way that has proved helpful in infusing into biblical pursuits their pristine vigor and making them a living issue in our day as they were in the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. The idea was to found a Biblical school at Jerusalem and the project was carried out by the Dominican Fathers.

De Vogüé's original and authoritative investigations on the "Temple de Salomon," "Églises de Terre Sainte," Semitic epigraphy, Byzantine architecture in central Syria, etc., showed what prodigious results might be achieved in a brief space in these unexplored and fairly unknown regions. The day was welcomed when the quest of Palestinian lore drew men of competence from the comforts of Western life to search out and to control the treasures long buried in a hallowed but forgotten soil.

What the Dominicans began, the Americans and Germans imitated, and quite recently the Holy Father, at the suggestion of

Rev. Fr. Fonck, S. J., Director of the Biblical Institute at Rome, endorsed the movement by consenting to the establishment of a second Catholic Biblical school in the Holy City. The Jesuit Fathers will be in possession and there is no room for doubting that with their abundant resources of mind and sinew, so skilfully operating through a world-wide and compelling propaganda, the work to be undertaken will in due time assume proportions worthy of the cause, and will, like that of their predecessors in the field, redound to the glory of the Church and the progress of Catholic science.

Up to the present, "Jérusalem" is the latest of a long series of publications that have imparted to the Dominican School of St. Stephen a singular superiority and prestige. The "Études Bibliques," one of the latest accessions to which is Dr. Buzy's "Introduction aux Paraboles Évangéliques"—a study approved by the Biblical Commission as the author's dissertation for the Doctorate in Sacred Scripture,—furnishes an insight into the comprehensive and daily enlarging scope of the work to be done, in outline, principle, materials, theory and application. The parallel series, "Études palestiniennes et orientales," though only in its infancy, seems destined to equal success since it answers to a distinct need. The "Revue Biblique," now in its twenty-second year, is continuing to appear with the express permission of the Holy See; while other enterprises contributing to our knowledge of the Bible, its history, its lands and peoples are pressed forward as often as discovery, invention or pecuniary aid makes it possible to open up new spheres of activity or to winnow afresh the old.

"Jérusalem" is a natural outgrowth of "Canaan d'après l'exploration récente." The latter work was also written by P. H. Vincent, and was the result of ten years of intelligent conscientious observation and clear-sighted research. The first volume of the more recent enterprise, "Jerusalem antique," will picture faithfully the exact rôle enacted by the Holy City in national and religious development from the earliest times till its destruction by Titus, A. D. 70; the second, "Jérusalem nouvelle," will carry the subject from the triumph of the Romans down to our day. The study of the Christian sanctuaries, the harrassing vicissitudes through which the city has passed under Roman, Moslem and Crusader will be among the chief themes.

The first fascicle of tome I, now available, contains a general

introduction largely topographical. Its contents are clearly and masterfully presented, richly illustrated, and abound in a variety of Oriental data both critical and illuminating.

The first and second fascicles of tome II are promised for spring, and thus the fascicles are to alternate from volume to volume until the entire work of 1,500 pages, 4to., besides 150 exquisite plates, will have been produced.

The project, as conceived, is highly original and unifying; and the reputation of its authors, not less than the matter treated, forbids any doubt as to its future rank among the classics of Palestinian science. Its authority is guaranteed in advance by the concurrence of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. No synthesis of the kind has been possible until late years, and a synthesis it will be, even though studded with monographs, if its leading author is spared to direct the enterprise to completion.

THOMAS À KEMPIS REILLY, O. P.

Part of the Opus Tertium of Roger Bacon, including a Fragment now printed for the first time. Edited by A. G. Little. Aberdeen: the University Press, 1912. Pp. xlviii + 92.

Some four years ago Professor Pierre Duhem of the University of Bordeaux published the most important Roger Bacon discovery that has been made in recent years under the title *Un fragment inédit de l'Opus Tertium de Roger Bacon* (Quaracchi, 1909, in 8vo., pp. 197). In his study on this fragment—which was hidden in a MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris—Prof. Duhem pointed out that there still remained a gap between the end of the fragment of the *Opus Tertium* edited by Brewer and the beginning of the fragment discovered by himself. This missing portion has since been discovered by Mr. A. G. Little in a MS. at Winchester College and it is printed on pp. 1-19 of the present volume for the first time. The remainder of the treatise here published corresponds in the main with the fragment edited by Prof. Duhem. Among the most interesting passages of the new fragment that Mr. Little has now brought to light, is that in which Bacon defends the study of magic and urges the Pope

to regulate it (pp. 17-18). It may also be noted that Bacon's explanation of the alchemical terms for metals agrees with that which Chaucer puts into the month of the "Chanouns Yeman."

The text of the present edition is based on the Winchester College MS. 30, which has been compared with two other early MSS. and with Prof. Duhem's edition of the Paris MS., all the variants being carefully noted. It is good that Bacon's treatise should have found an Editor so eminently fitted for the task as Mr. Little, who has supplemented his really informing Introduction (pp. viii-xxx) with a Summary of the treatise in English (pp. xxxi-xlviii) which amounts in parts almost to a translation. For giving us the most complete text of the *Opus Tertium* yet published, Mr. Little has made all students of Bacon again his debtor. Our best thanks are also due to the British Society of Franciscan Studies for its share in the publication of the work before us which takes on additional interest in view of the near approach of the seventh centenary of Bacon's birth (1214-1914).

PASCHAL ROBINSON, O. F. M.

Out of Shadows into Light. Charles J. Callan, O. P. With an introduction by His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons. John Murphy Company, Baltimore, Md. Pp. 96, dimensions 5¼ x 7½. 50 cents, net.

The purpose of this book is to give in concise, yet ample form the best and most reliable teaching on the happiness of Heaven. Of the benefits to be derived from works of this character every earnest Christian is aware. Reflection on life everlasting is not only a soothing balm to those that mourn the loss of loved ones and a support and solace amid the afflictions of life; it is also a powerful incentive to virtue and a strong bulwark against temptation. Father Callan's book is singularly adapted to these ends. It unites solid piety with doctrinal clearness and a charming grace of expression. Beginning with the motives that render reasonable our unflinching faith in the great beyond, the writer unfolds before our gaze the "Holy City, the New Jerusalem," as portrayed in

revelation. The beatific vision, in which God is seen face to face, the loving enjoyment of his eternal beauty, the glad companionship of the saints, the glorious endowments of the risen bodies are successively described. This little book is to be recommended as a solid and hard-reasoned, yet unctuous and beautiful exposition of a theme that every serious minded person should have always at heart.

J. A. McHugh.

MISCELLANEOUS.

An Appeal to Catholic Ladies for a National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception at the Catholic University, Washington, D. C.

The urgent need of a Church for the Catholic University has long been evident. Since its opening in 1889, new departments have been established from year to year, with the result that the students have increased to about five hundred, and the professors to sixty, with the certainty of a corresponding growth every year. A suitable Church therefore is very badly needed to hold the actual body of professors and students, and a reasonable number of visitors.

It is essential that among the public buildings of the University there should always be one, devoted to Our Divine Lord in the Sacrament of His Love, belonging formally to the whole University as such, open at all times to the piety and devotion of professors and students, likewise of the many visitors who daily make the rounds of the University grounds and buildings. In this Church the Holy Sacrifice would be offered up daily by the numerous priest students, for whose needs in this respect the capacity of Divinity Hall is about exhausted. Confessions would be heard regularly and with all due liturgical dignity. Our beautiful devotions would be carried out with a view to attracting the lay members of the University, particularly the undergraduate body, to whom the Church, it is hoped, would soon come to be their own particular and prized possession. For the daily life of the University no better religious influence could be imagined than a proper devotional center of prayer and adoration.

Almost every month of the scholastic year some great religious ceremony takes place at the University that calls for an attendance of several hundred persons. Thus the Solemn Opening and Closing of the academic year, the feasts of the Immaculate Conception, of the Conversion of St. Paul, of St. Thomas Aquinas, and other public ceremonies, like the two Solemn Masses annually said for our benefactors, living and deceased, bring together large bodies of worshippers, often persons of great prominence in the National

Capital, who in this way become better acquainted with the University and the noble ideals of the Catholic Church in all that pertains to the higher education of her children. Yearly also large ordinations of priests take place at the University, frequently of members of the seven religious orders located there, and for this purpose suitable sanctuary and sacristy spaces are badly needed, so that the Holy Orders of the Church may be conferred amid comfort and splendor, and with all due facilities of attendance on the part of the laity, to whom these ceremonies are peculiarly attractive.

Twice a year the Board of Trustees meets at the University, in the fall and spring. If we had a suitable church, occasion could be taken of the presence of so many venerable prelates to gather about them not only the entire University, but also the Catholic laity of Washington, amid the attractions of suitable liturgical services and all the devotional aids of our Catholic religious life.

When the Fathers of the Sixth Provincial Council of Baltimore, in the year 1846, placed the United States of America, which consisted then of only one ecclesiastical province, under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary conceived without sin, they laid upon American Catholics an obligation to show an especial devotion toward our Blessed Lady. No one could accuse American Catholics of falling behind Catholics of any other nation in their devotion to the Mother of God, but our being placed under her patronage in a special manner seems to imply that we should have not only the devotion which all good Catholics have toward the Blessed Virgin, but that we should show extraordinary devotion to her as *American* Catholics. For a long time it has been felt that there should be some National Monument, as an outward testimony of this devotion, and there can be no doubt that if such monument were erected the National Capital is the place for it. It has been suggested that this National Monument or testimony of American devotion toward the Immaculate Mother of God should take the form of a beautiful church at the Catholic University of America, to be known as the National Shrine of the Blessed Virgin.

For some time an attempt has been made to collect money for this good work and not without some fruit, but it has been felt that as the women of America purchased and endowed Mount Vernon, so the Catholic women of America should in a special manner promote the building of this National Shrine. For this

purpose a committee has been formed under the direction of the Rector of the Catholic University, who will transmit to him all offerings for this good work. The Catholic University, beneficiary of the piety of those who bestow their offerings toward the building of this Church, owes them naturally a debt of gratitude. In return, then, for the offerings made to the Shrine, two masses will be said every week; the first on Monday for all those who have contributed any amount whatever toward the building of the Shrine; the second for all those who collect contributions for this good work. When the Church is built it is hoped that a mass may be said every day for those who have in any way contributed toward it.

It is also the intention of the authorities of the Catholic University to enroll the names of all Collectors on parchment to be placed under the high altar. There can be no doubt that such a work as this needs only to be known to receive the approval and co-operation of every devout Catholic, and the committee who have undertaken this work confidently commit it to your prayers and pious co-operation.

All contributions may be sent to the committee appointed by the Rector of the Catholic University: Mrs. Burrall Hoffman, 58 East 79th Street, New York, or Miss Fannie Whelan, 1717 20th Street, Washington, D. C. They should be made payable to "The Catholic University of America," and will be duly acknowledged. Particular instructions will be furnished on application to either of the aforesaid committee.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN,
Rector of the Catholic University.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Meeting of the Board of Trustees. At the Meeting of the Board of Trustees held on Wednesday, April 9, the election of Very Reverend Charles F. Aiken to be Dean of the Faculty of Theology was approved. Dr. Patrick J. Lennox, Associate Professor of English, was advanced to the rank of Professor. The resignation of Dr. George Melville Bolling was read and accepted. The Right Reverend Rector was authorized to proceed with the building of a Dining Room for the lay students of the University. Gibbons Hall was erected into a University College, Very Reverend Doctor Spensley being appointed President of the New College and Father Tierney to take up, next scholastic year, the duties of President of Albert College.

Lectures by University Professors. Reverend Doctor Fox is delivering a course of six lectures on "Socialism and Social Reform from the ethical standpoint," under the auspices of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences.

Painting for Gibbons' Memorial Hall. The Board of Trustees of the Catholic University of America has accepted the generous offer of Mr. John D. Crimmins, of New York City, to donate to the new Gibbons' Memorial Hall the famous painting of the last moments of Pope Leo XIII by the Marquise de Wentworth. The painting will be placed in the main hall of the building.

Editors of the Catholic Encyclopedia Honored. Through His Eminence, Cardinal Farley, Pope Pius X has bestowed upon each of the editors of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* the medal, "Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice"—a distinction conferred by the Holy See upon Catholics for distinguished service in behalf of the Church and its Head. It was first conferred by Pope Leo

XIII in 1888 upon certain Catholics in recognition of their efforts in behalf of his sacerdotal jubilee. The *Catholic Encyclopedia* is now complete and all English-speaking Catholics will be gratified by this evidence of the pleasure of the Sovereign Pontiff over the monumental achievement of the editors. Those who have merited this distinction are Charles G. Herbermann, Ph. D., LL. D.,; the Rt. Rev. Monsignor T. J. Shahan, D. D., the Rev. John J. Wynne, S. J., the Rev Edward A. Pace, D. D., and Condé B. Pallen, Ph. D., LL. D.

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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit*, c. 6.

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"IN FACIEM EI RESTITI." Gal. ii, 11.

An Exegetical and Character Study.

"But when Cephas was come to Antioch, *I withstood him to the face* because he was to be blamed. For before that some came from James, he did eat with the gentiles: but when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them who were of the circumcision. And to this dissimulation the rest of the Jews consented, so that Barnabas also was led by them into that dissimulation.

"But when I saw that they walked not uprightly unto the truth of the gospel, I said to Cephas before them all: If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of the gentiles, and not as the Jews do, how dost thou compel the gentiles to live as do the Jews?"

Gal. ii, 11, 14.

The written word of God, like "the Word made flesh," is a perpetual "sign of contradiction." The passage to be treated has placed both scholastics and Fathers at variance, but always with such a preponderance of authority on one side that the divisions are often forgotten. Indeed, the relative obscurity whence they issue seems rarely to have exceeded that of the spots on the solar disc. In the world of biblical polemics our text has appeared and vanished, and then re-appeared only to vanish again, almost comet-like. It was the spider web that entangled the Neo-Tübingens and instigated Baur, their founder, to portray fantastic travails in the primitive Church and represent Christianity as a natural conciliatory resultant of con-

tending Petrine and Pauline factions. On this absurdity we need not dwell. The theory lacked the historical evidence necessary to establish the fact. It is the discussion within the pale to which we turn.

I. Identity of Cephas.

Towards the beginning of the third century Clement of Alexandria (d. 217) classified the Cephas here involved with the seventy [1] disciples thereby exonerating the Prince of the apostles.[2] Over a century and a half later St. John Chrysostom [3] patronized a view which St. Jerome ascribes to Origen.[4] He admitted the identity of Cephas and St. Peter, but added that Cephas and Paul were enacting a little drama amicably agreed upon in advance for the instruction of Christian converts. St. Jerome appeared for a time to commit himself to this opinion, but on being taken to task for it by St. Augustine, who claimed it to be disrespectful and too conniving at artifice and trickery,[5] he first excused himself by writing: "ostendi me non ex definito id defendere, . . . sed ea expressisse quae legeram ut lectoris arbitrio derelinquerem, utrum probanda essent, an improbanda." (Ref. 4). Eventually he incorporated the more obvious traditional view of his masterful opponent into his Dialogues against the Pelagians.[6]

Clement's distinction between Cephas the apostle and Cephas a disciple seems for an age to have fallen into oblivion. The "Hypotyposes," or work in which it originally appeared never enjoyed great authority and is no longer extant. Without ap-

[1] "Seventy-two." So reads the Vulgate, Lk. x, 1, in accordance with certain Greek texts which enjoy the preference of Weiss. Eusebius, who is undoubtedly following Clement, was evidently influenced by another class of texts reading "seventy." In presence of these last, Westcott and Hort are doubtful about the addition of "two."

[2] Eus., Hist. Eccl., I, 12 (MPG. XX, 117).

[3] Chrys., Hom. II. in Gal., 4 (MPG. LXI, 641).

[4] Hier., Epis. CXII ad Aug., 4 (MPL. XXII, 918).

[5] Aug., Epis. XXVIII ad Hier., 3 (MPL. XXXIII, 112).

[6] Hier., Dial. adv. Pelagianos, I, 22 (MPL. XXIII, 516).

proving the opinion Eusebius recorded it, and an unknown hand formerly believed to be Dorothy of Tyre inserted it into a spurious catalogue of the disciples which was afterwards woven into the Paschal Chronicle.[7] There it remained for ten centuries as unthought of as the Serapeum before the advent of Mariette.

The rise of Protestantism resuscitated it. The infallibility of the Sovereign Pontiff, and of the first Pontiff in particular, seemed in the balance, and Catholics took alarm,—Catholics, indeed, but not all, nor even the larger part, nor the more influential. A few scattered ones here and there raised their voices, but the cry was like an after-glow that gradually dies away.

Pighius (d. 1543) reviewed the opinion as one not to be lightly passed over[8]; Vallarsi (d. 1771) strove to corroborate it with more enthusiasm than logic and historic truth[9]; the Jesuit savant Hardouin (d. 1729) defended it in a posthumous work[10] of such singularity as to find its way into the Index; while other modern writers, less unfortunate in the fate of their works, prepared the way for Aloysio Vincenzi who, as late as 1875, crystallized the view and represented that unless it were held, the doctrine of papal infallibility were doomed.[11]

If the personal identity of Cephas remained unquestioned from the sixth century to the sixteenth, the sincerity and naturalness of the performers at Antioch were not allowed to enjoy such peace. Peter Lombard, for example, inclined towards the drama interpretation that had long before allured St. Jerome;[12] and the theologian Pighius being like many others of his time

[7] Chron. Pasch., MPG. XCII, 521.

[8] Albertus Pighius, Hierarchiae ecclesiasticae assertio, III, II, Cologne, 1558, 129a-130a. See Vigouroux, Les Livres Saints et la Critique Rationaliste, Paris, 1891, pp. 466-468.

[9] MPL. XXVI, 339-341, note.

[10] J. Harduinus, Comm. in N. T. Accedit lucubratio etc., Amsterdam, 1741, pp. 785-799.

[11] Aloysio Vincenzi, De Hebraeorum et Christianorum Monarchia, ed. II, Rome, 1875, pp. 305 ff.

[12] "Fuit haec reprehensio non vera sed dispensatoria." P. Lomb., *in Gal.*, II, 14 (MPL. CXCII, 110).

rigidly non-committal, offered it as one of three *possible* solutions of current difficulties. Yet this at best was only precarious support, and Catholic scholars generally stood against it.[13]

Since they are few who have been in sympathy with the drama theory, this explanation may be dismissed in the words of Suarez, as a "frivolous evasion"; [14] yet it might not seem fair to discard so peremptorily the Cephas discussion. What was the objective value of the reasons brought to bear against the traditional belief in one Cephas? Dialectics would weigh it at zero, but the reasons held ground too publicly to be treated as phantoms.

The Cephas bubble on the majestic tidal wave of tradition glistened with unenlightened piety united with pride in a noble cause. Alongside the doubt in the minds of scholars as to whether the work of Clement were not marred with Arian interpolations,[15] is the conjecture of Alzog that the "Hypotyposes" were written about the time of the author's conversion from paganism.[16] Then, too, in the light of Eusebius who wrote early in the *fourth* century: *Τῶν δ'ἑβδομήκοντα μαθητῶν, κατάλογος μὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδαμῆ φέρεται*,[17] the Dorothean catalogue in the Paschal Chronicle of the *seventh* century, which presupposes the Clementine view of Cephas, a disciple, dissolves into an unauthentic piece of literature. Du Cange stigmatizes it as the work of "idle Greeks." [18] At any rate, the catalogue would pass more suitably as a list of the personal names contained in the canonical epistles than as a register of our Lord's disciples.

St. Jerome gives us to understand that the shocking blasphemies of Porphyrius were partly responsible for the plausi-

[13] Among others, St. Thomas *in Gal.* II, lect. 3.

[14] "Frivola evasio *a Patribus rejecta.*" Saurez, De Legibus, IX, XV, 7. However, St. John Chrysostom supported the view and was imitated by St. John Damascene (MPG. XC, 787), Oecumenius (MPG. CXVIII, 1113), and Theophylactus (MPG. CXXIV, 975).

[15] Vigouroux, Les Livres Saints, etc., p. 459, note 2.

[16] Alzog, Patrologie, Belet translation, 1877, p. 169.

[17] Eus. Hist. Eccl., I, 12 (MPG. XX, 118).

[18] MPG. XCII, 519, note 95.

bility which the opinion assumed for a time; yet he stoutly maintained that were Porphyrius to be heeded, many another passage "blackened by him through ignorance" would have to be severed from Holy Writ.[19] It was not that St. Jerome underrated the primacy. Quite the contrary, he was one of its stanch adherents, but he was satisfied with it as Christ had made and left it. He refused to be moved by the foolish fears of those who would improve upon it by giving it a head of gold, but feet of clay, because they felt it must be somewhat of a failure if reproach of any kind could be levelled against it.

Purposely passing over the apocryphal letter of St. Martial to the people of Toulouse, a writing that lays claim to first century origin, although its author quotes Holy Scripture according to a version not known until the fourth,[20] one is justified in saying that the arena of Christian apologetics in the first six centuries would hardly have attained renown, had no other contest arisen on its sands. Offsetting a meagre skepticism so weakly voiced, there was harmony and moral unanimity among the Fathers of the period. "Mihi Cephas amicus, sed magis amica veritas" was the prevailing sentiment, and doctors like St. Clement of Rome, Sts. Irenaeus and Cyprian, Tertullian, Sts. John Chrysostom, Jerome, and others [21] down to St. Gregory the Great (d. 604) [22] were firm representatives of a traditionary belief in only one Cephas.

Enthusiasm and a larger following characterized the outburst occasioned by the Reformation, yet "honor to whom honor is due!" An examination of the view as set forth afresh brings to light three undesirable qualities either in the defendants

[19] Hier., *in Gal.*, II, 11 (MPL. XXVI., 341).

[20] The criticism is that of Natalis Alexander, Hist. Eccl., sæc. I. xii, II, Paris, 1714, iii, 47.

[21] Clem. I Epis. ad Cor., XLVII; Iren., Contra Haer., III, xii, 15; Cypr., Epis. LXXI, 3. See MPG. I, 308; VII, 910; and IV, 410, respectively. St. Chrys., *ad loc.*, takes the identity for granted.

[22] "Sunt vero nonnulli qui non Petrum apostolorum principem, sed quemdam alium eo nomine qui a Paulo sit reprehensus accipiunt. Qui *si* Pauli *studiosius* verba legissent, ista non dicerent." Hom. in Ezech. II, hom. VI, 10 (MPL. LXXVI, 1003).

or their methods. They are exaggeration, idiosyncrasy, paradox.[23]

For example, the strongest line of argument to which Hardouin resorted was the following. In the epistle to the Galatians, as read in the Vulgate, two names, Cephas and Peter, occur. The Vulgate, in having been pronounced authentic by the Council of Trent, bespeaks through this distinction of names a necessary distinction of persons.—Therein lay exaggeration, for Peter and Cephas are but Græco-Latin and Aramaic forms of the same name.

That was the only new argument advanced by Hardouin, and before presenting it he had forfeited his right to an independent hearing, by accepting and re-casting, without analyzing or verifying, a historical defense volunteered by Vallarsi. Vallarsi had in turn cited as favoring the view three Fathers who were manifestly opposed to it, namely, Sts. John Chrysostom, Jerome and Gregory the Great; and he had thought to clinch his proof by denying that St. Peter was at Antioch when St. Paul resisted Cephas.—The last part of this premise is as gratuitous as the first part is untrue.

Vincenzi seems thoroughly alarmed. For him, the dogma of papal infallibility is fatally undermined if Cephas was the head of the Church. But in order to save St. Peter, he deposes not only Cephas, but also James and John who are mentioned with him in Gal. ii, 9. This summary procedure reduces the three grand personages whom St. Paul honored as "pillars of the church" to a level inferior to that of the least of the apostles.

Needless to say, modern and contemporary theologians of note [24] take sides with the Fathers, and with them the scholas-

[23] Not having at hand the works of Pighius or Hardouin, the former of whom ranked high as an apologist in the Reformation period, we here rely on Vigouroux who summarizes without alteration the excellent study of Pesch, Über die Person des Kephas in the Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie, VII, 1883, pp. 456-490 (Ref. 8).

[24] Among them are Bellarmine, Salmeron, Estius, Tirin, Calmet, Windischmann, Reithmayr, Bacquez, Vigouroux, as against such names as Camerarius, (d. 1564), Carriero (d. 1726), Girolamo Constantini, etc.

tics, who, as a body, practically ignored the ancient differences, are tightly phalanxed. The identity of Cephas, therefore, as Prince of the apostles may be ranked with those historical facts which, although doubted by some, are not on that account doubtful.

Our text need not be subjected to very critical investigation to show that St. Paul's energetic action was directed towards a person of influence, one whose example was so powerful as to lead the apostle Barnabas "into dissimulation," one who could not act unbecomingly with impunity. The Vulgate conveys the idea that Cephas was "to be blamed," that is, in St. Paul's estimation. The Greek reading is stronger, for it is to the effect that he actually "was blamed," *κατεγνωσμένος ἦν*, as it were, by the gentile converts. St. Chrysostom entertains no doubt about the latter interpretation, for he comments: *οὐκ εἶπεν, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, αλλ', ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων*(Ref. 3). Cephas must then have been in high station, else, why was his conduct so heeded? He was more. He is reproached by St. Paul as one who either directly or indirectly has authority "*to compel* the gentiles" into determinate modes of living and one who has made a bad use of that authority.

To this much gleaned from the internal character of the text, more is added from its peculiar setting and from the trend of the whole epistle. The apostle's rhetoric is unsurpassed. He has a contest to win for the crucified Christ, and he is prepared to wrestle, if need be, with "an angel from heaven," rather than yield a jot or tittle of the "revelation" he has received. "*Though we or an angel from heaven* preach a gospel to you besides that which we have preached to you, let him be anathema."[25] It is not contrast but climax that rings in these clear tones, and the generic "*we*" is a powerful allusion to the rôles of Cephas and Barnabas who among others were associated with Paul in a ministry that no created authority might rescind. As if implying that the faithful Galatians

[25] Gal. I, 8.

would be shocked on hearing of the collision with Cephas, the apostle arms their minds beforehand against disturbance by the warning that resistance to an angel would be justifiable under the circumstances. Assuredly, it is no ordinary disciple who is antagonised.

This idea is emphasized by a glance at the report which St. Paul volunteers of his deportment at the beginning of his mission. He was from the first respectful of authority, and without the approval of authority he did not presume to preach. This he inculcates at length by relating a particular errand he had undertaken to Jerusalem through obedience to "revelation," in order to confer "with them who seemed to be something" concerning the "gospel" he was preaching among the gentiles. Such was the test to which he submitted his personal revelations, assigning as his reason: "lest I should run or had run in vain."[26] Now they who "seemed to be something" were the "pillars" of Gal. ii, 9, namely, James and Cephas and John. The two-fold outcome of the conference with them was that "the gospel" of St. Paul was approved without alteration and his vocation to the gentile ministry was officially recognized and confirmed.

It is directly after this prelude that the dissension at Antioch is introduced with the adversative, "*but.*" Evidently, the narrative that follows is to be contrasted in some way with what precedes, and so it is. A Cephas is antagonized, and since he is in no way distinguished from "the pillar of the church" who had previously endorsed the mission and policy of St. Paul, it is illogical to identify him with any other.

It is the custom of New Testament writers to designate individuals descriptively or otherwise whenever there is a possibility of confounding two or more contemporaries bearing the same name. Thus, St. Luke speaks of John, "the son of Zachary,"[27] and St. Matthew of John "the Baptist," thereby distinguishing the forerunner from another whom St. Matthew styles "the brother of James, the son of Zebedee."[28] And in turn, this James "of Zebedee" is distinguished from James

[26] Gal. II, 2.
[27] Lk. III, 2.
[28] Mtt. III, 1; XI, 2; XVI, 14, etc.

"of Alphaeus"; [29] Mary, "the mother of the Lord," from Mary Magdalene, and these two from Mary "of James"; [30] Paulus Sergius from Paul the apostle, and so on. But there is no clew given in any part of the New Testament to a second Cephas.

Add to this that Aramaic usage stood, negatively at least, against such a possibility. As far as can be learned, Cephas [31] was neither used nor accepted as a proper name until our Lord introduced it, and the rare significance with which He endowed it was such as to make it antecedently improbable that He would confer it more than once. What is that but to say that the patristic view, is, as usual, thoroughly scientific!

II. The Controversy.

The controversy *about* the passage is only a faint glimmer of the controversy *in* the passage. The latter was a vital issue calculated, if wrongly solved, to stunt the growth of Christianity prematurely. It was not so much that St. Paul was against St. Peter, as that St. Peter stood in practice on a given occasion against what he himself approved and professed in belief. It was because he was pusillanimous and vacillating at a critical juncture that St. Paul remonstrated with him.

To fill up the bones of this meagre description with flesh, it will be helpful to take the performers aside and interrogate them one by one as to the ideas, convictions and experiences dictating their conduct. Then we shall be in a position to appreciate the scene enacted before us, and by imbuing it with life we shall realize the high moral lesson it imparts, and the purpose it is made to serve in the epistle to the Galatians.

In the description with which this paper begins, there is mention of four individuals and two groups. The individuals are Paul and Barnabas, Cephas and James. The groups are gentiles and Jews. Since the individuals collided merely through the sympathy they fostered for the groups, we shall

[29] Mtt. x, 3; Acts, i, 13.

[30] Mtt. xxvii, 56.

[31] כֵּיפָא, a rock.

better understand them by placing them on the background of the groups.

The gentiles were apparently in peaceful control at Antioch. Jews there were among them, for how could such a commercial people be absent from the third most important city of the empire?[32] Yet they were Jews of the Diaspora, broadminded subjects, who from constantly mingling with the heathen had long since parted with much of the rigidity and conventionality that hedged about Jerusalem orthodoxy. Even before their conversion they had been obliged to cede first one point of the Law and then another until there were scarcely any rabbinical observances left practicable for them, save circumcision with abstention from unclean foods and from intermarriage with the gentiles. Even these were hard and circumcision caused them often to be despised.[33]

When the gospel was preached they began to breathe an air of fullest liberty. They learned from it truth, such truth as made them free. Residing among a vigorous people with whom they would fain associate but could not, except as necessity required, they suddenly beheld the last barrier of separation razed to the ground. Legal observance was to be superseded by faith in the Christ of whom the prophets had taught and written.

The first seeds of the new doctrine had been brought to Antioch through the synagogue, but they lay buried in the hearts of a few until after the martyrdom of St. Stephen. Then they marvellously sprang up, as it were, in a night. The Christian witnesses of the heroic death of the protomartyr, in fleeing from the persecution that followed it, were emboldened to break away from the traditional claims of the Sanhedrists, its instigators, and going north as far as Antioch, they took the initiative of "preaching also to the Greeks." This novel

[32] Josephus describes Antioch as "the third city of the habitable earth .... under Roman rule, both in magnitude, and other marks of prosperity." Wars, III, ii, 4. Whiston's trans., p. 712.

[33] See Fouard, St. Paul and His Missions, III, Griffith's trans., New York, 1894, p. 57.

proceeding produced fruits so remarkable that the "great number" of converts created a stir even at Jerusalem, and a special envoy, Barnabas, was dispatched to visit them. An increasing multitude was rapidly "added to the Lord," for the Antiochians were moved by this "good man," and it was not long until "a church" had been founded among them. Never before had there been such indiscriminate mingling of gentile with Jew on religious matters, and as a result of this singularity operating on a grand and brilliant scale, the populace coined a new term to characterize it. It was at Antioch "the disciples were first called Christians." [34]

With such an origin the spirit of "the mother of the gentile churches" can easily be imagined. Never for a moment, even when most flourishing, was there thought of severing its relations with Jerusalem, "the mother of all the churches." Submission to Barnabas in his official capacity meant submission to Jerusalem, and the fact that later on the prediction of Agabus, a prophet from the Holy City, was heeded and acted upon by the forwarding of famine-funds "to the brethren who dwelt in Judea," is sufficient proof that the nascent community considered itself one in heart and spirit with that which begot it.[35]

Peace was soon disturbed, however, for towards the close of St. Paul's first missionary journey, A. D. 49, "some coming down from Judea, taught the brethren: that except you be circumcised after the manner of Moses, you cannot be saved." Once more Antioch bowed to Jerusalem and awaited thence a decision of what St. Luke describes as having been "no small contest." The verdict of the first Church council was favorable to the gentiles, it seeming good "to the Holy Ghost and to them," to impose no further obligations on the new converts than that they should refrain from "things sacrificed to idols, from blood, from things strangled and from fornication." [36]

A loophole for further anxiety and contention was left in this legislation since it affected, not all Christians, but only "the brethren of the gentiles," *i. e.*, converts from paganism.

[34] Acts, XI, 20-26.
[35] *Ibid.*, 27-30.
[36] Acts, XV, 1-29.

For the Jerusalem kindred there had never been any doubt about the plausibility of observing the Law of Moses and that of Christ together. Had Christ not come to perfect rather than to destroy?[37] Could not the disciple of Christ be the ideal follower of Moses? Worship in the temple, circumcision, abhorrence of unclean foods,—all these were practices quite compatible with Christianity, and were noteworthy ingredients of the atmosphere in which originated that admirable piece of apologetics known as St. Matthew's gospel. It is Jerusalem environment that St. James at a later date so graphically depicts in the Acts of the Apostles. Addressing St. Paul he says: "Thou seest, brother, how many *thousands* (μυριάδες) there are among the Jews that have believed, and they are *all* zealous for the (Mosaic) law."[38] The Antiochian Jews had as a class broken loose from this captivating traditionalism, or, if any were still drawn towards it, it was in an extremely modified form.

Yet all can call to mind a feverish movement of the age, one that our Lord rebuked most sharply because of the alarming proportions of its abuse in His day. It was that of the Scribes and Pharisees who would "go round about the sea and the land to make one proselyte and then make him a child of hell" twofold worse than themselves.[39] There was an infiltration of this tendency into the infant Church. Side by side with the healthful proselytism exercised by the apostles, others, "false brethren,"[40] were doing their best to propagate a Judaeo-Christianity binding upon all. They remembered that in the days of John Hyrcan, the Idumeans had been converted into full-fledged Jews by submitting to circumcision; that Aristobulus had in like manner subjugated the Itureans. Peter, James and John,—all whom they knew at Jerusalem, were still observing the Law. Why, therefore, should the gentiles be exempt? The decision of the Jerusalem council failed to daunt them. If circumcision had been pronounced unnecessary for salvation, it did not become for that reason, unnecessary

[37] Mtt. v, 17.
[38] Acts, xxi, 20.
[39] Mtt. xxiii, 15.
[40] Gal. ii, 4.

for Christian perfection. In other words, the Law-abiding Jew was superior to his uncircumcised gentile brother, even within the Church.

This climax had not been reached at the time of the Antiochian episode, but St. Paul must have seen it evolving, and this keen foresight accounts for his bold and significant stand against St. Peter. Subsequently, when writing to the Galatians, he realized that the cockle had been sown, had stealthily grown up, and was spreading from Syria into Asia Minor. Then with all the energy of his noble soul, he relates the dissension of Antioch in defence of himself and his divinely sanctioned authority, against those who had "bewitched" the Galatians into thinking that he was personally and in teaching, adverse to the other apostles. The gist of the story lies, not in his resistance to Peter, but in Peter's humble acquiescence, which, as the context shows, is left to be understood. What Theophylactus says is to the point: "Neque enim quidquam Petrus contradicit; unde planum est, quod oppositionem Pauli aequo animo susceperit" (Ref. 14).

The rôles of Sts. Peter, Paul and Barnabas at Antioch cannot be duly appreciated if dislodged from this perspective, yet their importance will grow more manifest by a closer study of the individuals.

Barnabas was the divinely enlightened man who, "filled with the Holy Ghost," had been an inspiration to the community at Antioch from the moment of his first appearance at the metropolis (about A. D. 41). He it was, who, at Lycaonia, perhaps for his tall, imposing and venerable appearance, was mistaken by uncultured inlanders for Jupiter.[41] He was a man of energy, a Levite of Cyprian origin, and if Eusebius be right, one of the seventy disciples. The name he bore, signifying "son of consolation," [42] had been bestowed upon him by the apostles as a token of gratitude for his liberality. His influence began at Jerusalem; it grew strong at Antioch. At the former city he had without much difficulty introduced the fiery convert

[41] Acts, XIV, 12. [42] Acts, IV, 36.

Saul into the confidence of the apostles; while in the latter he advanced him to headship over the heterogeneous flock in company with himself. Saul and he grew into friends so thoroughly co-operative in their efforts for church-extension as to merit a special vocation from the Holy Spirit for foreign missions.[43] As a consequence they thenceforth ranked with "the twelve" and were styled apostles.

Although Saul, or St. Paul, as we here prefer to call him, was indebted to Barnabas for his influential position at Antioch, he was not on that account a mere parasite. He was naturally high-strung, and had much to be proud of in origin, birthplace, education, character, citizenship and religion. Fearlessly he proclaimed his blamelessness under the Law and his personal superiority over contemporaries through zealous adhesion to the "traditions of the fathers." But from all this there came a moment when he had to break away; and, as he himself tells it, "when it pleased him who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace to reveal his son in me, that I might preach him among the gentiles, immediately I condescended not to flesh and blood." [44]

St. Paul was a man of principle, of high purpose and sturdy resolution, whose whole being had been transformed and supernaturalized at a time when he was trying hardest "to kick against the goad." [45] What had wrought the change? A lightning-flash and a voice, the voice of Jesus of Nazareth. From that moment the apostle was ruled by one idea, guided by one light, the light "that enlighteneth every man," yet in no soul did that light shine so brilliantly as in his own. "Jesus Christ yesterday, to-day, and the same forever" [46] became his watchword. For him Christ was "a revelation" direct and unmistakable, for which he had divine assurance, and that revelation eventually effected the thrilling conquest of a noble self. Of Christ he became "the slave." [47]

If St. Paul needed the good offices of St. Barnabas to draw

[43] *Ibid.*, XIII, 2.
[44] Gal. I, 13-16.
[45] Acts, IX, 5; XXVI, 14.
[46] Hebr. XIII, 8.
[47] Χριστοῦ δοῦλος. Gal. I, 10.

him from his home retreat at Tarsus, he was nevertheless persuaded that it was a special operation of divine grace that had so thoroughly metamorphosed him as to make him of the slightest service to Barnabas, and through him to Christ. His intense mental activity was habitually steadied by the knowledge that constant strenuous effort was indispensable to keep him from becoming a "castaway,"[48] and that he was "the least of the apostles," or, at that early period, vastly inferior to the apostles because he had "persecuted the church of God." "By the grace of God," he insists, "I am what I am, and his grace in me hath not been void."[49] Yet for all that he was not ungrateful to his colleague. He would labor for the cause in union with Barnabas, he would allow Barnabas precedence in rank and dignity, placing himself last among the lesser prophets and doctors of Antioch:[50] but let Barnabas or another, whether of heaven or earth, interfere with the due discharge of his sacred ministry, or put a damper on it, and at once he was prepared to dissent, and to depart, and to anathematize, and without a tear of repentance to publish wherever he went the unpleasant encounters and the abandonment of friends to which his zeal for Christ had impelled him.

How different were Sts. Peter and James! The latter, although related to Christ, seems never to have diminished in sympathy for his fellow countrymen or in zeal for the Law. However liberal may have been the views he voiced at the Jerusalem council, his entire life was such as to merit for him the title of "the Just" from Christian and non-Christian Jews alike. He must then have fulfilled the Mosaic requirements for personal justice in the episcopal office which he began to fill about ten years after the ascension. He was to all an example of austerity and asceticism. Hegesippus describes him as a Nazarite.[51] Owing to the steadfastness with which he clung to Jewish customs, if not also to a ponderous and

[48] 1 Cor. IX, 27. [49] 1 Cor. XV, 10.

[50] See Acts, XII, 25 and XIII, 1.

[51] Hegesippus (c. A. D. 160). See Eus., Hist. Eccl., II, 23 (MPG. XX, 196).

imperturbable personal authority, James's safety was secure in very troublous times.[52]

Among the inspired writings, an address by him in the Acts of the Apostles,[53] with the epistle that bears his name affords us the best insight into his mental equipment and conservatism. Meagre and scarcely varying in his written and spoken vocabulary, he appears less removed from Old Testament ideas and traditionary ways of thinking than any other New Testament writer. In this respect he is the antithesis of St. Paul, though in no wise his adversary.

And St. Peter. If St. James had at the council given utterance to broadening views relative to the duties of gentile converts, he had St. Peter to thank for it, while St. Peter could thank only the Lord.

The Jerusalem atmosphere, incarnate with legalism and the temple cult, was not naturally suited to the spread of evangelical liberty. Even the great Paul was not always immune from its narrowing influence. But as a miracle was deigned for the conversion of Paul, so a vision was accorded for the enlightenment of Peter. The mysterious linen sheet let down by the four corners from heaven, "wherein were all manner of four-footed beasts, and creeping things of the earth, and fowls of the air," caused a revolting sensation in the breast of the hungering apostle. And when a voice from heaven bade him "Arise, kill and eat," he tremblingly answered: "Far be it from me, for I never did eat anything that is common and unclean." "That which God has cleansed," said the voice, "do not thou call common." The vision was repeated three times, and Peter on the morrow, as a result of it, privately inaugurated the gentile movement by admitting Cornelius and his family into the Church. He had learned by this special revelation that not

[52] His martyrdom by stoning is ascribed by Josephus to the personal malice of Ananus, not to popular sentiment. As a consequence, Ananus was deposed from the high-priesthood at the demands of the more respected and influential citizens. Antiq., xx, ix, 1. Whiston's trans., pp. 598-599.

[53] Acts, xv, 13-29.

in Judea alone, "but in every nation, whoever feareth God and worketh justice is acceptable to God." [54]

Not all hearts were touched as was St. Peter's. The Jerusalem community, so edifying and ideal in its earlier days, was wroth. "Why didst thou go in to men uncircumcised?" they asked, and why "didst thou eat with them?" "The spirit said to me that I should go, nothing doubting," was the reply. Thereupon they "held their peace and glorified God." [55]

This charming little incident meant more for primitive Christianity than we can readily imagine. It converted Peter and through him the Jerusalem brethren including St. James; it prepared for the subsequent reception of St. Paul who would not presume to preach until his "gospel" was approved by the Jerusalem authorities: it made the enactments of the first council a possibility, and their enforcement and defence a legitimate reality in a very short time,—but it did not remove St. Peter's natural limitations.

He who through pusillanimity had thrice denied the Lord,—he who when wishing to do his best, had deserved to be called a satan (adversary) by the Master himself,—he who had laid himself open to public reprehension by mutilating with the sword at Gethsemane, though no other mode of defence seemed practicable,—such a one could hardly be expected to grasp the new situation in all its phases and act with the precision of a casuist in every new combination of circumstances.

On visiting Antioch after the liberal views of the council had been promulgated, St. Peter enjoyed perfect security in his daily associations with the gentiles. He availed himself of their privileges, lived with them, ate with them, became one of them, as he had hitherto done in the house of Cornelius, but suddenly affairs took an unexpected change. Certain ones "came *from James,*" Judaizers, quite naturally, who are described as being "of the circumcision"; and when they were come, Peter withdrew and separated himself from the gentiles, "*fearing*" the new arrivals. It was not the time for one in

[54] *Ibid.*, x, 10-35. [55] Acts, xi, 3-18.

authority to fear. Cephas, at least in St. Paul's estimation, should have conducted himself as freely, independently and vigorously on that occasion as he had previously in defending his course with the household of Cornelius. In the latter instance he had openly withstood the Jerusalem Jews after having been assailed by them, and he was honored for it; but now, before any recorded protest, he *"feared"* and acted otherwise. St. Paul styles his present policy one of "dissimulation." The immediate effect was deplorable. "The rest of the Jews consented" to him so that Barnabas too, the influential head of the community, was drawn on with them. The force of example was so embarrassing that the gentiles felt "compelled" by it. Otherwise, St. Paul's remonstrance is unintelligible.

"When I saw," he says, "that they walked not uprightly unto the truth of the gospel, I said to Cephas before them all: 'If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of the gentiles, and not as the Jews do, how dost thou (now) *compel* the gentiles to live as do the Jews?" [56]

The import of Peter's action was an unwitting admission of Judaizing supremacy and the virtual enslaving of pagan converts to Jewish prejudice. The work of enfranchisement so nobly begun at the council was, for the time being, compromised.

However, Cephas *did not teach* what he acted. He is not accused of false doctrine. He merely failed *"to walk"* according to the truth he professed. His error is called by the same name, ὑπόκρισις, as that of the scribes and Pharisees in Matt. XXIII, where there is question, not of teaching, but of definite modes of conduct that give the lie to approved teaching. Barnabas and the Antiochian Jews were spontaneously drawn, but were not obliged to imitate him, much less to hold up his example as imposing itself on others. And who knows if Peter were not also drawn to acquit himself thus by the respect he still cherished for James? The recollection of the remarkable ascetic, his austere demeanor and penitential life were yet fresh in his mind. The reverential awe in which St. James was held by the Jerusalem populace led St. Peter to almost envy

[56] Gal., II, 14.

him. Then too he had only recently left him, and would it not appear strange if those now come "*from James*" were so soon to return with reports of precocious laxity in the very Prince of the apostles? It is true that the enactments of the council had been formulated and ratified by Peter and James conjointly, but, as has been already observed, the new prescriptions were addressed to gentile converts and not to those "of the circumcision." Peter belonged to the latter class.

There is nothing unorthodox in the admission that St. Peter sinned, since St. Thomas held that opinion; yet the text hardly imposes the admission. In the statement, "verum est quod Petrus peccavit," St. Thomas is obviously following St. Augustine who bases his view on the Latin term "reprehensibilis," which perhaps ought more correctly to be rendered "reprehensus," as elsewhere observed.[57]

St. Peter's apparent "dissimulation" was intended *to edify* the visiting Jews, and might have had the merit of positive virtue because of its unquestionable albeit unenlightened sincerity. Hence with Peter Lombard we prefer to think that "nec Petrus peccavit, nec Paulus procaciter arguit" (Ref. 12). The "fear" actuating Cephas was, according to St. Thomas, a "timor caritatis, ne, scilicet scandalizarentur (Judaei), sicut dicitur in Glossa."[58] But on the other hand, "nimiam diligentiam adhibebat, ne scandalizaret Judaeos, ita quod ex hoc sequeretur gentilium scandalum."[59] This notwithstanding, St. Paul was void of sympathy for virtue of the sort under the circumstances. *He* had not yet fallen under the influence of James; he had not allowed his convictions to be subdued even by Barnabas: he had been born to lead and not to follow. His vocation was both personal and revealed, while subjection to Cephas had been imposed upon him only as a safeguard. Hence, if Paul was subordinate to Peter in this respect, Peter on his side had the obligations of a superior whose duty it was "to

[57] Summa, 1-2, CIII, iv, ad 2m.
[58] Expos. in Epis. ad Gal. Cap. II, lect. III.
[59] Summa, 1-2, CIII, iv, ad 2m.

walk uprightly *according to the truth of the gospel.*" It was because he failed in this that Paul, his subject, blamed him.

Among a series of beautiful articles relating to fraternal correction St. Thomas introduces one entitled "Utrum quis teneatur corrigere praelatum suum." Its import is in the affirmative, for fraternal correction, being an act of charity, should extend to all with whom we are united in the bonds of charity. Yet when the occasion arises, the prelate should be treated without petulance or harshness, and with mildness and reverence. A synthetic master-mind like St. Thomas's could not overlook a passage like ours in treating a subject of the kind. Confronted by it he adds to his main thesis the observation that *whenever the interests of the faith are endangered,* prelates should be reproved even *publicly* by their subordinates. In voicing this principle he appeals to the Glossa Augustini which says: "Peter himself set an example to those in authority, that should they perchance abandon the right path, they might not disdain to be corrected by their inferiors." [60]

St. Paul was beginning a career of polemics in action. Humanly speaking, he was of too strong a character, too independent and aggressive, to elicit for any great length of time warm personal sympathy or even notable encouragement from his early Christian friendships. His connections with Barnabas were soon disrupted by a dissension over the latter's attachment to John Mark, one whose companionship, although desirable from a material standpoint, would have had a dampening effect on the apostle's zeal. Indeed, the recollection of "the pillars" of the church was so be-dimmed in the mind of Paul, that he seems at an early period not to have preserved any sentiment of personal obligation towards them. "To me," he writes, "they that seemed to be something, (namely, Cephas, James and John) *added nothing.*" [61]

It was the defunct Mosaic Law with its iron grasp on the Jewish mind that was responsible for the current of ideas so detrimental to Church expansion. Hence, the doctrine devel-

[60] Summa, 2-2, XXXIII, iv, ad 2m.
[61] Gal. II, 6.

oped all through the epistle to the Galatians is to the effect that the Law was never more than "a pedagogue" leading to Christ "through faith," and that faith being come, "we are no longer under a pedagogue." [62] "In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision: but faith that worketh by charity." St. Paul was circumcised but unlike the Judaizing proselytizers, he would not glory on that account. He feared lest he should make void "the scandal of the cross," the only genuine "glory" he would recognize. On the contrary, he preached that "every man circumcising himself" after the abolition of the Law, would, if consistent, make himself "a debtor to do the whole Law," and would be "fallen from grace." [63]

At this point our study might be dismissed, were it not for a policy subsequently pursued by St. Paul at Jerusalem when he too fell under the influence of James. If St. Peter saw in Paul's epistles "certain things hard to be understood," [64] St. James was confronted by much of the same character in the reports afloat about him. When St. Paul's life was in jeopardy, the worthy bishop-saint was desirous to exculpate him by having him submit publicly in company with others and within the temple precincts to the performance of a Nazarite vow. He was to show thereby that "the things heard about him were *false,*" and that Paul walked in a manner worthy of the Jerusalemites,—"*keeping the Law!*" The motive assigned was the avoidance of scandal among the "many thousands" of Jews in the Holy City who believed and were all "*zealous for the Law.*" [65] A like motive had actuated Peter at Antioch, but St. Paul, who had magnanimously withstood Peter, was unable to cope with the authority of the sturdier patriarch James. He consented, and by so doing he furnishes us with one more reason for sympathizing with vacillating Cephas. Nay, humanly speaking, he almost plunges us into wonderment as to

[62] *Ibid.*, III, 24, 25.
[63] II Pet., III, 16.
[64] Gal., V, 2-6.
[65] Acts, XXI, 20-24.

whether primitive Christianity could have survived if Jerusalem and its temple had been spared, if the primacy had not been removed, or if the native Christian populace had not been providentially torn up by the roots, and mercifully transplanted to a foreign soil to die as martyrs—in exile.

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MITHRAISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

From the survey of Mithraism given in the last issue of the *Bulletin,* it is easy to see that in several respects this oriental cult fell far short of the Christian religion. Its chief object of worship was a mythical deity, identified with the sun; it encouraged propitiatory offerings to the spirit of evil; it violated the sense of religious propriety in its grotesque rites; it fostered the baneful superstitions of astrology; it did not scruple to ally itself closely with rival cults whose moral worth was not of a high grade.

And this brings us to the question of the value of Mithraism as a guide to monotheistic belief and practise. Many writers speak of it as if it were a monotheistic religion. But its monotheism, like that of Isis, like that of the Palmyrian sun-god set up with much pomp and splendor by Aurelian in 273 A. D., was little more than an empty name. Ancient Mazdaism was a very close approach to monotheism and united to a high ethical teaching an uncompromising loyalty to the supreme god, Ormazd. It formed no unholy alliances with foreign pagan cults. It was as stern towards false gods as Christianity itself. But the same cannot be said of Mithraism, which was penetrated through and through with the syncretism of the age. Mithra was no jealous god, demanding whole-hearted and exclusive service. To become a Mithraist one did not have to renounce the worship of other gods. One remained the polytheist he was before, with a new god and a new form of worship added to his list of religious diversions. The proofs of this are abundant. Commodus was initiated not only in the mysteries of Mithra but in the Eleusinian mysteries as well. He was also a worshipper of Isis, and did not disdain to carry the statue of Anubis in procession, clad in a white linen robe. A slave, Apronianus, restores a ruïned temple of Mithra and

also builds one to Isis.[1] Aurelius Decimus, governor of Numidia (283-284) dedicates an altar to Jove, Juno, Minerva, to the sun Mithra, and other deities.[2] In this slough of polytheism the very leaders of Mithraism are hopelessly mired. One inscription records the dedication of an altar to Cybele and Attis by Caelius Hilarianus, who is a priest, not only of Mithra, but also of the god Liber and of the goddess Hekate.[3] Another records the gift of an altar to Cybele and Attis by Ulpius Egnatius Faventinus, a Roman augur, at the same time priest of Mithra, archpriest of Liber, hierophant of Hekate, priest of Isis, and a recipient of the taurobolium.[4] Numerous other instances may be found in Cumont's rich collection of Mithraic inscriptions.[5] Between this so-called monotheism of Mithra-worship and that of the Christian religion there is a gulf as wide as that which separates earth from heaven. One is justified in asking whether after all a high place should be accorded to a religion that by intimate association with other pagan cults fostered and helped to perpetuate the grossest errors and the darkest superstitions. Cumont, in his *Mysteries of Mithra,* p. 198, recognizes this grave defect of Mithraism. He says:— "As the Church grew in power despite its persecutors, this policy of compromise first assured to Mithraism much tolerance, and afterward even the favor of the public authorities. But it also prevented it from freeing itself of the gross and ridiculous superstititions which complicated its ritual and its theology; it involved it, in spite of its austerity, in an equivocal alliance with the orgiastic cult of the beloved of Attis; and it compelled it to carry the entire weight of a chimerical and odious

[1] *Textes et Mon.*, II, p. 120, no. 152.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 168, no. 529.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 96, no. 19.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 96, no. 20.
[5] The worship of Jupiter Dolichenus, imported by soldiers from Commagene, was also closely associated with Mithraic worship. At Carnuntum, the temples of both gods stood side by side. At Hedderheim, Wiesbaden, and Grosskrotzenburg, altars and sculptured remains of Dolichene and of Mithraic worship were found mingled together. Cf. Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 11. In the Mithraic temples along the Rhine statues of local deities were given places of honor.

past. If Romanized Mazdaism had triumphed, it would not only have preserved from oblivion all the aberrations of pagan mysticism, but would also have perpetuated the erroneous doctrine of physics on which its dogmatism reposed. The Christian doctrine, which broke with the cults of nature, remained exempt from these impure associations, and its liberation from every compromising attachment assured it an immense superiority."

The practise of charity towards the needy and distressed has been from the very beginning a distinguishing mark of the Church of Christ. In this important feature of religious activity the Church was without a rival. Neither in Mithraism nor in any other of the oriental cults do we find an exception to the general pagan apathy towards suffering humanity. Such beneficence as it exercised seems to have been limited to its initiates, all of whom were, so to speak, paying members. The small community of secret worshippers grouped about each temple formed itself into a society or corporation recognized by law, with its legalized board of trustees elected by the members. A treasury was maintained by initiation fees, regular contributions from members and by extraordinary donations from wealthy patrons, some of whom were not initiates themselves. By this means each Mithraic community doubtless served as a mutual benefit society, giving aid to its members in distress, and providing at death for a proper funeral.[6] But there is no reason to think that it extended a helping hand to the needy outside the number of its initiates and thus outshone other pagan cults in relieving the distress that was so common on every side. How far below the Christian standard they all stood is revealed in the open letter (18) of St. Ambrose to the Emperor Valentinian in reply to the petition of Symmachus to have the statue of victory restored in the senate. "Why," writes the bishop, "did they not practise what we did if they allege our example? . . . The possessions of the Church are the maintenance of the poor. Let them count up how many

[6] The Mithraic temples of Grosskrotzenburg and of Saalburg had adjoining graveyards. Cf. Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

captives the temples have ransomed, what food they have contributed to the poor, to what exiles they have supplied the means of loving." [7] Mithraism at this very time had distinguished representatives in Rome, among others, the illustrious friend of Symmachus, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, who was not only a Mithraic high-priest, *pater patrum,* but also priest of Vesta, priest of the sun, augur, a curial of Hercules, consecrated to Liber and initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, neocorus and hierophant, and a recipient of the taurobolium.[8] Here, surely, was a man qualified to speak in behalf of Mithraism as well as of other forms of paganism. But there is no record that either he or any one else attempted to answer the challenge of St. Ambrose.

The resemblances between Mithraism and Christianity may be quickly summed up,—belief in the immortality of the soul, a future resurrection, judgment, heaven, and probably hell; a communion rite consisting in Mithraism of bread and water, to which Cumont would add wine; a purificatory rite of ablution in water, a feature common to practically all religions, having an outward resemblance to baptism. Other parallelisms are either too remote or too much exaggerated to deserve more than a passing notice. Such is the ceremony of branding the forehead of the Soldier initiate, so like the ceremony exacted of recruits in the Roman army before taking the *sacramentum,* or military oath, offering on the other hand but a remote resemblance to the Christian rite of confirmation, of which Tertullian thought it was a diabolic simulation.[9] Again, from Cumont's designation of the seven grades of the initiation as the seven sacraments,[10] the casual reader might be led to think that the seven sacraments of the Christian Church had their counterparts in Mithraism. It needs but a moment's reflection to recognize the vast difference between these initiation rites of

[7] *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,* 1896, x, p. 419.
[8] Cf. *Textes et Mon.,* II, p. 95.
[9] *On the Crown,* ch. 15.
[10] *Myst. of Mithra,* p. 157.

Mithraism and the sacramental rites of Christianity.[11] Another instance of remote resemblance is the alleged office of mediator attaching to Mithra as compared with the mediatorship of Christ. Mithra is not an incarnate deity atoning for the sins of the world. Nor does Mithra as a doleful god offer ground for comparison with the "Man of sorrows." Cumont thinks that the sculptured features of Mithra express, as a rule, pain and sorrow, in some instances approaching the type of the classic head known as the Dying Alexander, now in the Uffizi gallery, Florence. But on this point not a few observers would be prepared to disagree with him.[12]

To account for these resemblances between Mithraism and Christianity, the hypothesis of Mithraic influence is entirely superfluous and untenable. The more authoritative scholars of Mithraism are not disposed to adopt it.[13] It is only by ignoring the undeniable facts of history that a Mithraic origin could be ascribed to the Christian rites of baptism, Holy Eucharist, and confirmation, or to the Christian doctrines of the soul, resurrection, the future life, and the office of mediator assumed by Christ. Baptisms were used in the ancient religion of the Jews as well as in other religions of the Orient and of the Roman empire. It is an historical fact that Our Lord took this Jewish rite already existing and elevated it to the dignity of a sacrament. In like manner, bread and wine formed part

[11] If the Mithraists spoke of their seven grades as *sacraments*, a thing of which we have no proof, they used the word, not in the meaning of sacrament but, as Cumont has pointed out, in that of oath. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 156. It seems to be in this latter sense, too, that Tertullian uses the word *sacramentum* when he speaks of the Mithraic Soldier being put to the test of fidelity. Cf. *On the Crown*, ch. 15.

[12] It is to be regretted that on page 192 of the *Mysteries of Mithra*, where the cut of the so-called Dying Alexander is given, the translator has labeled it, "The Passion of the God," as if it were a representation of Mithra. Were it a figure of the light-god, the Phrygian cap would not be lacking.

[13] Cf. Cumont, *Myst. of Mithra*, pp. 194, 195; Gasquet, *op. cit.*, p. 122. Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, II, p. 227, thinks that if elements of Mithraic belief and practise had made their way into Christianity, Julian the Apostate would not have failed to point them out and thus make an argument against the religion he so cordially hated.

of the paschal sacrificial meal celebrated by the Jews from the time of their exodus from Egypt. These were the elements which Christ chose at the Last Supper to constitute the Eucharistic Sacrament of his Real Presence. This fact of history cannot be obscured. Nor can it be denied that the Christian teaching of the mediatorial and messianic office of Christ is an original feature, in harmony with prophetic utterances of the Old Testament. The doctrines of the immortality of the soul, of judgment, the resurrection, heaven and hell, of Satan and evil spirits, are but the Christianizing of beliefs traditional in the Jewish nation at the time of Christ. What Christianity drew from a Jewish origin, Mithraism derived in more or less distorted form from ancient Mazdaism. Whether there was any interchange of ideas between the ancient religions of the Jews and Persians is another question which cannot be entered into here. Suffice it to say that there is solid ground for denying an infiltration of Mazdean beliefs into ancient Judaism, to become later on elements of Christian faith.

But even if we had not an accurate and certain knowledge of the independent origin of the Christian sacraments and of Christian beliefs, there would be no warrant for deriving them from Mithraism. For the countries in which the Christian religion first took form and flourished,—Palestine, Greece and the coast regions of Asia Minor—are the very ones in which the cult of Mithra never took root. In Rome, as we have seen, Mithraism did not begin to attract attention till towards the close of the first century, and did not assume importance till the middle of the second. Hence it could not have come in contact with Christianity early enough to have exercised any marked influence on its chief rites or doctrines. Again one has never explained how the Christian religion could have borrowed from a cult like Mithraism, whose rites and teachings were guarded from public knowledge by a veil of secrecy as strict as that which hides the inner ceremonies of a lodge of freemasons. Only a few of the early apologists and Church fathers show any acquaintance with Mithraism, and such knowledge as they had, being based on hearsay, was quite superficial.

It would, of course, be going too far to assert that the development of the Church's liturgy in its minor details was wholly uninfluenced by the pagan religions of Rome. From the end of the first century, Greek and Roman gentiles formed the preponderating factor in the Church. Being converts and children of converts, they were familiar with the symbolism and ritual of the popular forms of pagan worship. In these religions were features that commended themselves as dignified and appropriate expressions of religious feeling. It was but natural that some of these worthy features should be adopted into the Christian ritual. Again, religious customs of a superstitious character that were too deeply rooted in the life of the people to be abolished, were wisely given a new turn and a new meaning so as to conform to Christian faith. Such, for example, was the substitution of the feast of Christmas for the popular festival of the birth of the Invincible Sun, *dies natalis solis invicti,* on the 25th of December, the time of the winter solstice, according to the Roman calendar. This pagan feast was associated with the cult of the sun, established by the emperor Aurelian in 273, a cult not to be confounded with that of Mithra. Though not a few authors speak of it as a Mithraic feast, it was not Mithraic at least in origin, for the great feast of the birth of the Sun Mithra fell on the 16th of the month Mihr, corresponding to the first day of October. Pope Liberius seems to have fixed the date of Christmas for the 25th of December. It gradually spread to the Orient.

Dill[14] and a few other writers have expressed the opinion that the early Church fathers saw in Mithraism a serious menace to the Christian faith. Toutain,[15] Harnack,[16] and others think otherwise, and this view seems to come nearer the truth. Mithraism was closed to the Greek world, and in the West, as Toutain has convincingly shown, it was never popular in the sense that it was adopted by the great middle class

[14] *Rom. Society from Nero to M. Aurelius,* p. 622. So Réville, *op. cit.,* p. 97.

[15] *Op. cit.,* II, p. 177.

[16] *Expansion of Christianity,* II, p. 450.

of citizens. Outside of Rome and the surrounding towns, where it obtained a fairly strong foothold, and of the Rhone valley, which was thickly settled with incomers from the Orient, it was not conspicuous except along the great northern frontier, where the military forts abounded. More than three fourths of the Mithraic inscriptions and monuments extant have come from these regions, regions where the towns were insignificant and where the Roman citizens were few in number. In the island of Britain, the only Mithraic inscriptions are those of soldiers. In the thickly populated countries of Spain, Africa, and of Gaul west of the Rhone valley, there are but a handful of scattered monuments of Mithraism, and even these owe their existence in most instances to the piety of military worshippers. The great middle class of townspeople in the provinces did not leave any records of devotion to Mithra. If from the names preserved in the Mithraic inscriptions we set aside those of the soldiers, slaves and freedmen,—men in large measure of foreign birth,—we find left but a very small number, and these are chiefly names of high born and wealthy citizens. In view of this Toutain says:—"The religion of Mithra was not popular in the towns nor in the country districts. In all the Latin provinces it kept its character of a foreign cult imported by soldiers, officials, slaves, and colonists, all of oriental origin. It did not strike deep root in the soil in which it had been transplanted.[17]

"Mithraism," says Harnack, "seldom managed to rise even in the West (so far as I know) to the higher levels of intellectual culture. The emperor and the army supported it, and thereby it acquired an importance for wider circles in the empire. But a religion whose influence, properly speaking, was confined to the capital and to the outer circumference of the empire—a circumference of which large sections soon lapsed definitely into barbarian hands—such a religion could not possibly win a decisive triumph over the world.[18]

[17] *Op. cit.*, II, p. 168.

[18] *Op. cit.*, II, p. 450. In view of this restricted influence of Mithraism, as well as of its readiness to ally itself with other forms of pagan worship,

In respect to wideness of diffusion, Christianity had a great advantage over Mithraism. In the Greek-speaking world, which was closed to the cult of Mithra, the Christian religion made rapid progress. By the latter half of the third century, it had won many adherents from all classes of society in both East and West. To quote Harnack:—"Christianity was a religion of towns and cities; the larger the town or city, the larger (even relatively, it is probable) was the number of Christians. This lent it an extraordinary advantage. But alongside of this, Christianity had already penetrated deep into the country districts, throughout a large number of the provinces, as we know definitely with regard to the majority of the provinces in Asia Minor, no less than as regards Armenia, Syria, Egypt, Palestine, and Northern Africa (with its country towns).[19]

There is good reason to think that in Italy, in the latter half of the third century, the Christians far outnumbered the worshippers of Mithra. Harnack estimates the number of Christians in Rome in 250 A. D. to have been not less than 30,000, and thinks that in the next fifty years the number increased at least twofold and possibly fourfold. He finds it significant that as early as 251 A. D., as many as sixty bishops could be gathered together in synod from out of the way places in Italy. So strong was Christianity at this time that the emperor Decius (249-251 A. D.) declared he would sooner have a rival emperor in Rome than a Christian bishop.[20]

Now the known number of Mithraic temples in Italy does not warrant the view that Mithra-worshippers were by any means so numerous. It would be a liberal estimate to allow

there is little truth in Renan's oft-quoted statement that "if Christianity had been checked in its growth by some deadly disease, the world would have become Mithraic." *Marc-Aurèle*, p. 579. In his recent work, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, p. 142, Cumont has a sentence somewhat of the same import. He says: "Never, not even during the Mohammedan invasions, had Europe a narrower escape from becoming Asiatic than when Diocletian officially recognized Mithra as the protector of the reconstructed empire." There is good reason to think that this danger has been exaggerated.

[19] *Op. cit.*, II, p. 456.

[20] *Op. cit.*, II, p. 467.

that there were as many as three hundred Mithraic temples in Italy at this period. Perhaps two hundred would be nearer the mark. Considering the small size of these temples, which would hold on an average not more than one hundred worshippers, the whole number of Mithraists need not have exceeded thirty thousand.[21]

In no city did Mithraism have so many temples as in Rome. Cumont enumerates the remains of thirty, eighteen of which were private chapels of diminutive size. But an incident related by St. Jerome seems to indicate that in his time the number of Mithra-worshippers in Rome was relatively insignificant. In his letter to Laeta (107), he calls to mind the zeal of her noble kinsman Gracchus, who while prefect of the city (378 A. D.), destroyed on the eve of his baptism a temple of Mithra together with the hideous images it contained. That this act of intemperate zeal did not cause a violent commotion, such as happened in Alexandria on a similar occasion, can hardly be explained except on the hypothesis that in Rome the worship of Mithra did not concern more than a very small number of citizens.

Mithraism was not, and could not be, a serious rival of the Christian religion. The map of diffusion of Mithraism, says Harnack, "points to the real reason why the cult of Mithra could not gain the day, and why its religion had to continue weak, despite the wide extension of its diffusion. For *the entire domain of Hellenism was closed to it,* and consequently Hellenism itself. Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, Bithynia, Asia, the central provinces of Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine and Egypt —none of these had any craving for the cult of Mithra. And these were the civilized countries *par excellence.* They were closed to Mithra and as he thus failed to get into touch at all

[21] Cumont, *Myst. of Mithra,* p. 170, says: "The size of the temples in which they worshipped is proof that the number of members was always very limited. Even supposing that Participants only were allowed to enter the subterranean crypt and that the initiates of inferior grade were admitted only to the vestibule, it is impossible that these societies should have counted more than one hundred members."

with Hellenism, his cult was condemned to the position of a barbarous sect."[22]

Mithraism was destined by its very nature to be, not a world-religion like Christianity, but the exclusive cult of a restricted number of worshippers. A religion that rigidly excluded all women from participation in its worship, that restricted the initiates to such men alone as had the courage and the power of physical endurance to undergo its severe tests, that celebrated its ritual in underground temples absolutely hidden from public gaze, such a religion was never meant, and was never fit, to become the religion of a nation.

The early apologists, when they spoke of Mithraism, treated it with the same bitterness and contempt that they showed towards other pagan religions. They declared that such of its rites as resembled those of Christianity were imitations suggested by the devil so as to ensnare and fetter souls. We can condone this harsh estimate of paganism in general and of Mithraism in particular, when we bear in mind the tremendous obstacles that paganism put in the way of Christian progress, especially the extreme cruelties and revolting outrages employed against Christians by their pagan persecutors. At the present day, a calmer judgment is possible. One may recognize that cults like that of Mithra, like those of Isis and of Cybele, despite their defects, were not inventions of the devil, but the earnest, though imperfect efforts of man to bring himself into communion with the divine. In those mysteries, notwithstanding their strong hostility to the Gospel of Christ, there were inflences that worked indirectly for the good of Christianity, and helped in some measure to smooth the way to faith in Christ. These oriental cults throve for a time in the West because they satisfied somewhat a deeply felt want. Roman worship was cold, stiff, formal, more like rendering a debt of justice to the gods. It laid chief stress on the securing of welfare on earth, though future peace of soul was not altogether neglected. On the other hand, the oriental cults gave a warmth and feeling to religious worship. In their chants, their processions, their rich and

[22] *Op. cit.*, II, p. 447-448.

imposing ceremonial, their very orgies, they aroused and gave expression to the religious emotions, often, it is true, to an extravagant degree. Their deities, especially Mithra and Isis, were brought near to the worshipper by ties of filial confidence and gratitude. Mithra was the benevolent protector, Isis the tender mother. Both these cults laid great stress on the future life, and held out the hope of a bodily resurrection and of eternal bliss in heaven. To this end a certain amount of abstinence and asceticism was inculcated, and the use of quasi-sacramental rites. Thus at a time when the Church scarcely dared to raise her head, the Roman world, through these oriental cults, was being made familiar with rites and doctrines that in their purity and integrity were in the possession of the Church of Christ. The way was thus prepared in some measure for conversion to Christianity, and when Constantine and his successors gave the Church the freedom to expand, it drew to its fold innumerable throngs of converts. It triumphed over the pagan cults because it satisfied better than they the religious cravings of the soul, because it held out a higher moral ideal, because it won the approval of reason by its unique monotheism, its wonderful practise of charity, and its freedom from debasing superstitions. In vain did Julian, during his short reign, try to infuse new life in dying paganism by encouraging religious devotion to the Invincible Sun. The very countries where the mysteries of Mithra, of Isis, and of Cybele first rose and flourished,—Armenia, Pontus, Phrygia, Egypt,—soon became overwhelmingly Christian. As the Church of Christ increased at leaps and bounds, these oriental cults diminished. After the fifth century, Mithra and Isis and Cybele were but empty shadows of once mighty names.

Charles F. Aiken.

THE INFLUENCE OF SPAIN ON ENGLISH LITERATURE.[1]

Before an audience of Spanish Americans, and on St. Patrick's Day, it will perhaps be pardonable if I, an Irishman, begin this discourse by quoting the following lines:—

They came from a land beyond the sea,
And now o'er the western main
Set sail, in their good ships, gallantly,
From the sunny land of Spain.
"Oh, where's the Isle we've seen in dreams,
Our destin'd home or grave?"
Thus sang they as, by the morning's beams,
They swept the Atlantic wave.

And, lo where afar o'er ocean shines
A sparkle of radiant green,
As though in that deep lay emerald mines,
Whose light through the wave was seen.
"'Tis Innisfail—'tis Innisfail!"
Rings o'er the echoing sea;
While, bending to heav'n, the warriors hail
That home of the brave and free.

Then turn'd they unto the Eastern wave,
Where now their Day-God's eye
A look of such sunny omen gave
As lighted up sea and sky.
Nor frown was seen through sky or sea,
Nor tear o'er leaf or sod,
When first on their Isle of Destiny
Our great forefathers trod.

With the event thus commemorated by Thomas Moore, I

[1] This article is, in substance, a lecture delivered to The Spanish American Atheneum in the Auditorium of the National Museum, Washington, D. C., on March 17, 1913.

begin the story of the influence of Spain on English literature. This coming of the Milesians to Ireland from Spain, where they had been long settled, was, when viewed in the light of its after results, one of the most important historical happenings on record. It occurred 1300 years before the birth of Christ, and the kingly race that then conquered Ireland held sway there for over 2,400 years, until the Norman invader usurped their authority in 1169 A. D. Their descendants are not only numerous in Ireland to-day, but also, with the tide of Irish emigration, they are scattered in many lands. They went to Russia, to Austria, to France, to Australia, to Latin-America; some found their way back to Spain and reached high honours there; and in no country of the world are they more numerous than in these United States.

The Milesians were an intelligent and a warlike race, and they had the faculty of increasing and multiplying. In pagan times they sallied forth from their island home, and, carrying conquest everywhere, they carved out with their good swords kingdoms for themselves in Scotland, and made incursions into England and Gaul and Switzerland and right up to the confines of Italy. Soon after Christianity came to them with St. Patrick in 432 A. D., Ireland became the centre of civilisation and education for Europe. From all lands eager students flocked to her shores to drink of the fountains of knowledge, which for centuries flowed there in a lavish stream. But while the foreigner was coming to Ireland during this her golden age in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, she was herself busy in sending out fervent missionaries and educators, anxious to spread the gospel truth in pagan lands. To the Frank and the Burgundian, to the dwellers along the Rhine and the Danube, to Switzerland, to Italy, to Norway, to Iceland, she sent her bearers of the good tidings; and she sent them also nearer home, to her own kinsmen in Scotland, and to northern England. An Irish prince, St. Columbkille, evangelised Scotland from the little island of Iona, and St. Aidan and others of Columbkille's successors extended their ministrations to the northern kingdoms of the so-called Saxon Heptarchy in England.

Now, the first English poet whose name we know was Caed-

mon. He flourished about the year 670. Every one is familiar with his history, as told by the Venerable Bede. Caedmon was attached to the monastery which King Oswy of Northumbria had established in 658 on the wind-swept promontory of Whitby. Caedmon's very name seems to imply that he was of Celtic descent; some scholars even think that he was of the Milesian stock. At all events, the section of country where he dwelt and the monastery to which he belonged owed their Christianity to Irish monks; and it was Irish or Irish-trained clerics who read to him those portions of the Bible which he versified. Here surely we have a connection—remote, I admit, but still a connection—between the Milesians who came from Spain and the very beginnings of native English literature.

Again, after the Bible, no single book has contributed so much material to English poetry and romance as Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*. Geoffrey was a Welshman and therefore a Celt, and he had all the imagination for which the Celtic race is noted. His romantic history contained for the first time the nucleus and many of the details of the Arthurian legends, which have formed the blood and bone and sinew of so much English literature, from Layamon's *Brut* in the thirteenth century down to Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* in the nineteenth. In course of time there were grafted on to the strictly Arthurian legends others which came from different countries. The most famous perhaps of all these is the story of Tristram and Iseult, which is among the oldest, as it is one of the most poetical, of the tales thus introduced. It is difficult to say to what country it originally belonged: it has been assigned to Cornwall, Wales, Brittany, and Ireland. Irish writers have always claimed it as their own, and the original Iseult, the heroine of the story, was undoubtedly a daughter of Ireland. Chapelizod, one of the most ancient suburbs of Dublin, is called after her to this day. *Tristram and Iseult* is one of the great love-tales of the world. When we remember such works as Malory's *Morte D'Arthur* or Swinburne's *Tristram of Lyonesse*—to name no others—we see what a source of inspiration it was to English writers.

Therefore, through Caedmon in the seventh century, and the

legends of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, I think that an influence of Spain on English literature, exercised indirectly through her bold Milesian invaders of Ireland, may fairly be claimed.

From the period we have now reached the points of contact both friendly and hostile between England and Spain, in the Old World and in the New, have been many and various. If we look to the highest places, we find that in the twelfth century Richard Coeur de Lion married at Cyprus on May 12, 1190, a Spanish princess in the person of Berengaria, daughter of Sancho, king of Navarre; and how much English literature is indebted to that alliance no one who has read Sir Walter Scott's novel of the third crusade, *The Talisman,* will need to be reminded.

In the thirteenth century Edward I., surnamed Longshanks, espoused in 1254, when he was in his sixteenth year, Eleanor, daughter of Ferdinand III., king of Castile. If tradition is to be believed, Eleanor covered herself with glory and earned immortality by sucking the poison from a wound in her husband's arm when he was set upon in Palestine, during the ninth and last crusade, by a would-be assassin, who used a poisoned weapon in his endeavour to dispatch the valorous young prince. Be that as it may, it is on all hands agreed that she was one of the best, most charitable, and most estimable women that ever occupied the English throne; but that did not save her in a later age from baseless slanders and from having her character outrageously and cruelly distorted by George Peele in his play of *Edward I.,* written at a time (1593) when everyone and everything Spanish was loathed, hated, and feared in England.

One result of the armed intervention in 1367 of the Black Prince, son of Edward III., on behalf of that Pedro, king of Castile, who is known in Spanish history by the contradictory titles of "Il Cruel" and "Il Justiciero," was that his brother, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, married (1370) as his second wife Constance, the elder of the two daughters and heiresses of Pedro. In right of her John of Gaunt took the

title of King of Castile, and in 1386-1388 was actually absent from England for three years in an attempt to make good his claim. In this he failed, for John I., son of Henry of Trastamara, was too securely seated on the throne to be dislodged; but the English prince made a treaty with John, by virtue of which his daughter, Catherine, became queen of Castile some years later. This Catherine married Prince Henry, afterwards Henry III. of Castile, and by him became the mother of John II. of Castile, who was the father of Isabella the Catholic, queen of Castile. Isabella married Ferdinand of Aragon, and their descendants were kings of Spain till the coming in of the Bourbon dynasty in 1700. Ferdinand and Isabella were the parents of Catherine of Aragon, wife, successively, of the two sons of Henry VII. of England, namely, Prince Arthur and King Henry VIII. For what a world of literature the train of events I have just sketched, and in particular that union of the Spanish princess with two English princes, and her divorce from the second, was directly and indirectly responsible, it would take volumes to recount. Suffice it here to say that, from Spenser's *Faerie Queene,* in 1590, to Shakespeare and Fletcher's *Henry VIII.,* in 1613, the crop of literature it produced was prodigious in quantity and sometimes excellent in quality. Nor was its force soon spent. Its echoes reverberate adown the ages. In the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries the marriage and divorce of Henry VIII. and Catherine of Aragon, and the consequences thereby entailed, were the direct and indirect cause of multitudinous English works both in verse and prose.

Nor must we forget, in our rapid review of historical happenings in high places in relation to English literature, that John of Gaunt's son, King Henry IV., married, as his second wife, Joan, daughter of a king of Navarre; that a king of Spain, Philip II., reigned in England as husband of an English queen (Mary, daughter of Catherine of Aragon) from July, 1554, to November 17, 1558, and on the death of Mary was a candidate for the hand of her successor and half-sister Elizabeth; that prince Charles, afterwards Charles I., was the suitor of an infanta of Spain; nor, finally, that an English

princess, Princess Ena of Battenberg, now occupies with her husband the throne of Spain as Queen Victoria.

If we turn from the contemplation of the affairs of dynasties to the contemplation of political events, what a number of connections between England and Spain meets our view! From the year 1349, in the reign of Edward III., down to comparatively modern times, we find a continued succession of wars, in which England and Spain were sometimes allies, fighting together against a common foe; but sometimes, and much more frequently, were themselves enemies, and were contending for supremacy and for the possession of territory in Europe and America and in western and southern seas.

It is not my province to go into the detailed history of those wars, battles, negotiations, and treaties. The principal events, such as the battle of St. Quentin in 1557, in which the Spaniards aided by the English defeated the French; the projected invasion of England by the Invincible Armada in 1588; the battle of the Dunes in 1658, in which the French and English defeated the Spaniards; the War of the Spanish Succession from 1702 to 1713; the capture of Porto Bello in the isthmus of Darien in 1739 by Admiral Vernon; the seizing of Havana and Manila in 1762 and their restoration to Spain by the Treaty of Paris in 1763; the battle of Trafalgar in 1805; and the Peninsular War from 1808 to 1814, are in any case too well known to need recapitulation. The point I wish to make is that the various political events and the relations between the English and Spanish courts had their effect on English literature and on English writers.

Thus, William Tyndale, the translator of the bible and author of various controversial pamphlets, had an end put to his literary productivity when he was carried beyond the walls of the free city of Antwerp to Vilvorde, where the emperor-king of Spain held sway, and was there strangled and burned as a heretic (1536).

Some fifty years later, Thomas Lodge joined in an expedition to the Canaries against the Spaniards in 1588, and on the way wrote his romance *Rosalynde: Euphues Golden Legacie,* which, important in itself, derives a greatly enhanced interest from the

fact that it supplied Shakespeare with the characters and incidents of *As You Like It.*

From the second expedition fitted out by Sir Walter Raleigh for North America under the command of his cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, there resulted, in 1591, Raleigh's celebrated pamphlet on the *Fight about the Isles of the Azores,* which in turn was the inspiration of Gervase Markham's poem (1595) in 174 eight-line stanzas on that subject, and of what is in some respects the greatest war lyric of modern times, namely, Tennyson's *The Revenge: A Ballad of the Fleet.* Again, Raleigh's own first voyage to Guiana in 1595—on which occasion he took formal possession of that country in the queen's name—was the occasion of the production in 1596 of his *Discovery of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana.* This was sneered at at the time of course, and later was held up to obloquy by the possessor of a great name as being "full of the grossest and most palpable lies that were ever attempted to be imposed on the credulity of mankind"; but subsequent explorers of Venezuela, part of Raleigh's "Guiana," have shown that in the main his statements were accurate. It was during his second expedition to Guiana, in 1617, that Raleigh gave such offence to the king of Spain that James I., who was at that time particularly anxious to stand well with the Spanish court, had him executed on October 29, 1618. He was thus prevented from completing his gigantic *History of the World,* on which he had been engaged during his twelve and a half years' imprisonment in the Tower of London from 1604 to 1616.

Another gifted English writer, who did great things, and, if he had lived longer, would have done greater, had his career cut short in its prime owing to a war between England and Spain. When Sir Philip Sidney fell at Zutphen in 1586, in his thirty-second year, there probably perished one of the greatest "inheritors of unfulfilled renown" that England or the world has ever seen.

The invasion of the Armada was fruitful in literature. I need do no more than mention Thomas Dekker's *The Whore of Babylon* (1607), Alexander Hume's *The Triumph of the*

Lord, Kingsley's *Westward Ho!,* or Macaulay's spirited but unfinished ballad of *The Armada,* with its stately beginning:

> Attend, all ye who list to hear our noble England's praise,
> I tell of the thrice famous deeds she wrought in ancient days,
> When that great fleet invincible against her bore in vain
> The richest spoils of Mexico, the stoutest hearts of Spain.

Raleigh paid the penalty of his life for undue interference with the property of Spaniards in Guiana. That, however, did not prevent anti-Spanish feeling from making itself manifest a few years later towards the close of the reign of James the First. It took a very concrete form in Thomas Middleton's play, *The Game at Chess* (1624). This play set all London agog, but gave great offence at court. It brought on the stage the king of Spain and his ambassador, Gondomar, as well as King James I. himself and sundry English politicians. It certainly pushed daring to the limit. The Induction was delivered by Loyola and his close friend Error. James was the White King, Philip IV. the Black King, Gondomar the Black Knight, and the Church of England was the White Queen's Pawn. The Black Knight is free in his speech, and pretty plainly indicates that to compass his own ends he has cajoled, deceived, and duped the White King. All this was so outrageously opposed to the requirements of diplomacy that Gondomar's successor made a strong complaint to the British sovereign. Middleton at first made himself scarce, but ultimately he and the players were taken before the Privy Council, and severely reprimanded for their audacity in "bringing modern Christian kings upon the stage." This inhibition against showing living or recently deceased potentates in an acted play has remained an unwritten law of the English dramatic censor ever since. We had a startling reminder of it only a few years ago in the outcry against Hall Caine's *Eternal City,* in which a Pope figures, and still more recently in the withdrawal of Gilbert and Sullivan's comic opera, *The Mikado,* from representation, in response to a "request" from the highest quarter.

The War of the Spanish Succession was specially fertile

in the production of English literature. It gave us *The Campaign* (1704), that poem made to order which was the first stepping stone to Addison's political greatness; it gave us numerous other pieces about Marlborough's exploits; it gave us the masterly journalism of *The Examiner* and *The Old Whig;* it was the immediate cause of Swift's great pamphlets on *The Conduct of the Allies, The Barrier Treaty,* and *The Public Spirit of the Whigs;* and it inspired Arbuthnot's delightful travesty, *The History of John Bull.* Above all, we must remember that it was this war that produced Addison's first contribution to the *Tatler,* and thereby paved the way for those delightful essays in the *Tatler,* the *Spectator,* the *Guardian,* and the *Freeholder,* which are among the great ornaments of English literature, and on account of which the fame of Addison can never die.

But for the Peninsular War we should not have had some of Wordsworth's fine sonnets in his "Independence and Liberty" series, nor his flaming pamphlet on *The Convention of Cintra;* nor yet some of the descriptive and reflective stanzas in the first canto of Byron's *Childe Harold.*

Nor is the tale yet all told. Shelley's magnificent *Ode to Liberty* (1820) was occasioned by the successful rising of the Spanish nation against its king. Tennyson as a young man went to Spain with his friend Hallam, apparently with warlike intentions; but while nothing of a military nature came of the expedition, from a literary point of view the experience was valuable, for the abiding impression left by the wild scenery of the Pyrenees is shown clearly in *Oenone.* George Eliot's *Spanish Gypsy* (1868) was the result of the author's desire to write a dramatic poem to enforce the lesson of her historic novel *Romola;* and, as she intended to place the action in Spain, she made a stay of some duration in that country in order to get the necessary "local colour." To Borrow's residence in Spain as a colporteur for the British and Foreign Bible Society we owe not only his *Zincali, or Gypsies of Spain* (1841), but also the work which first made him famous, namely, *The Bible in Spain* (1843), as well as *Lavengro* (1851) and *The Romany Rye* (1857).

Finally, to conclude this line of thought, we must take into account the magnificent historical literature in the English language of which Spain and its dependencies have been the immediate cause. If, in this connection, I suggest the great names of Robertson, Washington Irving, Prescott, and Napier, it will be enough to indicate my meaning.

Leaving the historical and geographical or, as I may term it, the external influence—which I have touched only in barest outline—I turn now to the internal or literary influence proper.

Let me first direct attention to Guevara. Antonio de Guevara, a Franciscan monk who became Bishop of Mondoñedo (d. 1545), was the official chronicler of Charles V. For the emperor's edification Guevara composed *El Reloj de Principes,* or "Dial of Princes," which was turned into English by John Bourchier Lord Berners (1467-1533) from a French translation. This is the same Lord Berners who is so celebrated as the translator of the *Chronicles of Froissart.* His version of the Spanish work, which was finished only a week before his death, had the high-sounding title of *The Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius, Emperour and Eloquent Oratour.* It was first published in 1539, and between that date and 1586 went through at least seven editions. It was also translated into English by Sir Thomas North, under the title of *The Diall of Princes,* in 1568. The original Spanish work was written in a highly rhetorical style, and the vogue it obtained in England through its two translations is held to have fostered and developed the growth of that artificial style of writing known as Euphuism, from John Lyly's *Euphues* (1579-1580), the most celebrated book of that class. *Euphues* in turn influenced Greene, Lodge, Rich, and other Elizabethan writers. We also find its influence at a later period in what Johnson called the metaphysical school of poets. It naturally attracted the attention of Shakespeare, who caricatured the style in *Love's Labour's Lost;* but he is himself more affected by Euphuism than is generally known.

Early influences of Spanish literature upon English literature are to be found in the domain of the prose romance, of

the pastoral, and of the picaresque novel. Springing up originally in Portugal there grew into being through various accretions taken on from time to time the celebrated romance *Amadis de Gaula,* as we have it preserved in a Spanish prose work, which was put together by Ordoñez de Montalvo towards the end of the fifteenth century. This book, which is a compound of medievalism and comparative modernity, became the norm for the romances of chivalry. Its influence is easily perceptible, for example, in such a work as Barnabe Rich's *The Straunge and Wonderful Adventures of Don Simonides, a Gentilman Spaniard,* which has some claims to rank as the earliest of modern romances. *Amadis* was translated into English by Anthony Munday, whose version was published in complete form in 1620.

The reaction against romance first appears in the pastoral. Knights of impossible prowess and ladies of supereminent beauty and grace become shepherds and shepherdesses. For court and camp and tilting ground are substituted gently purling streams and umbrageous sycamores. Amadis no longer traverses Europe in search of adventure to let Oriana see his worth. Instead, he sits down and composes madrigals to voice his lament over unrequited love. With Jacopo Sannazaro, an Italian, this sort of composition may be said to have had its beginning in modern times. His *Arcadia* belongs to 1504. But the pastoral writer who most influenced England was the Portuguese Jorges de Montemayor (d. 1561), who became a Spaniard by adoption, and in good Castilian composed his *Diana* in 1558. Much more than Sannazaro, Montemayor was the inspirer of Sidney's *Arcadia* (written 1578-1580, first published 1590). We can find traces of the influence of this work of Sidney's in several of Shakespeare's plays as, for example, in *Love's Labour's Lost, A Midsummer Night's Dream, The Tempest,* and *King Lear.* To Sidney's pastoral romance Spenser and Crowne were also somewhat indebted. Numerous plays had their origin in its episodes. Through Sidney, therefore, Montemayor exercised a far-reaching influence. Montemayor, as well as Lyly, can also be traced in Greene's *Menaphon,*

and several works of that school. The *Diana* was translated into English by Bartholomew Young in 1598, and in this form had a great vogue.

The prose picaresque novel, or rogue story, was started in Spain with *Lazarillo de Tormes* in 1554. This work was translated into English by David Rowland in 1576. It was imitated by Thomas Nash in *The Unfortunate Traveller, or the Life of Jack Wilton* (1594), which is by some regarded as having introduced the novel into England. It is at all events a striking departure in realistic fiction from the romances and pastorals previously in vogue. It was followed in the next year (1594) by Henry Chettle's picaresque novel, *Pierce Plainn's Seven Years Prentiship;* and the influence of *Lazarillo* is traceable through a number of imitations down to Defoe and beyond him to Fielding and Smollett.

Students of religious poetry, of mystical poetry and prose, and of devotional works in general cannot afford to leave out of account the impression made upon England, as well as upon the rest of Europe, by the writings of Saint Teresa (1515-1582), Luis Ponce de Leon (1527-1591), and San Juan de la Cruz (1542-1591). For example, it is of the first importance for any one who would properly appreciate Richard Crashaw, most mystical of English poets, to understand thoroughly his indebtedness to the ecstatic writings of Saint Teresa. Another chain of influence is established here, for we have it on Coleridge's own authority that Crashaw's hymns probably suggested the first thought of the whole poem of *Christabel,* and were certainly ever present to his mind while he was composing the second part; and there is no blinking the fact that Shelley, Francis Thompson, and many another nineteenth century English poet came under the fascination of Crashaw.

When we come to the stage, we find a great amount of Spanish influence. Some of the Elizabethan dramas, such as Thomas Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (1592), George Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar* (1594), and Robert Greene's *Alphonsus, King of Arragon,* have their scene laid in Spain, and profess to follow Spanish legend or history. *Calisto and Melebea,* an interlude

in rime royal, published by John Rastell about 1530, is thought to be the first English play that can be traced to a Spanish source. It is founded on the first four acts or parts of the dramatic novel *Celestina* (*c.* 1499), written principally, if not entirely, by Fernando de Rojas. Even Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great* (1587) is partly founded on Pedro Mexia's *Silva de varia lección,* which was accessible in Italian, French, and English translations. Montemayor, whom we have already seen influencing Sidney, Greene, and others, had told in his *Diana* the story of Felix and Felismena, which probably gave Shakespeare the idea for his Julia and Proteus in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona.*

It is perhaps pushing slight correspondences too far to say that *Twelfth Night* is indebted to Lope de Rueda's *Comedia de los Engaños; The Taming of the Shrew* to *Conde Lucanor;* or *The Tempest* to Antonio de Eslava's *Noches de Invierno.* But of the fifty-two plays attributed to Beaumont and Fletcher, seventeen have been traced in greater or less degree to Spanish sources. It can scarcely be doubted that Fletcher derived the plots for *The Chances, The Queene of Corinth, The Faire Maide of the Inne,* and *Love's Pilgrimage,* and the under-plot of *Rule a Wife and have a Wife,* from a translation of Cervantes' *Novelas Exemplares,* or his *Custome of the Country* from a translation of the *Persiles y Sigismunda* of the same author. Other Spanish writers whom Fletcher utilised, probably in French or English translations, were Lope de Vega for *The Pilgrim,* Juan de Flores for *Woman pleas'd,* and Gonzalo de Cespedes for the *Spanish Curate* and for the comedy which he wrote in collaboration with Rowley, known as *The Maid in the Mill.* Middleton and Rowley combined two stories of Cervantes, *Le Fuerza de la Sangre* and *La Gitanilla,* in the tragi-comedy of *The Spanish Gipsie.* Massinger's *A Very Woman* is also based on Cervantes' *Novelas Exemplares.* Shirley is supposed to have borrowed from Spanish plays—from Tirso de Molina's *El Castigio del Penséque* for *The Opportunitie,* and from Lope de Vega's *Don Lope de Cadona* for *The Young Admirall.* Killigrew took *The Parson's Wedding* from Calde-

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ron's *Dama Duende,* but did not find its almost unparalleled coarseness in the original. Sir Richard Fanshawe (1608-1666), who was ambassador to the courts of Portugal and Spain and died suddenly at Madrid in 1666, translated Hurtado de Mendoza's *Fiestas de Aranjuez* and *Querer por solo querer* ("To Love for Love's Sake"). Sir Samuel Tuke's *Adventures of Five Hours* (1662) is taken from *Los Empeños de Seis Horas* by Antonio Coello, and George Digby, Earl of Bristol's *Elvira, or the Worst not always True* (1667) is a free translation of Calderon's *No Siempre lo Peor es Cierto.* Finally, Dryden shows in some of his plays fairly distinct symptoms of Spanish influence.

In Samuel Butler's great satirical burlesque *Hudibras,* published in three parts in 1663, 1664, and 1678, respectively, we find plain traces of Cervantes. The setting of the poem and its leading idea of Sir Hudibras going out "a-colonelling" with his squire Ralph, as well as many of the incidents, are obviously based on *Don Quixote;* but the imitation is a reversal of the original. In *Don Quixote* our sympathy is always with the chivalric madman, whereas Butler's intention is to show everything connected with his hero in the vilest aspect. *Hudibras* is not entirely indebted to Cervantes: the influence of the Frenchmen, Rabelais and Scarron, and of the Englishman, Skelton, is also felt. While due allowance is made for all the borrowing, Butler remains unsurpassably original. Yet, had there been no *Don Quixote,* there would have been no *Hudibras,* at least in the form in which we now have it.

When Pope and Arbuthnot composed the satirical *Memoirs of the Extraordinary Life, Works, and Discoveries of Martinus Scriblerus* (published in Pope's works, 1741), they adopted Cervantes as their model, and successfully copied at least his grave irony. Their Cornelius Scriblerus probably suggested to Sterne the idea of his Walter Shandy. Apart from this, the influence of the humour of Cervantes on some of the great eighteenth century and nineteenth century English novelists was marked. We can easily find it, not only in Sterne, but also in Fielding, Goldsmith, and Thackeray, and, less perceptibly

perhaps but still surely, in Smollett, Scott, Dickens, and Bulwer. In fact, the original title of Fielding's first novel—by which he introduced into England the comic Epic-Poem in Prose—was *The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews and his Friend Mr. Abraham Adams: written in Imitation of the Manner of Cervantes.* Even as a student at Leyden, Fielding had sketched a play called *Don Quixote in England,* and a bias towards Cervantes was his life-long characteristic.

Enough has been said to prove the influence of Spain on English literature. The way of the student of that literature is sometimes hard, but it is much more commonly extremely pleasant. Not the least delightful of the byways in which he will have occasionally to wander are those paths which lead him, in a straight line or by tortuous windings, to the sunny land of Spain. And if, in opposition to all the modern rules, I point the moral of this discourse, I think it plainly is that he who would thoroughly master English literature must add to his studies of other lands a loving study of the history, the language, and the literature of Spain.

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GEORGE GISSING: A GRUB-STREET ARTIST.

Among the season's novels "The Private Life of Henry Maitland" has had a *succès de scandale.* It is a sordid revelation of the career of a noted man of letters, whom certain moral and social offences placed during his life outside the pale of society. These lose nothing of their crudity when presented under the guise of fiction which seeks dramatic relief by darkening the moral perversity on the shining background of the man's genius. Such a method permits of no mitigation, no reserve which would defeat the end of melodrama.

The title of the novel is evidently intended to suggest "The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft," a veiled autobiography, one of the last books of the late George Gissing. Gissing was known to the public as a man who, after a liberal education in the Classics, for which he had a special genius, drifted through misadventure into journalism and novel-writing, by which he tried to eke out an existence. He wrote many novels of the drab-colored life and shabby-genteel existence of the lower-middle classes in the tenements or suburban life of London. They are sombre studies in the manner of Dickens, charactered by the ineffectual pathos and meager compensations of existence under such conditions. All of them ring the changes on the common theme of the crime of poverty and the beauty of culture, which was the gospel of the author. He was not a success in this craft of fiction, which did not make a popular appeal because of its hopeless realism, and his novels hardly supported him. In the intervals of respite afforded by the returns of these pot-boilers, Gissing devoted himself to his real interests, and was wont to satisfy his scholar's hunger by sundry readings of Apuleius and Lucian, Diogenes Laertius, Petronius and the Greek Anthology in the British Museum Library. In later life came a chance bequest from some friend, permitting him to pursue his tastes unreservedly. Besides his novels he wrote three books which are a truer expression of himself and

a solace to lovers of literature—a study of Charles Dickens which ranks only with Chesterton's; a book of travel, "By the Ionian Sea"; and a *journal intime,* "The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft."

The last is a book of self-portraiture after the manner of Alexander Smith's "Dreamthorp." It purports to be a journal kept in later years of ease and affluence by Henry Ryecroft, a man of letters, who had unexpectedly inherited a competence after a lifelong struggle in Grub Street. There is, however, no hint of the disclosures made in the sensational novel referred to above. The quiet distinction of the writing, a style faultless in phrase and cadence, an elevation of thought, a sensitive feeling for Nature, and a pervading mood of mellow retrospect reflect the personality of a writer keenly sensible of the beautiful in art and letters. However fouled and grimed such a life might have become, the mind which penned this record seems to have remained singularly unsmirched to the end. At the time of writing, Gissing was living retired in a home he had purchased in Devon. There the book was written in the quiet of the study which is made familiar to us by many a reference to its cozy domesticity—its windows opening on a pleasant prospect of the valley of the Exe, the writing-table, shaded lamp, cases of books with gilt-titles gleaming at moments in the firelight, and studies cheered by the "bland inspiration" of tea and tobacco. Thus he pictures for us the utter restfulness of his retirement after his grim struggle in London, and savours all the comforts of the home and leisure so long denied him. Here, freed from the grind of task-work, he could quietly mature his views on life and letters. He has no philosophy of life to offer, however, and we look in vain for that ripe wisdom garnered from experience, for Gissing was always inept and impractical, and on the side of religion, if we except a vague *pietas,* he was singularly insensible. His book is interesting only from the point of view of art, as an expression of life viewed through a temperament.

His temperament is Saxon in its demesticity—its pleasure in home-life and in the creature comforts of home, as well as in its self-sufficiency and superior scorning of the herd. English,

too, is that sense of intimacy in his relations with Nature, the special feeling of her consonance with his moods. His diary is divided according to the Seasons, and he muses lovingly on them as they circle through the year. He is quick to note the signs which mark their passing changes—when on the borders of winter "Spring's foot half-falters" and he greets the first celandine, or when the awakening primrose or violet in the brakes gives promise of coming summer, or the last tintings of autumn glory fade in elm or beech or horse-chestnut:

"I recall my moments of delight, the recognition of each flower then unfolded, the surprise of budding branches clothed in a night with green. The first snowy gleam upon the blackthorn did not escape me. By its familiar bank, I watched for the earliest primrose, and in its copse I found the anemone. Meadows shining with buttercups, hollows sunned with the marsh marigold, held me long at gaze. These common things touch me with more of admiration and of wonder each time I behold them."

To him, so long pent in a great city, their return was a miracle ever-renewed. Many word-pictures of wold and downs, lake and mountain, land- and sea- scape strew the pages. Sometimes an impressionistic effect of Nature is vividly rendered; for instance, the weirdness of winter landscape: "Snow is still falling. I see its ghostly glimmer against the vanishing sky."

His life in his Devon retreat is utterly uneventful, given to golden hours of reverie and idleness, during which he can take deep breaths of the quiet and the silence, and enjoy to the full the amenities of his solitude: "the far, soft murmur of a train from the other side of Exe . . . . the rustle of branches in the morning breeze, the music of a sunny shower against the window, the matin of birds." The only event to break the routine is the arrival at intervals of a parcel of books over which he lingers with delight. The fervor of a book-lover breathes in his reference to them, and the names of his favourites, Homer and Shakespeare, Gibbon and Sam Johnson, Cicero, Virgil and Tibullus recur constantly. He has the joy of Charles Lamb in the old authors whom he prizes with the appreciation of a scholar; for promiscuous buyers "the glib many, the perky mis-

pronouncers of titles and of authors' names" he has nothing but impatience. And rarely is a volume noticed but receives illumination in the mention. With what subtle psychology of association, for instance, is the atmosphere of a book suggested in the following incident:

"Yesterday I was walking at dusk. I came to an old farm-house; at the garden gate a vehicle stood waiting, and I saw it was our doctor's gig. Having passed I turned to look back. There was a faint afterglow in the sky beyond the chimneys; a light twinkled at one of the upper windows. I said to myself "Tristram Shandy," and hurried home to plunge into a book which I have not opened for I daresay twenty years."

The reading of his books at times stirs memories of the sacrifices by which some coveted volume was bought during his pinched life in London. There is a compelling pathos in the pitiful economies which made such purchases possible. Too often the hunger of the body was denied to satisfy that of the mind, and the coffee-house and tempting pastry-shop were resisted for the lure of some musty book-stall with its loved old quartos. And always London "multitudinous and lamp-lit" is the background of these reminiscences. The attic or garret in which his favorite books, Homer and Shakspeare, were read; the squalid boarding-houses of innumerable Mrs. Todgers; the inviting cook-shop windows with pies steaming, hot and savory, over a guttering gas-jet; the all-enveloping rain and fog and task-work pursued by lamp-light in the day-time—all these features of London familiar to the destitute literary hack are faithfully reproduced. These poignant experiences are recalled, with detachment, in a mood tempered by his present sense of material well-being. Moods of bitterness, indeed, still remain—moods of moroseness, self-absorption, dislike of society, a sense of the frustration of human life—to show how warped the man had become in the process. Not all his experiences are harrowing, however, and, at worst, were redeemed by physical health and the natural buoyancy of youth. Brighter memories, too, there are of his school-days, of occasional holidays when he followed the far-off call of sea waves, and, above all, of travel in the classic lands he loved so well and managed once to visit.

The latter remain with him an abiding delight, a gracious possession forever:

"I remember day-break on the Mediterranean; the shapes of islands growing in hue after hue of tenderest light, until they floated amid a sea of glory. And among the mountains—the crowning height, one moment a cold pallor, the next soft-glowing under the touch of the rosy-fingered goddess. These are the things I shall never see again; things indeed so perfect in memory that I should dread to blur them by a newer experience."

This is a classic vignette sketched with all the grace and restraint of classic art. Storied scenes revive and yield their proper atmosphere to his inspiration. Glamour is seldom absent from his pen when it touches the things of antiquity, or strays amid paths of old association. Here, for instance, is an evocation of the very spirit of Roman landscape:

"How many such moments come back to me as my thoughts wander. Dim little *trattorie* in city byways, inns smelling of the sun in forgotten valleys, on the mountain side, or by the tideless shore, where the grape has given me of its blood, and made life a rapture. No draught of wine amid the old tombs under the violet sky but made me for the time a better man, larger of brain, more courageous, more gentle. 'Twas a revelry whereon came no repentance. Could I live forever in thoughts and feelings such as those born to me in the shadows of the Italian vine.' There I listened to the sacred poets; there I walked amid the wise of old; there did the gods reveal to me the secret of their eternal calm. I hear the red rillet as it flows into the rustic glass; I see the purple light upon the hills. Fill to me again, thou of the Roman visage and all but Roman speech. Is not yonder the long gleaming of the Appian way? Chant in the old measure, the song imperishable

"dum Capitolium
Scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex . . . ."

aye, and for how many an age when Pontiff and vestal sleep in the eternal silence."

"By the Ionian Sea" is a wholly beautiful record of wanderings in Southern Italy and Sicily, in quest, no doubt, of materials for his historic novel "Veranilda." As in the perfection of such writing the casual incidents of the way are invested with historic interest, the chance happenings are made expressive of the genius of the people among whom he travelled, and old sites and scenes are charged with their wealth of association. He touches with charm the chequered fortunes of once famous *loci classici,* now pausing with an antiquarian's zeal to re-establish some old landmark—Alaric's grave, mayhap, or the course of the "dulce Galaesi flumen," to sketch the personality of the annalist Cassiodorus, or to relume some fading classic epithet in the light of present actuality. He is keenly alive, too, to the shifting beauty of sky and land and sea, and has an eye for the motley civilization of the native people around him whose splendor and squalor, gainful instincts, bright-colored costumes and grandiloquent manners call in turn for illustration. Every line of the book is instinct with the passion for that antique world which was the true fatherland of his soul. One feels how wholly true for him was the sentiment expressed in moralizing amid the broken columns of its immemorial temples:

"The stillness of a dead world lay its spell on all that lived. Today seemed an unreality, an idle impertinence; the real was that long-buried past which gave its meaning to all about me, touching the night with infinite pathos."

There lay all his heart-interests, condemned though he was to drudge hopelessly in the inconsequential present of modernity. Fittingly does he close his record with the words "As I looked my last toward the Ionian Sea, I wished it were mine to wander endlessly amid the silence of the ancient world, today and all its sounds forgotten."

FLORENCE MOYNIHAN.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The Philosophy of Music, by Halbert Hains Britan, Ph. D., New York, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1911. Pp. xiv + 252.

About the middle of the last century, Joseph L. d'Ortigue wrote a short essay on the subject "Philosophie de la Musique": it was a part of his "Introduction à l'Etude Comparée des Tonalités," and was reprinted in his "Dictionnaire de Plain-Chant et de Musique d'Eglise," one of the three hundred volumes of the Collection Migne. This essay was a fine attempt for that time, but perhaps too special, and intended to pave the way for deductions concerning archæological and liturgical, rather than modern and secular music.

Mr. Britan, on the contrary, envisages the music of our day just as it figures in modern society, applies to it the science of general and supreme principles, and boldly works out the solution of many problems raised by his new way of viewing old questions. The sincerity, loftiness, and clearness of his analysis make the work both instructive and enjoyable reading.

The first part of the book, *Introduction,* "states the problem," and then gives a fine sketch on Musical Form. The second part, *Psychological Analysis of the Elements of Music,* projects a new light on Rhythm, Melody, Harmony, and Musical Expression. The third part, properly the *Philosophy of Music,* deals with the Universality, Versatility, and Power of Music, the Content of Music, Musical Criticism, and Educational Value of Music. To go beyond mentioning the headings, or to point out some chapter as more attractive, would be aimless: scientific books of this kind, logically built up like mathematical treatises, have to be read *in extenso,* otherwise their full line of harmony cannot be duly appreciated.

Nevertheless, it will perhaps be opportune to mark two special points which may invite further inquiry and development: the first one, about rhythm; and the other one, about tonality, or rather modality.

I. According to Mr. Britan's conclusions, "the natural, instinctive effect of rhythm is emotional." This, of course, is said

of rhythm as it works in modern figured music, the music of the period duly called metric by some of our theorists: a rhythm "that must conform to the strictest requirements of mathematical relations"; a rhythm with isochronous pulsations and divisional symmetry. But this is not the only kind of rhythm recognized and logically practised. For, without taking into account the musical recitative, the "tempo rubato," the "a piacere," or even the very common tendency of many soloists to mitigate the rigid exactness of musical beats, we really have a world-wide system of essentially free rhythm, adopted more or less generally in all liturgies of all denominations. The most conspicuous exemplification of this free rhythm is the liturgical repertory of the Roman Catholic Church, called the Gregorian repertory. Even now, as much as ever, its use is in full vigor, and notable parts of it certainly were originated in the first centuries of Christianity, and its rhythmical spirit very likely was rooted in song worship of far distant times previous to the Christian era. Truly, it would be worth while, for a man fond of philosophic investigations, to acquire a thorough and genuine knowledge of the Gregorian rhythm, and then to try its psychological analysis.

II. Mr. Britan admits the difficulty of explaining the differential psychological effect of the major and minor modes. However, reasons of some kind had to be found for the character of *sadness* or *yearning* inherent in the minor triad. So, with Helmholtz, he suspects a kind of dissonance introduced by the fact of changing E into E flat in the triad C-E-G. Then, leaving Helmholtz, he joins Gurney, bringing to trial the minor scale itself, and finally supposes this scale to be more or less unnatural, whereas the major scale is taken as our normal musical standard. But neither argument seems to be conclusive.

In fact, 1° a minor triad is just as consonant as a major one. For, in relation to the normal starting-point, the rates of tone vibrations in the chord C-E-G are respectively 4, 5, 6, and the rates of the length of tubes or strings yielding such tones are respectively 1/4, 1/5, 1/6; and, in relation to *another normal starting-point,* the rates of tone vibrations in the chord C-E flat-G, or A-C-E, are respectively 1/4, 1/5, 1/6, and the rates of the length of tubes or strings are respectively 4, 5, 6. In both cases, nature herself secures material harmony based upon mathematical relations of tones. But, there is an inversion of elements, owing to

the inversion of the normal starting-point, as we shall see presently.

2°. Is the minor scale unnatural, or less natural than the major scale? *Our* minor scale, yes; the *real* and *normal* minor scale, no. Only we ought to know that the real minor scale is a mere major scale *upside-down;* and the same may be said of the harmonies congenial to both modes respectively.

The fact of our major scale being melodically and harmonically connected with, if not originated from, a phenomenon of resonance in ascending progression, which yields the elements of our major triad, is well known. But, how was the minor scale, with its usual harmony, originated? From a conventional imitation of the processes devised for the major scale, at least in so far as it was possible: accordingly, the minor triad, an element of rest as its symmetrical relative (or its *alter ego*) the major triad, was taken as a basis; from its root the minor scale started in an ascending direction, as in the major mode; in the same manner, the dominant was put by force on the fifth step, and, as the fifth and seventh above the said step were unable to play the same active and motive role as in major, owing to its dull minor third, this third was made constitutionally major by an alteration, which caused the scale to become undiatonic and unpopular; the remarkable harmonies of the fourth step, which gave birth to the noble plagal cadence, were overlooked, and the step itself became subservient to the fifth one; the third step lost its sonorous perfect triad; and so on. In truth, the whole minor system became a hybrid compound, an unnatural creation, on the pattern of which, however, numberless masterpieces have been written for centuries, thanks to the wonderful power of human genius.

Now, let us try the logical way. The ascending resonance, or system of overtones, moving on by successive multiplications of the number of vibrations and divisions of the length of sonorous strings or tubes, and taking C as the starting-point, will yield this series of tones: C, c, g, c′, e′, g′, etc. Symmetrically, the descending resonance, or system of undertones, moving on by multiplications of lengths and divisions of vibrations, and taking e″ as the starting-point, will yield this other series: e″, e′, a, e, c, A, etc. This new series gives us the elements of the minor triad in the same logical and mathematical way as the other one gives the elements of the major triad. Moreover, the inferior resonance delineates, always downwards, the normal minor scale, which is:

E-D-C-B = A-F-G-E, with its two descending tetrachords made out of tone + tone + semitone, symmetrical with those found in the major ascending direction. Furthermore, always in the descending direction, the first fifth of the minor scale gives the tonic triad A-C-E; and the second fifth gives the true dominant triad D-F-A, with addition, if desired, of a lower third B, symmetrical with the upper third F above the triad of G in C major. Whence we may infer incidentally that the true dominant of our usual minor scale ought to be the fourth step, instead of the fifth.

There are scores of symmetrical concordances between the major mode, as we have it, and the minor mode, as we should have it according to the present numerical statements. Countless books could be written on such matters. Composers should dream of them, and try to renovate our minor scale: there is a world of artistic "trouvailles" in that direction.

One of them might be a psychological analysis of the genuine modern harmonic modality. Let us hope Mr. Britan will write it some day.

ABEL L. GABERT.

Les Origines du Servage en France. Par Paul Allard. Paris, Victor Lecoffre. 1913. 12mo. Pp. 332.

This work may be regarded as supplementary to the same author's "Les Esclaves chrètiens depuis les premiers temps de l'Église jusqu'à la fin de la domination romaine en Occident." It is a study of the intermediate condition between slavery properly so called and liberty. The period dealt with runs from the middle of the fourth century to the end of the ninth. With great discrimination the author follows succinctly the various social, political and religious forces which operated during this period to bring about the change from personal to territorial restrictions on human liberty. A masterly analysis of the forces dominant in the social structure of the Roman Empire at the period of its decadence shows how the causes leading to the establishment of serfdom in Europe had placed limitations on the activities of all classes in society. The guarantees established by Roman legislators failed to have any efficacy in the time denominated by the author as the "Period of the Invasions," except in the estates of the churches

and the monasteries. In the second, or "Carolingian Period," these same guarantees are established universally, and the personal quality which made ancient slavery so obnoxious and repellant, entirely disappeared. The Capitularies of Charlemagne and the Records of the monasteries show how wide this divergence of social condition had become. An interesting chapter, with which the work concludes, is devoted to a discussion of the views prevailing in the ninth century regarding slavery. The work is a record of a profound social change, in which if progress was slow it was real and prepared the way for the subsequent period of universal emancipation.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Le Nouveau Psaultier du Bréviaire Romain. Texte et Traduction avec notes succinctes. Par L. Cl. Fillion, Prêtre de Saint-Sulpice. Consulteur de la Commission Biblique. Paris, Victor Lecoffre. 1913. 12mo. Pp. viii + 531.

This work may be designated as a short commentary on the psalms arranged according to their liturgical order. Its practical purpose is that it brings out the logic in the new arrangement of the Psalterium and makes it possible for devout priests to enter more profoundly into the spirit of the daily office. There is a short introduction dealing with the Beauty and Importance of the Psalms, their Authorship, etc., and containing a list of the more difficult and obscure terms with their meanings. The Latin text and French translation (emended for the present edition) are placed in parallel columns, while copious notes and a short exposition accompany the text on each page.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Commodien: Recherches sur la Doctrine, la Langue, et le vocabulaire du Poète.

Les Instructions de Commodien: Traduction et Commentaire. Par Joachim Durel, Professeur au Lycée de Tunis. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1912. Pp. 320 and 210.

With commendable zeal M. Durel in these two painstaking and detailed studies aims at rescuing a little known Christian poet

from the uncertainty and obscurity with which history has surrounded him. It has been a truism among writers on the subject of early Christian literature that all the information we possess about Commodian is what his own works reveal.

Hitherto it was generally assumed, that, because he referred to himself as *Gazaeus,* he was a native of Gaza in Palestine. Durel leans to the other supposition and asserts with apparently good reasons that this epithet referred to his office (treasurer) rather than to his birth-place. The question of his nationality, his station and his family are, in the mind of the present author, matters beyond the ken of the historian. No such uncertainty, however, attaches to the date and place in which Commodian wrote. An analysis of the traditions of the North African church and the literary relationships and sources of Commodian is taken as convincing proof that the works of Commodian were written in Africa, by a disciple of St. Cyprian and that they date from the period between the persecution of Decius and the Edict of the Emperor Valerian (250 and 257). The greater part of the first volume is devoted to a minute examination of the linguistic characteristics of Commodian. Style, vocabulary, etc., leads the author to the general conclusion that the Latin of North Africa had distinctive characteristics, the most notable being its decidedly Hellenistic character, due to the predominant influence of Greek culture especially in the sea-coast towns. In bringing out the peculiarly African imprint in all the writings of Commodian, Forel has shown how close and unbroken was the tradition of the African Church through such writers as Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius and Lactantius. No attempt is made to exaggerate or overestimate the literary qualities or poetic merits of this rude African singer. He is presented as a devout and earnest disciple of Cyprian, aiming at giving expression in the unclassical language of his time to the profound truths and mysteries which had taken such deep root in his soul.

The second work is something more than a mere translation of the Instructions. It is an attempt to penetrate the meaning of the spirit which found in acrostics a suitable medium not only for apology but for propaganda and preaching. The obscurity of the language and the allusions which have repelled many readers, M. Durel seeks to clear up in his notes and commentaries. It would, perhaps, be too much to say that a definite and final

solution has been offered to the many questions which the name of Commodian suggests, but a new line of investigation has been opened up from which fruitful results may be expected.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Margaret's Travels: Letters from Margaret Lee, of New York, to Florence Jackson, of Chicago. By Anthony Yorke. P. J. Kennedy and Sons, New York, 1912. Pp. 254.

This book, dedicated to the National Order of the Daughters of Isabella, consists of forty-eight letters, in which one girl is supposed to give to another an account of a two months' European tour. Margaret, who wants to gain some flesh, and her sister Alice, who has fallen into a state of nervous prostration because her father will not allow her to become a nun, are suddenly sent off to see what will be the effect of a visit to foreign countries. Margaret seems to have been a rather naive traveller, for at the outset she tells us that, in addition to a letter of credit, she took with her some American gold, "which," she confidingly adds, "circulates everywhere." She does not appear to have had occasion to use the gold on this journey, and it is a pity, for it would be interesting to know how she fared with it. The only gold coin that I know which is accepted nearly everywhere in Europe is the English sovereign; and even that has its limitations. On the whole, I think that the next time Margaret undertakes a tour, she had better buy travellers' cheques and leave out, if not the letter of credit, at least the gold.

The *Cedric* deposited the sisters and some fellow passengers on the tender at Queenstown, and anyone who has had a similar experience will have a fellow-feeling for them in the discomforts to which they were subjected by that operation and its *sequelae*. After some time agreeably spent in Cork and Blarney, Glengariff and Killarney, we are taken on to Dublin, which is sympathetically and pleasantly described. Margaret, however, is somewhat rocky in her history and decidedly mixed as to her facts. For instance, she tells us that Trinity College, Dublin, was originally founded by the Catholic Church! and that Christ Church Cathedral contains the tombs of Swift and Stella!! Such an unauthorised transference of his remains from the great Cathedral of St. Patrick, of

which he was an ornament for thirty-two years, is enough to make the Dean's body turn in his grave and to excite his spirit to that *saeva indignatio* which was its distinguishing characteristic in life. To make amends for her distortion of history, Margaret pays a deserved compliment to the accent of the Dublin people.

In speaking of a visit to Powerscourt waterfall, she makes the extraordinary statement that a fox-hunt was going on in the vicinity at the time. A fox-hunt in Ireland in midsummer! Why, the very thought is a desecration. Some county Wicklow joker must have been fooling Margaret.

Full justice is done to Glendalough and St. Kevin's Bed, but the Vale of Avoca and the Meeting of the Waters prove disappointing to our tourists, as they have done to so many others.

On their way to the north of Ireland Margaret's party, now increased by Mr. Jack Lawlor, of San Francisco, and his mother, lose their trunks, and they are stranded in Cavan until the missing baggage eventually turns up. Belfast is found to be up to expectations. The staircase of its City Hall is lauded as the fairest they ever saw with the exception of the one in the Library of Congress at Washington. There is naturally a good deal said about the Giant's Causeway and Finn Mac Cumhail, or, as Margaret phonetically spells it, Fin McCool.

In London, Margaret is fairly bewildered. She regrets in particular that she had not previously learned enough of architecture to know the difference between Corinthian, Doric, and Ionic columns, to discriminate between the Renaissance, Byzantine, and Gothic styles, or to be able to assign to Sir Christopher Wren, Inigo Jones, or Pugin his proper place. But she likes "this old town," as she calls the world's metropolis, and she admits that the Strand is "a busy street," while patriotically quarrelling with Johnson's dictum that "the full tide of human existence is at Charing Cross." She naturally gives the preference for the location of that interesting spot to the corner of Broadway and Forty-Second Street. Trafalgar Square, Whitehall, Old Scotland Yard, the Horse Guards, Downing Street, the Houses of Parliament, Westminster Abbey, the Tower, the British Museum, Hyde Park, the National Gallery, Westminster Catholic Cathedral, Brompton Oratory, Buckingham Palace, and Hampton Court are all breezily passed in review. It is a pleasure to note the impressions each of those well-known landmarks produced on one who is supposed

to be seeing them for the first time, and the art of the writer is here conspicuously displayed. A very delightful chapter headed "Literary Shrines," is chiefly concerned with Shakespeare, Spenser, Beaumont, Fletcher, Ben Jonson, Milton, Herrick, Crashaw, Lovelace, Steele, Addison, Samuel Johnson, Boswell, Goldsmith, Fielding, Lamb, Keats, Thackeray, Dickens, and Praed, and many bits of out of the way literary gossip are cleverly worked in.

The scene is next transferred to Paris, where the usual show-sights are run over rapidly and interestingly. Then, after a day spent at Fontainebleau, we are whisked to Lucerne, Como, Milan, Venice, Florence, and Rome. At Rome a long stay is made, and vivid and appealing descriptions of some of its more noted glories are given. Next in order are visited Naples, Pisa, Genoa, Nice, Monte Carlo, Marseilles, Paris again, and Versailles. Then cherbourg, where the travellers embark for New Lork.

Of course, Jack Lawlor and Margaret fall in love with each other, and become engaged; and, also of course, Alice's father withdraws his objections to his daughter's becoming a nun. So, everything ends happily for everyone concerned.

Margaret's Travels, despite a few trivial slips such as I have pointed out, is a very entertaining book, and will well repay perusal. That part of it which deals with Rome is particularly pleasing and at the same time instructive. The character of the narrator is well sustained throughout, and the style of the letters is quite natural and just what might be expected in one girl's correspondence with another.

The book is splendidly printed, bound, and turned out by P. J. Kennedy and Sons, and contains many handsome photographic illustrations.

P. J. Lennox.

Kurzgefasste Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch mit Berücksichtigung der Ergebnisse der vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft und der Koine-Forschung. Von A. T. Robertson. Deutsche Ausgabe von Hermann Stocks. Leipzig, Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1911. 5 marks.

Nowadays there is no question that linguistic studies are of the highest importance for a thorough understanding of Holy Writ.

If this is true generally speaking, it is especially true in regard to the New Testament Greek. The knowledge of Classical Greek is not at all sufficient, what has to be added, necessarily added, is the exact study of the so-called Hellenistic Greek as it was used by popular writers and scribes outside of Greece. The last century yielded an enormous mass of such new material. Papyri, Inscriptions and Ostraca, containing in the daily life language notices on daily life subjects as contracts, letters, bills, short notices, etc. All this, studied and sifted, will be of the greatest profit for the right understanding of the Sacred Writers.

Mr. A. T. Robinson, Professor of New Testament Exegesis at the Baptist Seminary in Louisville, Ky., has made very successful use of all this raw material in his study of the Greek language of the New Testament. His study, of which a third edition has appeared, has been translated into German, enlarged and in some points corrected by Mr. Hermann Stocks. It gives in its first part a sufficient statement of the general questions regarding the New Testament Greek (pp. 1.14). The second part contains the special study of the same: spelling, pronunciation, declensions and conjugations (pp. 14-98. The third part is without doubt the most useful and important. Extending over almost 200 pages (pp. 98-269) it covers the whole syntax in its different parts, the syntax of the nouns and pronouns, the prepositions, the verb, its moods, genders and tenses, the syntax of the different kinds of phrases and the particles. The first appendix gives a very good indication of the rich literature on the Greek related to the New Testament: sources, grammars and dictionaries, the literature of the Koine and the New Testament; the second appendix contains a collection of passages of the whole Bible spoken of in some way or another in the book.

Robertson's study on New Testament Greek has been highly praised by the critics and, let us add, fully deserves it. Language and method are clear, its research is solid, its contents sufficiently complete. Of course a book of 312 pages can not possibly exhaust the enormous amount of material to be treated of or the great number of questions to be answered; there will always be found some *lacunae,* for as the translator says in his preface, " a grammar will never be finished "; nevertheless nobody who uses this book for condensed information, will put it aside without real profit and satisfaction.

FRANZ J. COELN.

Das Buch Kohelet. Von Vinzenz Zapletal. Zweite verbesserte Auflage. Fleiburg i. B., Herder, 1911. 4.80 Marks.

Rev. F. Zapletal's Kohelet consists of two main parts, the Introduction p. 3-91 and the Commentary p. 91-236. The Introduction offers a very good survey of the different ideas which have been maintained on the Kohelet, especially in the last century. In reviewing them the author goes into every difficulty with earnestness. That his attempts are not always as successful as might be desired, is not his fault, but is due to the highly enigmatic character of this strange book. His conclusions seem nevertheless to be solid and mature, though of course not decisive. He proves that the author can not possibly have been Solomon, because the author has at least some indirect knowledge of later Greek philosophy. For this reason on one hand, and on the other hand on account of his being earlier than the writers of the book of the Proverbs and the Ecclesiasticus, the date of the Kohelet is given as the third century B. C. F. Zapletal's statements concerning Kohelet's belief regarding the immortality of the soul seem to be well founded, though it can not be said that every difficulty or uncertainty is quite removed. The exegesis of the Hebrew text is simple, but sufficient, and excells in references to Greek and Latin writers. His conjectures on text emendations, however, are not always beyond doubt as their foundation, the supposed metrical system, is not recognized as safe. The diction is good. Striking, however, is the frequent use of the personal pronoun *ich* and *wir*, since the German scientific language prefers to make exclusive use of its many possibilities of impersonal expression.

FRANZ J. COELN.

Les Actes Apocryphes de l'Apotre André; les Actes d'André et de Mathias, de Pierre et d'André et les textes apparentés. Par J. Flamion. Louvain, Beuraux du Recueil, Namur 40, 1911.

In the literature of early Christianity, quite naturally a great deal of pious fiction arose, dealing with religious persons, doctrines and facts which were of the highest interest to all Christians. Thus find very many apocryphal writings which, though originating

centuries after the death of the Apostles, have been attributed to or connected with them and therefore gained high authority among the faithful. Suffice it to recall only the several redactions of the Canones Apostolorum, the letter of St. Peter to Clemens, the Didascaleia and others which even now are regarded in the oriental churches as genuine and became therefore the basis of later and even modern ecclesiastical legislation in the Orient. The awakening of the critical spirit through the works of Lipsius, Hennecke Schmidt, Delahaye and others helped to attribute to this old novelistic literature its right place as a literature not to be trusted, but nevertheless helpful for research in the study of early Christianity.

Rev. F. Flamion studies in his book, the apocryphal Acts of the Apostle Andrew, one of the most interesting of these early works of fiction. In the first part of his work he groups and reviews the different texts: texts from the Orient, such as the *Martyrium Andreae Alterum,* the *Martyrium Andreae Prius,* the so-called *Narratio* and the Byzantine remains of the *Gesta Andreae,* and texts from the Occident, such as the letter of the Priests and Deacons of Achaja, the Latin *Passio Sti Andreae* and Gregory of Tours' book of the Miracles of the Apostle Andrew. In the second part he carries on exact research work on the primitive texts of St. Andrew according to the texts *Passio, Gesta,* Gregory's legendary report. He makes it at least very plausible that the primitive Acts of St. Andrew originated in Achaja at the time of the Neo-Platonists, more exactly the second half of the third century. The third part treates of the Acts of St. Andrew and related writings which are independent of the primitive Acts spoken of in the second part. Valuable additions to the book are the geographical and historical Indices.

The book deserves a warm recommendation. Every page in it offers clear proofs that the learned author has mastered the vast literature of his branch not only in French, but also in other languages, English, German, Italian and Latin. His statements are clear, his deductions safe, his diction interesting. In all, his work will do honor to his scholarship and form a creditable part of the *Recueil de Traveaux* of the University of Louvain.

FRANZ J. COELN.

Die Allegorie des Hohen Liedes. Von Romuald Munz. Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1912.

The title of the book "allegorie" is significant. The author holds to the traditional concept of the Song of Songs and rejects therefore the modern explanation according to which the Song of Songs is nothing else than a collection of profane songs (either of single wedding songs or a wedding drama). He likewise disapproves the idea of some exegetes who concede the allegorical meaning and aim of the song, but suppose a certain profane fact or so as basis for the Song and its allegorisation; he insists that the Song of Songs is only and exclusively an allegory, using the highest natural love to show the character and destinies of the supernatural love.

According to him the Song of Songs is to be divided into two parts: the first part of which (Chapt. 1, 1-5, 1) pictures the wooing of the Bridegroom (God) for the Bride (mankind). In this part (ch. 1, 2-2, 7) shows how the Bride begins to love and how God as Bridegroom promises to retake Mankind as Bride to his love and to confer on them the divine Filiation. Ch. 2, 8-3, 5 contain the foundation and history of the old Testament in which God is dealing with mankind through the elected people, and ch. 3, 6-5, 1 the first spiritual espousals of God with mankind through His Incarnation. The second part (ch. 5, 2-6, 10) treats of the life of mankind in the New Testament Church. Ch. 5, 2-6, 10 contain the sufferings of the Bride (Church), ch. 6, 11-8, 4, her rejoicings and ch. 8, 5-14, the second and final espousals of God with the Elects in Heaven, the bringing home of the Bride and eternal union in the heavenly kingdom.

In the commentary the author gives first the Hebrew text with a German translation, then a short grammatical and critical explanation and finally the allegorical commentary. He deserves credit that he does not base his critical explanation on the supposition of a more or less probable (or improbable) Hebrew *metrum* and *rhythmus*. The allegorical explanation is and must naturally be extremely subjective and thus not suiting everybody's taste. It has, however, to be conceded that the outhor devoted as much care and love as possible to this part. The language of the Rev. author is beautiful and refined and his thoughts are full

of *esprit* and noble wit. It is therefore only natural that his book should find many readers and devout friends.

FRANZ J. COELN.

Novi Testamenti Lexicon Graecum, Auctore Francisco Zorell. Cursus Scripturae Sacrae, auctoribus Cornely, Knabenbauer, de Hummelauer aliisque Soc. Jesu presbyteris. Paris, Lethielleux, 1911-1912.

This Lexicon consists of four fascicules, three of which were available for review. Everyone knows that a dictionary of the New Testament is a work not only of great importance, but of considerable difficulty as well. Hence the Rev. F. Zorell deserves the thanks of Scripture students for his lexicon, which, judging from the three fascicules, will prove very helpful for exegetical purposes. It is clear and reliable and, notwithstanding its conciseness, remarkably rich and complete. Of course, there remain some points and details that might be changed in a subsequent edition. For instance, the appearance and usefulness of the book would be improved by the use of types of different sizes; a larger type for the main body and a smaller one for the philological, literary and historical notes, which should be more extensive; for the richer they are the greater the benefit which the reader will derive. Again it would be most useful and interesting, not to say necessary, to give under each principal word its synonyms and antonyms with a brief comparison of their meanings and uses and to indicate as far as possible the Hebrew and Aramaic equivalents corresponding in the Septuagint and the other Greek versions. We confess that it is no easy task to keep to a middle course in these additional matters, but we think that fuller completeness in the direction we have pointed out would be appreciated by those students who, after their elementary biblical course, go on to deeper philological and critical studies in Holy Writ. But even now F. Zorell's Lexicon will be to them of the greatest service, as well as any other similar dictionary and in some points even more.

FRANZ J. COELN.

MISCELLANEOUS.

National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception.

The Catholic women of the United States are taking a very lively interest in the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception that it is proposed to build on the grounds of the Catholic University. Large associations have been already formed at Washington, New York and Baltimore under the name of the National Organization of Catholic Women, for the purpose of building to the honor of Mary Immaculate a most beautiful shrine at the National Capital. Already ten thousand dollars have been contributed, mostly in small sums, from ten cents to a dollar, and it seems certain that by a nation-wide participation the holy enterprise will be successful. From one lady, who desires to remain anonymous, was received a contribution of five hundred dollars. Many of the letters concerning the Shrine betray great joy that a public monument of this nature should be built at Washington in honor of the Immaculate Conception, to which not only the University but the whole Catholic people are solemnly consecrated. Many bishops and priests have signified their cordial approval, and from some parishes have already been sent in modest contributions, the voluntary offering of priest and people.

The great Shrines of Our Lady in Europe, described by Canon Northcote in his "Celebrated Sanctuaries of the Madonna" were due to popular enthusiasm for the Mother of Jesus Christ, and in their construction brought out a multitude of virtues, while they fed habitually the faith and hope of entire nations. Whoever has seen the touching scenes in the wonderful Shrine of Lourdes or in that of Fourvieres at Lyons easily forecasts the influence for good that a lovely Shrine of Our Beloved Mother at Washington would exercise.

From the Atlantic to the Pacific the name of Mary is pronounced in humble and loving veneration, and for over four centuries has been the comfort and consolation of countless millions in the New World. Every State and town, every diocese and parish, is in many ways her debtor. The whole American land, mountain and

valley, river and lake, rejoices in some form of her name, and there seems, therefore, a peculiar fitness in the creation of one beautiful Church that will forever stand as the expression of Catholic American gratitude, and also entirely the tribute of all the arts through eminent exponents of their charm and force.

The churches of Catholicism, scattered the world over, are so many havens of spiritual rest, incomparable schools of the highest religious thought, and sources of the purest Christian life. In these churches Mary has usually her own altar, her own devotions, and exercises her own peculiar ministry of comfort and counsel, her own sweet office of refuge of sinners, health of the sick and comforter of the afflicted.

In her own great and beautiful shrine we may hope to experience a very special out-pouring of those graces that her Divine Son never fails to grant at the request of His Mother. Amid the splendors of architecture, painting and sculpture, the voice of this holy shrine will one day be heard, through orator and musician, in every part of our broad land. Indeed, every part of the church will be made to declare the honor and glory of Mary Immaculate, proclaim her praise and her merits, and invoke her intercourse and succor. The sanctity and the goodness of Mary will find in this monumental church broad spaces on which, in many charming ways, their influence will be exhibited, while the ingenuity of love will surely add new features distinctive of this Shrine above all others.

Contributions to the National Shrine may be made in any sums from ten cents upwards, and may be sent to Miss Fannie Whelan, 1717 20th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.; Mrs. F. B. Hoffman, 58 East 79th St., New York City; or to the Rector of the University. Collectors can obtain from the aforementioned ladies, books of ten dollars or one hundred dollars, and it is hoped that many will voluntarily solicit the honor of aiding in the creation of the National Shrine. The names of deceased relatives or friends may be inscribed, and the holy sacrifice of the Mass is offered on Mondays and Saturdays for all benefactors.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

The Rector's Prize Debate. Perhaps the best prepared and best presented debate ever heard at the Catholic University was that held Wednesday evening, April 9th, in the contest for the Rector's prize. The Rector's prize debate is an annual event in the program of the Shahan Debating Society. The prize awarded to the winning side is that presented by the Rt. Rev. Rector, Monsignor Shahan—three gold "Catholic University" medals, of special design, and made up in the form of watch fobs. They are of exquisite taste, and are much coveted.

The question debated read: "Resolved: That any trust or industrial combination large enough to be the dominant factor in its branch of production should be prohibited by Federal legislation." The contestants were: Mr. Edward Stanton, Law '15, Tennessee; Mr. Charles Lacey McClaskey, Law '14, Kentucky; Mr. Eugene M. Dwyer, Sc. '13, New York, on the affirmative side; and Mr. William C. Walsh, Law '13, Maryland; Mr. John J. Burke, Law '14, Connecticut; Mr. Stephen E. Hurley, Law '14, North Dakota, on the negative side. Mr. Walsh took up the rebuttal argument for the negative side, and Mr. McClaskey, the rebuttal for the affirmative. The debaters all showed a good understanding of the question, and all gave evidence of possessing powers of eloquent and forceful delivery. The Debating Society is to be congratulated upon the presentation of such an interesting and entertaining performance. The decision of the judges was given in favor of the affirmative side, Messrs. Stanton, McClaskey and Dwyer.

The Debating Society and the University were signally honored in the personnel of the judges—the Hon. John Burke, Treasurer of the United States, the Hon. Thos. J. Walsh, United States Senator, Montana, and Hon. Lawrence O. Murray, Comptroller of the Currency. Mr. Murray is an alumnus of the University. Whether or not the judges differed in their individual decisions upon the issue of the debate, they were

unanimous and unstinting in pronouncing the discussion a most creditable one.

The meeting was presided over by the President of the Society, Mr. Denis M. McDonough, New Hampshire, who made a few appropriate remarks and introduced the various speakers. The program was interspersed with instrumental music, rendered by the Messrs. Grant, Touart and Grant. The University Quartette, Rev. G. A. Gleason, Rev. J. W. Warren, Messrs. Ryan and Crolly, enlivened the entertainment with amusing vocal selections which called forth repeated and prolonged applause.

The contestants in the Rector's prize debate, 1913, have set a standard which their successors will not easily surpass; and the entire evening's entertainment gives assurance of conspicuous interest attaching to any future presentation of the Shahan Debating Society.

The Alumni Association. The eighteenth annual meeting of the Alumni Association of the Catholic University of America was held in Philadelphia on April 25. It was the most successful and enjoyable meeting in the history of the Association. The Alumni of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia extended a hospitality which it would be difficult indeed to excel. The meeting and the banquet which followed were held at the Bellevue-Stratford.

The members were particularly delighted with brief addresses by His Grace Archbishop Prendergast, and by the Hon. Charles Joseph Bonaparte, who represented the Board of Trustees. Mgr. Shahan gave a satisfactory account of the achievements of the University during the past academic year and outlined some of its pressing needs. He laid particular stress on the need of enlarging our academic spaces and dormitory accommodations so as to take care of the large number of students who are now overcrowding all our University buildings. The toast "Our Alumni" was responded to by the Right Reverend Chancellor of the Archdiocese, Mgr. Charles J. Kavanagh. In listening to his discourse the Alumni were filled with gratitude

for the privilege that was theirs and renewed their resolve to do still greater credit to their Alma Mater in the years of labor that await them.

Rev. B. A. McKenna, the historian of the Association, read a paper at the afternoon session which will interest the Alumni of the University throughout the country and all the well-wishers and promoters of Catholic education. After extending to the visitors a hearty welcome from the local Alumni and from the diocese, Father McKenna continued:

"And after having bid you welcome, we wish to sound a note of thanks, thanks to our Holy Father with whom we sympathize in his present illness, for the great interest he has taken in this, his University of America. It is not an ordinary University, but a Papal University. Its inception by the late Leo XIII, the approval of its constitution and statutes on March 7, 1889, and the empowering the University to grant the usual degrees of a Pontifical institution, made him its founder and protector.

"And after his demise, our beloved Pontiff, Pius X, has given untiring interest to all that concerned the Catholic University of America. On the eve of the Epiphany, 1912, from St. Peter's in Rome, came forth a letter which made it clear that the University was a creation of the Holy See, and that the Pope was bent on making its growth vigorous. In this letter of Pius X to Cardinal Gibbons we find the following words: 'For we clearly understand how much a Catholic University of high repute and influence can do towards spreading and upholding the Catholic Doctrine and furthering the cause of civilization. To protect it, therefore, and to quicken its growth, is, in our judgment, equivalent to rendering the most valuable service to religion and country alike.'"

Commenting on this letter Dr. Pace says: "It was never intended that the University should be detached from the other elements of our educational system or that it should passively and patiently await the gradual improvement of the preparatory schools as the condition of its own development. On the contrary, as Leo XIII repeatedly declared and as Pius X now

reiterates in the plainest possible terms, the University is to be the center and source of vitality for all our institutions."

We congratulate our Alma Mater on the great work she has done during the past years and particularly during this past year. Following the wish and decree of Leo XIII, she provides instruction in every department of learning that both the clergy and laity, alike, may have an opportunity to satisfy their laudable desire for knowledge.

We congratulate the Chancellor of the University, Cardinal Gibbons, for his untiring zeal on its behalf; we congratulate the Board of Trustees for their work in its interest; we congratulate our beloved Rector, Monsignor Shahan, who has ever done much to further the great interest of the Catholic University; we congratulate professors and scholars.

Active work has been done during the past year; high schools and colleges have been affiliated with the University; the National Congress of Charities has spent days in its halls for the good of mankind; and in all movements that would be of great importance for the furtherance of education and of morality, our Alma Mater has taken her due part. Nor has this been only in a slight degree. Her influence has been nation-wide and has left its impress, not only on Catholic minds, but on all the citizens of our vast republic.

We all knew of the high ideals of our Alma Mater. We were all aware of the grand work of which she was capable; we knew the times of stress and discouragement which filled some of her years; but now we rejoice to see her, not only accomplishing the purpose originally appointed for her, but even stretching out toward other works in the educational line which, at first, were thought of only remotely, but which have now become an actuality. We refer to the Sisters College.

The Sisters College, which was opened in 1911, responded to a need long felt; and its results amply justify the great undertaking. It will unify the Catholic school system in the United States and its importance and influence will in time be more far-reaching than that of any other work established by the Church in this country for the furtherance of elementary

education. As was expressed in the resolutions of the Catholic Educational Association at Pittsburgh, June, 1912: "We are confident that it will exercise a most beneficent influence on the future of our Catholic elementary school system."

We recall the spirit of pride with which we saw the Sisters receive their degrees from the University. It was the first time in four hundred years that degrees had been conferred on women by a Pontifical institution. They were proud of the honor and went forth not only to voice their gratitude for the opportunities afforded them at this Papal institution, but also to make their influence felt in its behalf. And, as Cardinal Gibbons says, "In this way the benefits of the University are soon brought home to the remotest parish in our country, and not only the sons of our Catholic people, but their consecrated daughters, can drink at the fountain of knowledge which the popular generosity has opened and sustained.[1]

Colleges and High Schools Affiliated with the University. The following-named colleges and high schools, having complied with all the requirements for affiliation, have been duly affiliated. Other institutions are now under consideration by the Committee on Affiliation. The *Bulletin* will publish from time to time all additions to the list of affiliated educational institutions.

COLLEGES

Trinity College, Washington, D. C. Conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur.

Saint Clara College, Sinsinawa, Wisconsin. Conducted by the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Dominic.

Saint Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana. Conducted by the Sisters of Providence.

HIGH SCHOOLS

Academy of Notre Dame, Lowell, Mass. Conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur.

[1] Cardinal's Letter for Collection for the University, Nov. 3, 1912.

Academy of Notre Dame, West Rittenhouse Square, Philadelphia, Pa. Conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur.

Academy of Notre Dame, Roxbury, Mass. Conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur.

Boston Academy of Notre Dame, 204 Berkeley Street, Boston, Mass. Conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur.

College of Notre Dame, San Francisco, Cal. (Academy only). Conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur.

College of Notre Dame, San Jose, Cal. (Academy only). Conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur.

Holy Angels' Academy, Milwaukee, Wis. Conducted by the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Holy Rosary High School, Pittsburg, Pa. Conducted by Holy Rosary Parish.

Loretto Academy, Kansas City, Mo. Conducted by the Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross.

Mount Notre Dame High School, Reading, Ohio. Conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur.

Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio, Mt. St. Joseph, Ohio. Conducted by the Sisters of Charity.

Mount Saint Vincent Academy, Price Hill, Cincinnati, Ohio. Conducted by the Sisters of Charity.

Mount Saint Mary's Seminary, Scranton, Pa. Conducted by the Sister-Servants of the Immaculate Heart.

Notre Dame Academy, Grandin Road, Cincinnati, Ohio. Conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur.

Notre Dame Academy, Hamilton, Ohio. Conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur.

Notre Dame Academy, Court Street, Cincinnati, Ohio. Conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur.

Notre Dame Academy, Waterbury, Conn. Conducted by the Sisters of the Congregation de Notre Dame.

Notre Dame Academy, East Sixth Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio. Conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur.

Notre Dame Academy, Dayton, Ohio. Conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur.

Notre Dame High School, San Jose, Cal. Conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur.

Our Lady of the Lake (Academy), San Antonio, Texas. Conducted by the Sisters of Divine Providence.

Saint Ambrose High School, Ironwood, Mich. Conducted by Saint Ambrose Parish.

Saint Clara Academy, Sinsinawa, Wis. Conducted by the Sisters of the Third Order of Saint Dominic.

Saint Joseph's Academy, Columbus, Ohio. Conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur.

Saint Joseph's Academy, Greensburg, Pa. Conducted by the Sisters of Charity.

Saint Joseph's Academy, St. Louis, Mo. Conducted by the Sisters of Saint Joseph.

Saint Mary's Academy, Denver, Colo. Conducted by the Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross.

Saint Mary's Academy, Portland, Oregon. Conducted by the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary.

Saint Mary-of-the-Woods Academy, Indiana. Conducted by the Sisters of Providence.

Saint Mary's College and Academy, Monroe, Mich. (Academy only). Conducted by the Sister-Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary.

Ursuline Academy, Cleveland, Ohio. Conducted by the Ursuline Sisters.

Ursuline Academy, Villa Angela, Nottingham, Ohio. Conducted by the Ursuline Sisters.

Villa Sancta Scholastica, Duluth, Minn. (Academy only). Conducted by the Sisters of Saint Benedict.

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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit, c. 6.*

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THE AUTHOR OF THE APOCALYPSE.

The author names himself John, i. 1, 4, 9, xxii. 8. Such an unqualified reference implies that he is well-known. He does not describe himself as an apostle. That word is only used once in St. John's Gospel, xiii. 16. Here it would be out of place, for the writer is acting as a prophet. It is the book, that is sent; not he.

St. Justin Martyr, holding a conversation with the Jew Trypho under the colonnades of Ephesus in 132, A. D., was proving a Millennium from *Isaiah,* lxv. 17-25, and added, "Among us, a certain man, whose name was John, one of the Apostles of the Christ, in an apocalypse made to him, prophesied that those, who believed in our Christ, will spend a thousand years in Jerusalem; *Dialogue,* c. xxx., quoted by Eusebius, *History,* iv. xviii.

The Montanists were prominent about 160 A. D., as Polycrates of Ephesus about 196 A. D., in his letter to Victor of Rome, mentions them together with Thraseas, who was martyred about thirty years before. We may therefore date the origin of Montanism about the time when St. Justin Martyr was holding his dialogue with Trypho, though the *Heresies* of Epiphanius, xlviii-li., would leave us to choose between 135, 157, and 182. Now according to the Montanist prophetess Priscilla, Christ had told her that Pepuza, a village in Phrygia, was holy, "for here Jerusalem comes down out of the heaven." Tertullian,

who joined the sect in 199, witnesses to the Montanist tradition regarding the authorship of the *Apocalypse,* from which they had borrowed their imagery. In his work *Against Marcion,* iii. 14, which he began in 207-208 A. D., he writes, "The Apostle John also in the *Apocalypse* describes a two-edged sword as proceeding out of the mouth of God."

Melito was bishop of Sardis, one of the Seven Churches, and wrote under Marcus Aurelius, between 161 and 180, A. D., "concerning the Devil and the *Apocalypse* of John." Eusebius, who tells us so in his *History,* IV, xxvi., would surely have added some qualifying word, had the name John not denoted the Apostle.

St. Irenaeus was probably born between 120 and 125, A. D. In his youth at Smyrna, he was a pupil of St. John's friend, St. Polycarp, with whom he appears to have visited Rome in 154. He again visited Rome in 177 as an ambassador to the Pope, Eleutherius, from the churches of Lyons and Vienne. There in the capital city, his disciple Hippolytus heard him deliver those lectures, which were afterwards elaborated into his great work *Against Heresies,* written under Eleutherius, *Heresies,* III. iii, 3, most probably between 182 and 188. In this, he speaks of the *Apocalypse* as written by "John, the disciple of the Lord," IV. xx. 11, IV. xxx. 4, V. xxvi. 1, V. xxxv. 2, and "John," IV. xxi. 3, V. xxxvi. 3. As to this "John the disciple of the Lord," St. Irenaeus, III. i. 1, identifies him with the disciple, "who also reclined on His bosom, and delivered the Gospel, when he was sojourning in Ephesus of Asia."

The *Muratorian Fragment* contains the witness of the Roman Christians about 170, A. D., and unhesitatingly ascribes the *Apocalypse* to the Apostle John. St. Clement of Alexandria, in his *Pedagogue,* ii, 12, before 195, A. D., refers *Apoc.* xxi. 18, to "the Apostolic voice"; and in his *Stromateis* or *Miscellanies,* written about 202 A. D., he ascribes the book to "John," so indicating the author as St. John the Apostle. Origen, in his *Commentary on St. John,* I. i. 6, begun about 219 A. D., uses the expression, "The Apostle and Evangelist in the

Apocalypse." And in his *Commentary on St. Matthew,* xvi. 16, begun after 246, he identifies the author with John, the brother of James and son of Zebedee.

Hippolytus of Rome, antipope in 217, had been a pupil of St. Irenaeus, according to Photius, *Bibliotheca,* codex 48, 121, 122, and had preached before Origen at Rome about 212 A. D. In his treatise *on the Anti-Christ,* xxxvi., he asks, "Blessed John, Apostle and disciple of the Lord, what did you see and hear concerning Babylon?"

It is unnecessary to pursue the tradition beyond these testimonies, which are substantially the voice of the second century. It may, however, be well to note in passing that St. Ephraem the Syrian, deacon of Edessa, who died in 373, A. D., quotes the *Apocalypse* in his treatise *on the Second Advent,* vol. ii. of the Greek translation and speaks of it as written by the Apostle, p. 248, by John, p. 252, and by John, the theologian or divine, p. 194. Since St. Ephraem uses the *Apocalypse* as Scripture, it would appear that there was then a Syriac version, though the book was afterwards excluded from Rabbula's Peshitta, "the simple" Syriac version of 411, A. D.

Now in 377, Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, published his work *on Heresies,* a monument of scholarly industry and unscholarly judgment. In that book, li. 3, he tells us of an anti-Montanist and anti-Millenarian sect, which rejected both St. John's *Apocalypse* and his *Gospel,* and attributed them to Cerinthus the heretic. To excuse their rejection of the *Apocalypse,* they asked, "What benefit to me is the *Apocalypse* of John, telling me about seven angels and seven trumpets?" They also declared that there was no church of Christians in Thyatira, though the author had said, "Write to the angel of the church, to the [angel] in Thyatira." As such men were opposed to the Johannine Gospel of the Logos or Word, St. Epiphanius named them the Alogi, which not only means without Logos, but also without reason, the simple old man evidently enjoying his punning description of rationalists as irrationalists.

Epiphanius knew of these Alogi through Hippolytus of Rome,

who had himself resisted such views in the person of the Roman Gaius or Caius. This Gaius has sometimes been confused, as by Photius, *Bibliotheca,* codex 48, with Hippolytus, and described as a presbyter, who became "Bishop of the Gentiles." He was really a violent anti-Montanist; and therefore he somewhat impetuously opposed the Johannine writings, to which the Montanists had appealed. During the papacy of Zephyrinus, 198-217 A. D., according to the *History* of Eusebius, VI. XX., and while Hippolytus was still a Catholic, Gaius, who appears to represent the Alogi of Epiphanius, held a disputation with the Montanist Proclus at Rome. And Eusebius, in his *History,* III. XXVIII., preserves a passage of the book, entitled the *Disputation,* in which Gaius said that "Cerinthus also, who was lying by means of apocalypses, as [if they had] been written by a great apostle, introduces marvellous tales to us, as [if they had] been shewn to him by means of angels, saying that after the resurrection, there will be the kingdom of the Christ on earth; and [men in] the flesh, living in Jerusalem, will again serve desires and pleasures. And being an enemy to the scriptures of God, he, willing to deceive, says that there comes to be a measure of a millennium [to be spent] in marriage festival."

This leads us to the views of Dionysius, in whose statements, carefully recorded by Eusebius in his *History,* VII. XXIV. XXV., we can learn what men of old could allege against the Johannine authorship. But it is necessary to remember that Dionysius had been a pupil of Origen. He had also succeeded Heracles as head of the Catechetical School in 232 A. D., and as bishop of Alexandria in 248 A. D. He represented therefore the allegorizing method, which Origen and the Alexandrian School had received from the Hellenist Jew, Philo, who had learned it from the Stoic interpretations of Homer. Dionysius was consequently opposed to the literal method of interpretation, in which Lucian and the Antiochian School had followed the Palestinian Jews. But the literal interpretation of the millenium as an earthly kingdom of our Lord found an able and earnest voice in an Egyptian bishop, the Biblical scholar

Nepos. He wrote a *Refutation of the Allegorists,* which so influenced the region of Arsinoë, that Dionysius hastened from Alexandria. At that time, 255 A. D., Nepos was dead, and his book could not defend itself. So Dionysius won an easy victory in three days, his main positions being the impossibility of understanding the *Apocalypse* in a literal sense, and the improbability of its Johannine authorship. It is the latter, which concerns us now.

In his *History,* VII. XXV. 1, written between 305 and 325 A. D., Eusebius quotes the work of Dionysius *on the Promises.* "Certain, therefore, of those before us," wrote the Alexandrian bishop, "rejected and packed away the book altogether, correcting every chapter, showing that it is both unknown and illogical, and that the superscription lies. For they say [not only] that it is not John's, but that it is not even an apocalypse, [for it would be an apocalypse] which is exceedingly and thickly covered with the veil of ignorance. And it is impossible [not only] that anyone of the Apostles, but also that anyone at all of the saints, or of those belonging to the church, has been the author of the composition. But Cerinthus, who also composed the Cerinthian heresy, [so-]called from him, willed to prefix a trustworthy name to his own fiction. For this was the dogma of his doctrine, that the kingdom of the Christ will be on earth."

If we compare these last words and those which follow them in Eusebius with the statement of Gaius, already quoted from Eusebius, III, XXVIII, and the remainder of that passage, we may see that Dionysius is referring to Gaius. The bishop then would not follow so revolutionary a method as that of Gaius, but contents himself with denying that the John of the *Apocalypse* is the Apostle and the son of Zebedee, who wrote the *Gospel.* This is not offered as the witness of tradition, but solely as a conjecture by Dionysius himself, who writes, "For I conjecture both from the character of both [works], and the form of the words, and the literary execution of the scroll, that [the author] is not the same:" Eusebius, *History,* VII, XXV. 5.

To maintain this thesis, Dionysius continues, "For the evan-

gelist nowhere interpolates his own name, nor even proclaims himself, either by means of the Gospel or by means of the *Epistle*." Then the bishop notes that the *Gospel* and the *Epistle* contain expressions, to which there is nothing corresponding in the *Apocalypse*. The Epistle, to say nothing of the *Gospel*, does not mention the *Apocalypse*, nor does the *Apocalypse* mention the *Epistle*. Yet St. Paul gave some glimpses of his apocalypse [or revelations] by means of his epistles. Besides, there is the difference in phraseology between the *Apocalypse* on the one hand and the *Gospel* and *Epistle* on the other, the language of the former being accused of foreign idioms and even of solecisms in some places. Dionysius then raises a question as to the identity of John the Apocalyptist, saying, " Therefore, as to its being John, who writes these things, we must believe him, because he says so. But what [John] this [may be, is] not manifest, for he did not say, as often in the *Gospel*, that he himself was the disciple beloved by the Lord, or even he who reclined on His Breast, or even the brother of James, or even the eyewitness and earwitness of the Lord."

As a John other than the Apostle, Dionysius mentions John Mark, who was generally known in Christian circles, not by his Hebrew and Synagogue name, John, *Acts*, xiii. 5, 13, but by his Roman *praenómen*, or first and individual name, Marcus, *Acts*, xv. 37, *Philem.* 24, *Col.* iv. 10, 2 *Tim.* iv. 11, 1 *Pet.* v. 13. Dionysius indeed would not say that this was he, who wrote the *Apocalypse*. He thought that the author was some other of those in Roman Asia. And to prove that there were two Johns in Ephesus, he repeats some hearsay that " there were two mounments in Ephesus, and each was called John's." Now no one, except Dionysius, appears to have heard of the second tomb. Polycrates of Ephesus, writing to Pope Victor about 196, speaks of the Apostle's burial at Ephesus. But that of a second John is not suggested by him, or by St. Augustine, or by any monument. Duchesne, in his *Ancient History of the Church*, i. p. 143, note, in the French edition, concludes that the story of the second tomb is unconfirmed, and that Ephesus knew of only one John.

It is true that there are differences between the *Apocalypse* and the later *Gospel* and *Epistles*. But equally great differences can be found between St. Paul's *Epistles to the Corinthians*, the first in the autumn of 55 and the second in the summer of 56, and his *Epistle to the Romans* in January, 57. The choice of words is determined in a great measure by the subject. Therefore, we are not surprised to find that the scroll of the *Apocalypse* does not contain these words and phrases, which occur in the *Gospel:* the truth, to be from the truth, to be from God, eternal life, the ruler of this world, the children of God, the children of the Devil, to be born, darkness and boldness. "To do the truth," *Gospel*, iii. 21, can hardly be added to this list, for the *Apocalypse*, xxii. 15, contains the parallel phrase, "to do a lie." The use of the word ἀμνός for "lamb" in the *Gospel*, i. 29, 36, as in *Acts*, viii. 32, and 1 *Pet.* i. 9, is due to the Greek Vulgate of *Isaiah*, liii. 7. In the Gospel, xxi. 15, as in the *Apocalypse*, but nowhere else in the Greek Testament, the word is ἀρνίον.

In the *Gospel*, it is true, St. John does not name himself; but in accordance with the prophetic tradition, he should do so in the prophetic *Apocalypse*. The quiet spirit, attributed to the Evangelist, is only found in cc. xiii-xvii. His spiritual view is paralleled by the absence of a temple in the *Apocalypse*, xxi. 22. This book, we need to remember, is written on the model of Old Testament prophecy. As to its ungrammatical forms and constructions, we can in many cases determine the reason for them. And as the writer shows elsewhere in the book that he knows the rules, we cannot use the particular instances to prove him ignorant.

There are also similarities between the books, and these of such a kind as to outweigh the dissimilarities. For example, the word ἀληθινός, "true," is found 10 times in the *Apocalypse*, 9 times in the *Gospel*, 4 times in the *First Epistle*, and only 5 times in the rest of the Greek Testament. The verb δίδωμι, "I give," is used peculiarly 12 times in the *Apocalypse* and 8 times in the *Gospel*. The verb νικάω, "I conquer," occurs 16 times in the *Apocalypse* and 6 times in the

First Epistle. The frequent and emphatic use of the word ἔργα, "works," is evident in both *Apocalypse* and *Gospel.* In both, we note the words, μαρτυρία, "testimony," μαρτυρέω, "I witness," or "testify," τηρέω, "I keep carefully," and σκηνόω, "I dwell." Both illustrate an unidiomatic use of ἐκ, "out of," for the partitive genitive. In both, and only in both among New Testament books, have we the words ἑβραϊστί, "in Hebrew," πορφύρεος, "purple," φοῖνιξ, "palm," σφραγίζω, "I seal," used without an object, ἀρνίον, "lamb," ὄψις, used of the human "face," *Apoc.* i. 16, *Gospel,* xi. 44, ἀπό, "from," used to mark distance, *Apoc.* xiv. 20, *Gospel,* xi. 18, xxi. 8, and ἐπί with a dative to mean "concerning," *Apoc.* x. 11, *Gospel,* xii. 16. If the *Apocalypse,* xxii. 2, expresses "on each side" by ἐντεῦθενκαὶ ἐκεῖθεν, the *Gospel,* xix. 18, does so by the form ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν. Both, *Apoc.* i. 7, and *Gospel,* xix. 37, quote *Zech.* xii. 10, and render the Hebrew verb *dāqārû* as "they pierced," implicitly rejecting the Greek Vulgate, which apparently misread the order of the Hebrew consonants as *rāqādû,* and translated the verb as "they danced in triumph over," that is, "mocked."

Once in the *Apocalypse,* xvi. 16, St. John omits to explain a Hebrew name; and once in the *Gospel,* v. 2, an Aramaic one. In both, *Apoc.* vii. 14, *Gospel,* xxi. 15-17, the words "Thou knowest" are used, and used in the sense of "Thou knowest better than I." Both have the words, "received from My Father," *Apoc.* ii. 27, *Gospel,* x. 18. And both speak of what things "have been written in this scroll," *Apoc.* xxii. 18, 19, *Gospel,* xx. 30.

The *Apocalypse* presents three enemies of our Lord in the Dragon, the First Wildbeast, and its prophet, the Second Wildbeast. So in the *Gospel,* the Devil, the Roman Empire and a degenerate Judaism oppose Him. In the *Apocalypse,* Satan appears as the Dragon; in the *Gospel,* as the Prince of this world; and in the *First Epistle,* as the Spirit of Antichrist. Indeed, the themes of the *Apocalypse* are stated by the *Gospel* in these words,

John xii. 31. Now is the judging of this world:
Now the Prince of this world will be cast forth without;

and

John xvi. 33. But be courageous:
I have conquered the world.

Although the *Apocalypse* displays our Lord in His triumph, and the *Gospel* unveils Him in His humiliation, and though the former is symbolical in style and the latter historical, yet the latter is filled with anticipation of triumph, and describes the miracles as signs. In both, there is the presentation of two conflicting forces. In both, our Lord is called the Word. In both, there is no reference to the manna. In both, our Lord is the Bridegroom of the Church and He who gives the water of life. And in both, episodes are introduced into the narrative, those of the Gospel including i. 16-18, iii. 16-21, iii, 31-36.

As the *Apocalypse* is based on the number seven, so is the *Gospel* on the number three. In the latter book, our Lord is found three times in Galilee and three times in Jerusalem. Three of His miracles in each place are noted. Twice three feasts are selected to mark His ministry. Twice three days mark the opening of the narrative, and again form Passion Week. Three days are connected with Lazarus. Three words are selected from those spoken on the Cross. Three times the Risen Lord appears. And there are the three confessions, those of Peter, Philip and Nathanael.

In both books, there are illustrations of prolepsis or anticipation. The fall of Babylon in *Apoc.* xviii. is anticipated in xiv. 8. The descent of the New Jerusalem in *Apoc.* xxi. 2, 10, has already been indicated in iii. 12. The tree of life, seen in *Apoc.* xxii. 2, 14, had been promised in ii. 7, as the white garments of *Apoc.* vii. 9, 14, had been promised in iii. 5. So in the *Gospel,* the anointing of our Lord is recorded in xii. 2, but was already referred to in xi. 2. And the *Gospel,* in xii. 7, anticipates the burial of our Lord, recorded in xix. 39-42.

When we compare the outlines of the books, as Milligan has

done in his *Lectures on the Apocalypse,* pp. 61-69, we are struck by the similarity. There is a prologue in *Apoc.* i., and *Gospel,* i. 1-18. In *Apoc.* ii. iii., we see the churches in the world, where the *Gospel,* i. 19-ii. 11, will present our Lord. Anticipations of the ultimate triumph follow in the *Apoc.* iv. v., and the *Gospel,* ii. 12-iv. Then there is the conflict, *Apoc.* vi-xviii., *Gospel,* v-xii. In both, there is now a little breathing space and a supper, *Apoc.* xix. 1-10, *Gospel,* xiii-xvii. Then there is the second and final struggle, *Apoc.* xix. 11-xxii. 5, *Gospel,* xviii-xx. And in each book, there is an epilogue, *Apoc.* xxii. 6-21, *Gospel,* xxi, which refers to the Second Advent, *Apoc.* xxii. 12, *Gospel,* xxi. 22.

But Dr. Samuel Davidson, in his *Introduction to the New Testament,* vol. ii. pp. 187, 188, has formulated a modern series of objections to the Johannine authorship. He cannot believe that the bosom friend of Jesus could ascribe the same praise to Him as to God, *Apoc.* vii. 10, and even assign Him the Incommunicable Name Jehovah, xxii. 13. That, however, is to forget the unanimous testimony of the Primitive Church to the Deity of Jesus; and it is to acknowledge the *Apocalypse* as a witness to the Catholic doctrine. Then Dr. Davidson does not think that St. John could put himself among the Apostles, who were dead, and speak of the twelve names on the twelve foundation stones, xxi. 14. But the names did not necessarily imply that those who bore them, were dead; and "the twelve" having become a technical name for the Apostolic college, is is now used by St. John as an element in the compound symbol. Dr. Davidson thinks also that there is a contradiction between the promise of a seat with Christ in the Father's throne, iii, 21, and our Lord's statement that it is not His to give the seat on His right hand or that on His left, *Mark,* x. 40, but to those for whom it has been prepared. But surely there is no contradiction. The promised seat is not necessarily that of unique honour at the right hand or the left. And such a promise cannot be held impossible, because the fitness of the soul and the authority of the Father are implied conditions.

Again Dr. Davidson argues from *Acts,* iv. 13, that St. John

was ignorant and unlearned in the Jewish sense, and therefore did not possess the Old Testament and Rabbinical learning of the *Apocalypse*. The words in the *Acts* really implied that he was unlettered and unofficial. They expressed the judgment of the Sadducees and Pharisees, who would not have regarded St. Peter and St. John as skilled in the Rabbinic casuistry, afterwards embodied in the *Mishnah,* or Oral Law, and its commentary, the *Gemara*. So far from valuing, the Rabbinic schools did not like, and the Sadducean priesthood scorned the prophetic and apocalyptic literature, which the people studied. Besides, the *Apocalypse* does not show more technical acquaintance with Rabbinical learning than might have been acquired in ordinary conversations and discourses. There is therefore no more reason for denying the *Apocalypse* to St. John, than there would be for denying the *Pilgrim's Progress* to Bunyan on the ground that the Anglican clergy regarded him as an unlearned and ignorant man, and that the book shows a deep knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures as well as a considerable acquaintance with Christian theology and ethics.

Dr. Davidson, however, returns to the attack. The denial of certain men's apostleship, *Apoc.* ii. 2, is interpreted as inconsistent with St. John's recognition of St. Paul's apostleship to the Gentiles, *Gal.* ii. 9. But this is to assume that St. Paul is referred to in *Apoc.* ii. 2. Yet that passage clearly indicates men alive at the time of writing; and we can show that it was written a generation after St. Paul's death. Finally, Dr. Davidson holds that our Lord's prediction of the Holy City's fall and His own return is contradicted by the Apocalyptic vision of a preserved city and of the Messiah's millennium after Rome's fall. This objection does not distinguish things that differ. Our Lord's coming and the coming of His kingdom are terms, which have many applications, including not only the Final Appearing, but even our Lord's ministry on earth, *Luke* xvii. 21, and the Fall of Jerusalem. But the main error in the objection is the taking the predictions as to Jerusalem and its visible judgment, and equating them to the apocalyptic symbols of pagan Rome and the invisible kingdom.

Dionysius, as we have seen, suggests that there were two Johns in Roman Asia. It is alleged that Papias, as quoted by Eusebius, *History,* iii. 39, confirms the conjecture. Of Papias, Irenaeus, himself a pupil of Polycarp, says in his *Heresies,* v. xxxiii. 4, that he was the hearer of John and companion of Polycarp and an ancient man. Now, as Waddington has shown in his *Fastes des prov. Asiat.* i. 219-221, Polycarp was martyred on Saturday, February 23, 55 A. D. He had then, as he testified, served Christ for 86 years. His birth must therefore be dated as early as 69 A. D. at least, but probably earlier, about 60, when St. Paul reached Rome. Papias appears to have died before Polycarp, and is described by Irenaeus as an ancient man. So we may date his birth still earlier. Through Eusebius, *History,* iii. 39, he tells us, "But if it also happened that there came anyone, who had followed the Elders, I used to inquire for the words of the Elders—what Andrew, or what Peter said, or what Philip, or what Thomas or James, or what John or Matthew or anyone else of the disciples of the Lord—what things both Aristion and the Elder John, disciples of the Lord, are saying."

From this statement, Eusebius gathered that there were two Johns in Roman Asia; and St. Jerome too readily adopted that conclusion in his book on *Illustrious Men,* xviii. But we note that "the Elder" is a title given to John and not to Aristion; and it is given to the former in an especial way, so that he is not merely one of the Elders, but "the Elder." A sufficient reason for this is found in the *Second* and *Third Epistles of St. John,* who there announces himself simply as "the Elder."

For the distinction between the two Johns, there is no ground in the ancient world, except the conjectures of Dionysius and Eusebius, and the dissimilarities between the *Apocalypse* and the *Gospel.* It is certainly an important fact that a second John was never heard of till Dionysius expressed his own surmise. Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Gaius, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria and Origen lived and died without any supposition of the kind. And the mention of John without any

qualification is in favour of there having been one and one only. Sometimes indeed, he is John the Apostle; sometimes, as in his own *Gospel* and the *Muratorian Fragment,* line 10, he is a disciple; and sometimes, as in his own *Second* and *Third* Epistles, he is the Elder.

There is much evidence for identifying John the Apostle, John the disciple of the Lord, John the Elder, and John who reclined upon the Lord's Breast.

St. Irenaeus describes the *Fourth Gospel* as written by the Apostle, III. v. 1, by John the Apostle, I. ix. 2, III. xi. 9, by the disciple of the Lord, twice, by John the disciple of the Lord, seventeen times, and by John, eleven times. Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, wrote to Pope Victor I., of Rome, about 196 A. D., in a letter quoted twice by Eusebius, *History,* III. xxxi., V. xxiv., that "John, who reclined upon the Breast of the Lord—who became a priest, ἱερεύς, having borne the [highpriestly] frontlet and [was] a witness and a teacher—has fallen asleep in Ephesus." If we supplement this evidence of Irenaeus and Polycarp by that for the authorship of the *Apocalypse* and the three *Epistles,* we have a body of testimony, which becomes self-contradictory, unless it is one and the same John, who is denoted by the reference.

Eusebius indeed identified the daughters of the Apostle Philip at Asiatic Hierapolis with the daughters of the Evangelist Philip at Judea Caesarea, *History,* III. xxxi. He suggests a distinction between the John of the *Gospel* and the John of the *Apocalypse, History,* III. xxxix. 5. So the historian identified, when he should have distinguished, and distinguished, when he should have identified.

But now we are told that St. John and St. James, his brother, were martyred at the same time by Herod Agrippa I. in 44 A. D. According to Georgios Hamartolos, George the Sinner, it was stated by Papias in the second book of his *Logia* or *Oracles,* that John the Apostle was put to death by the Jews. George's *Chronicle* was written about 860 A. D.; he himself is elsewhere found inaccurate in quotation; and only one of the twenty-eight existing manuscripts contains the passage, which is therefore worthless.

But, it is urged, there is a manuscript, containing a late epitome of a work by Philip of Side. Unfortunately, the epitomizer used several books, so we are very far from certain that he was indebted to the *Christian History* of Philippus Sidetes for the statement, which concerns us now. Assuming that he was, then Philip of Side, early in the fifth century, composed a passage from some sentences in Eusebius, and added the words, "Papias in the second book says that John the Theologian and James his brother were killed by Jews."

To the support of this are brought

Matt. xx. 23 You will drink My Cup,

and

Mark x. 39 You will drink the Cup, which I am drinking.

Further, the Syriac Calendar of Edessa, in a manuscript of 411 A. D., describes John and James as apostles, martyred at Jerusalem on December 27. A Carthaginian Calendar, however, substitutes John the Baptist, also commemorated on June 24, for John the Apostle.

It is not easy to account for this unhistorical tradition. Some assume the loss of a word, which would have explained the presence of St. John's name, whether is was originally that of the Apostle or that of the Baptist. But one thing is certain, and that is the untrustworthy character of the story. Both St. Irenaeus and Eusebius knew the works of Papias, and found no such tale there, for they, like all our early witnesses, represent St. John as an old man in Ephesus. The *Acts of the Apostles* knows nothing of St. John's early martyrdom. The *Epistle to the Galatians* is positive proof to the contrary, for St. John could hardly, outside of speculative exegesis, be martyred in 44 A. D., and yet be a pillar of the Jerusalem church in 49 A. D., *Gal.* ii. 9. To remove this evidence, Schartz attempted to identify John the pillar with John Mark.

Grace builds on nature; and no one was more fitted to write the *Apocalypse* than the younger of the Boanerges, *b'nê réghesh* "the sons of tumult." This name, given them by our Lord,

Mark iii. 17, indicated their vehemence. It will be remembered that they desired to imitate Elijah's invocation of fire, *Luke,* ix. 54, 4 *Kings* i. 10, and that John forbade a stranger to cast out devils in our Lord's name, *Mark* ix. 38. The same spirit of vehement zeal is plain enough in the *Apocalypse* and in the story, told by Polycarp to Irenaeus, *Heresies,* III. iii. 4, that St. John rushed from a public bath in Ephesus, lest it should fall on him and the heretic Cerintthus, whom he met there.

Therefore, having regard to the whole evidence, we may without hesitation conclude that the *Apocalypse* was written by St. John, Apostle, disciple and elder.

GEORGE S. HITCHCOCK.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF IRISH MISSIONARIES TO MEDIEVAL CULTURE.

Reading the lives of Irish missionaries in Europe, one fact stands forth from the pages with striking prominence, and it is that a central virtue of the missionary, of the apostle, is a gift of great daring. Courage or daring is, indeed, a quality necessary for greatness of achievement in any sphere of human thought, or action. This is so true that one writer attributes the decline of Napoleon's military star to the loss of his former tremendous courage. For some time before the battle of Waterloo, Napoleon hesitated in his plans; the man, who was impatient of counselors as dallying idealists, sought advice from his inferiors. His brother placed a great political scheme before him towards the end of his career, and, when he hesitated, the brother said: "Only dare!" and Napoleon sadly answered: "I have dared too much already." The spring of that great will was broken; when Wellington conquered at Waterloo, according to this writer, he conquered the shadow of Napoleon.

The same virtue is necessary for the missionary in advancing the greater cause of Christ. Jeremiah, the prophet of the old dispensation, and a type of apostolic zeal, was bidden not to fear the face of man. In his sublime mission he was to be "a wall of brass" and "a pillar of iron," and "a fortified city"; against him men would fight but they would not prevail. He was to be sent to kings and princes and priests to tear up and pull down and scatter and annihilate iniquity, and to build up and plant justice. The first Christians, too, were characterized by their boldness and confidence in preaching the message of Christ. And St. Paul—the greatest of the Apostles—gives one of the secrets of his success when he says—"If any man dares, I dare also." [1]

The first, and one of the greatest Irish missionaries, and

[1] 2nd Corinth. c. 11, v. 21.

exiles, was St. Columba, who belonged to the sixth century. Imaginative, warm-hearted, impetuous, fiery even to occasional rashness—his was a temperament eminently suited to his poetical and oratorical gifts. Love of Nature, Love of Land, and Love of God were the three great impulses of his life; nay, rather, with him they were contained in the one primal impulse of Love of God. There are those who believe that the Love of Nature was a discovery of recent times. It must be emphasized to those over-confident moderns that the Hebrew shepherd, who was to be afterwards the royal psalmist, could have in the plains of Palestine grand visions of Nature's glories. He can learn, also, that the early Irish scholars were open-eyed to the subtlest beauties of nature. Nature was to them a legible script, and they could interpret the anger of the tempest, the sighing of the wind, and the laughing of the sunlit waters. In an ancient poem about Durrow Columba draws attention to the wind singing through the elms, the blackbird's note, and the cuckoo's chant in the angelic land of Eire.

In a poem translated by Dr. Healy, the substance of which is probably the genuine work of Columba, his love of fatherland is beautifully expressed:

> "I stand on the deck of my bark,
> And gaze on the southern sea,
> But alas! and alas! my Eri
> Forever is hidden from me.
> How bright are the eyes of my Eri,
> Like the gleam of angel's wings,
> And sweet is the breath of my Eri,
> Her voice is the music of Spring."

The two most prominent events in Columba's life were the battle of Cuildreimhne (Cooldrevney), and the convention of Drumceat. The battle originated in a dispute between St. Columba and St. Finnian. As books were rare, and valuable at this time, Columba made a furtive copy of Finnian's gospel. Finnian claimed the copy, and when Columba refused, the matter was referred to the High King of Ireland, who decided in favor of Finnian on the ground that to every cow belonged

its own calf, and so the copy belonged to the original and its owner. A scion of the royal race of Niall of the nine hostages, Columba could not repress his high spirit angered by this adverse decision, and he summoned all his clansmen to fight against the High King. The battle of Cuildreimhnè was fought, and three thousand were slain. In penance for this thoughtless act Columba was ordered by his confessor to leave Ireland forever for Scotland. Here he did missionary work in the Irish colonies of Dalriada, and amongst the pagan Picts; he tried to save as many souls as he caused bodies to be slain in the previous battle; and he founded innumerable Columbian monasteries.

The other great pubic event of his life—the Convention of Drumceat— took place to decide the question of the position of the Irish bards. These had made themselves odious owing to their troublesome exactions, and the venomous satire of their pens. The convention was solemn, and representitive of all classes, as was the wont in ancient Ireland. A multitude of bishops and of priests were present; the fair forms of the queen and her female attendants graced the occasion. Royalty opened the proceedings; King Hugh led the attack on the odious bards. The whole tide of feeling was turning against the poets, and there was need of a man of great personality and influence to effect a change in the general opinion. That man was at hand; Columba entered the lists. A bard himself, he championed the cause of the bards with a rare oratory. "If the bards were exterminated," he argued, "who would celebrate the great deeds of mighty kings? Who would sing a lonely dirge for the noble dead?" The views of Columba prevailed; and the human tide was stemmed, and turned in favor of the bards. In the end of the seventh century Columba found a Boswell in St. Adamnan, whose biography is, perhaps, the completest work of the kind in medieval times.

The great namesake of the last Saint—Columbanus—belonged to the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century. In the case of either of these Irish Saints there is nothing very appropriate about their assumed name, Columba,

or dove, except on the principle of "Lucus a non lucendo." It is like calling the bold Hildebrand a gentle dove. Columbanus, after being educated at the famous school of Bangor, left Ireland and his kinsfolk with considerable difficulty—his mother stopping him on the threshold in his wander-impulse for Christ. Placing the cause of Christ above the dearest ties of flesh and blood he journeyed to Metz, and Luxeuil in the valley of the Vosges mountains. Here he spoke the Christian truth at the cost of bitter persecution. When the French clergy found fault with the Irish calculation of Easter, and with the Irish tonsure, which was in front of the head, and which they picturesquely called the tonsure of Simon Magus, Columbanus retorted by telling them that it would have been more profitable for them to attend to the reformation of their own vices. With the fearless zeal of a John the Baptist *redivivus* he denounced for his concubinage Thierry, the king of the place. The result was that he was ordered to be shipped back to his native land, but the elements did not favor the project with the result that the ship had to return to continental shores again, and this time Columbanus directed his steps past the former scene of his labors, and towards Zurich and Bregenz on the shore of Lake Constance in Switzerland. Here his former fiery zeal was nothing abated. With more courage than discretion, he and his little band of monks cut down the sacred trees of the pagan natives, burned their temples, and hurled their idols into the lake. The effect of this daring action was that he had to leave this province. With the undaunted courage of a Hannibal or a Napoleon, but with the higher aim of advancing Christ's kingdom, Columbanus next undertook to cross the Alps, and he reached the fertile plains of Bobbio, where he founded a famous monastery.

Though he did not reach Rome, he wrote several letters to its august rulers. With a manly freedom that reminds one of apostolic times, and of the rebuking of St. Peter by Paul, he strongly insinuated against Pope Boniface the charge of having favored heretics.[2] In another place he stimulates the Pope

[2] Ep. v. 9. Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 80, c. 279.

by the hypothetical clause—"If you are a true Christian."[3] This is an example of what he calls himself the "forwardness" of his daring spirit, and is accompanied in the same epistles by clear and unequivocal statements about the primacy of the Pope, "the Pastor of pastors," and about Rome being the empress of all churches.[4]

The fruits of his missionary zeal may be judged from the number of monasteries that followed the Columban rule; Lure, Roman-Moutier, Beze, Saint Ursanne, and Remiremont in Burgundy; Fontenelle and Joumieges on the Seine; Jouarre and Rebais on the Marne; Leuconnais near Amiens; St. Centule on the Somme; St. Bertin among the Morini.

The eighth century furnished a prominent Irish scholar and Saint in Virgilius, or Fergil of Salzburg. His life, epitaph, local tradition, and Alcuin—all support the fact of his Irish nationality. In Bavaria Saint Virgilius disputed concerning the form of baptism with St. Boniface, apostle of Germany, himself probably of Irish origin. Owing to the deficient knowledge of the clerics at the time some employed the form—"Ego te baptizo in nomine Patria et Filia et Spiritua Sancta." Virgilius affirmed the validity of this form, and Boniface denied it. They sought and obtained from Pope Zachary a clear reply concerning the Catholic doctrine, defending the view of the Irishman concerning the validity of the form. But this decision did not end the friction between these two very human Saints. Virgilius, equipped with the splendid knowledge of the famous Irish schools of these days, was abreast of his age in defending the sphericity of the earth, and the existence of Antipodes. On account of this innocent-looking doctrine in physical geography he was regarded as a dangerous spirit, and denounced to the Pope by Boniface. The fact was that Boniface and Pope Zachary, for that matter, did not know science as well as Virgilius. Boniface misunderstood the doctrine, caricatured it, and procured the condemnation of a thing of straw. This can be judged from the cautious reply of Zachary

[3] Ep. v. 12.

[4] Ep. v. Introd.

—"If it be proved that he holds that there is another world, another sun and moon, and other men beneath the earth, expel him from the Church, and degrade him from the priesthood." Virgilius, probably, explained the true sense of his doctrine, as he was afterwards appointed bishop of Salzburg in Austria. He taught the existence of other men beneath the earth; he was made to teach the unjustifiable and fancied conclusion that there was another sun and moon and other men not born of Adam, and unredeemed by Christ.

The most distinguished scholar of the ninth century was John Scotus Erigena. Scot, or Scotus, in the ninth and down to the eleventh century meant Irishman; afterwards it was naturally applied to the children of the land that the Irish colonized in early times, Scotland. Prudentius, who lived with Scotus Erigena, says—"Thee, the subtlest of all, Ireland gave to France." He was appointed head of the Palatial School by Charles the Bald. His Irish wit did not abandon him in exile. Sitting at table opposite Charles the Bald, the latter made the dangerous experiment of having a joke at the Irishman's expense, and asked, "What separates a Scot from a sot?" Instantly was flashed the repartee—"Only the table." The fact that he was a small man is enshrined in another anecdote. Sitting at table with two tall clerics he had one small, and two large fishes to distribute, and he gave the two large ones to himself, and the small one to the two clerics,—defending the equity of the division by the remark,—"Here you have one small (himself) and two large (fishes), and there you have two large (clerics) and one small (fish)."

His works are a treatise "On Predestination," also a translation of the Pseudo-Dionysius, of which Anastasius, the Roman librarian, says that "the charity of God and the neighbor was the mistress that taught him, and that the Holy Spirit made him fiery and fluent, though a barbarian from the end of the world." Based on the Neo-Platonic philosophy of the Pseudo-Dionysius is his famous work "On the Division of Nature." This work was ordered to be burned by Pope Honorius the Third in 1225 A. D. It taught a most brilliant and fascinating

form of Pantheism. According to Erigena spirit was an emanation of God, and matter was an emanation of spirit, and into the essence of God they will all return. Although he never had a good word to say of heretics, he was himself an unconscious one. But he ventured on uncharted seas; he entered untravelled fields of thought; he was led astray by the authority of an alleged apostolic work—*The Pseudo-Dionysius;* yet in all his intellectual wanderings of the most daring type his restless spirit, he tells us, ever found the homeward way to God.[5] His is a kindred spirit with the German Pantheistic Idealists of the present day; and through them his name is becoming better known, and his star is again mounting the heavens. He is also supposed to be akin to modern Rationalists, but all they have in common is a defense of the rights of reason; but in regard to the abuse of reason, in setting it up as independent of authroity, Erigena and Rationalism part company. In a sentence which shows his characteristic eloquence he writes—"I am not so brow-beaten by authority, nor so fearful of the assault of less able minds as to be afraid to utter with fearless forehead what true reason clearly determines and indubitably demonstrates; especially as there must be question of such only amongst the wise, to whom nothing is more sweet to hear than true reason, nothing more delightful to investigate, when it is found." [6] Reflecting the knowledge of the Irish schools of the times, Erigena and Albinus of Pavia, and other Irish Saints prepared the ground for the classics and philosophy of the medieval universities, and this was not the least of their great contributions to European culture.

These are but a few examples of Irish missionaries abroad. I have fixed the telescope of history on a few stars in the galaxy of the Irish apostles that diffused the white light of science and Christian purity throughout Europe. What land in Europe was left unvisited by them? The numerous libraries of the continent of Europe contain copies of Irish manuscripts, and their marginal glosses in Gaelic enabled the great German

[5] Cf. Healy, *Ireland's Ancient Schools,* p. 577.
[6] *De Divisione Naturae,* Liber 1. 67.

scholar, Zeuss, to write a grammar of the Irish language. What land did not bear their numerous footprints emitting the fragrance of the charity of Christ? Was it Scotland? It had Columba, first of exiles and missionaries amongst the Picts and Scots; also Adamnan, his biographer. Was it England? It has the Columbian monks of Lindisfarne in Northumberland, Aidan, Colman, and Finnan; also Diuma, and Kellech amongst the Middle and the East Angles.

France had Fiacre of Meaux, Fursey, the Visionary, and Foilan, Gobban, and Dicuil of Lagny; Fridelinus the Traveller (who also labored in Switzerland and along the Rhine); Clemens, Charlemagne's professor at Paris; Erigena, also of Paris; Marianus Scotus, of Mayence, the Chronicler, of the eleventh century.

Spain had the later Sedulius not to be confounded with another Sedulius called the Christian Virgil. He wrote a book endeavoring to show that the Irish were of Spanish origin.

Belgium and Holland had Livinus, martyr of Flanders; St. Dympna, the virgin martyr of Gheel, patroness of an asylum there; also Fursa, apostle of Belgium; Foilan and Ultan, instructors in Psalmody in the convent of Lavelle in Brabant.

Austria had Virgilius, apostle of Salzburg, and of Carinthia.

Iceland disclosed Irish books and croziers upon the arrival of the Scandinavians. Ernulph and Buo are mentioned as apostles of the Norwegian colonists. Also there is mentioned an early Icelandic bishop of the name of John.

Switzerland had St. Gall, disciple of Columbanus, whose name is immortalized in one of the prominent cantons.

Italy had Columbanus of Bobbio, also Frigidian in Lucca; St. Cathaldus, of Tarentum, and his brother Donatus of Lecce; Albinus, Charlemagne's professor at Pavia; also Dungal, who wrote "On The Two Solar Eclipses of 810 A. D." as well as a "Defense of Images Against Claudius of Turin."

Germany had Arbogast, bishop of Strassburg; St. Killian of Franconia in Wurzburg (to be distinguished from another Killian, disciple of Columbanus, and abbot of St. Martin's monastery at Cologne); Albuin, of Saxony; Demcad, of Cologne;

Marianus Scotus of Bavaria and Franconia, a poet, and commentator, and a scribe who wrote gratuitously for the poor widows and poor clerics of Ratisbon. "If you ask me," writes his eloquent Irish biographer, "what will be the reward of Marianus and pilgrims like him, who left the sweet soil of their native land, free from every noxious beast and worm, with its mountains and hills, its valleys and its groves suited to the chase, the picturesque expanse of its rivers, its green fields and its streams welling up from the purest fountains, and like the children of the patriarch, Abraham, came without hesitation unto the land pointed out to them by God, this is my answer: they will dwell in the house of the Lord with the angels and archangels of God forever; they will behold in Sion the God of gods, to whom be honor and glory for eternal ages." Possessing only long staves, leathern wallets, with drinking bottles fastened to their girdles, these apostolic men explored other lands as Poland, Bulgaria, Russia and Egypt.

The lives of these Irish exiles illustrate in a striking manner some of the fundamental characteristics of the Celtic race. As in other subjects in the natural order, so too in the history of a people there are fundamental laws guiding its destiny. There are immutable principles governing its manifestations down through the long ages. The lives of these missionaries are an example of the spiritual destiny of the Celt. Other immutable qualities in the history of the race reinforce this central attribute. A vivid imagination, a gleam of mysticism, a fiery, enthusiastic nature, saddest pathos accompanying the punishment that in our fragile nature seems to be the result of the defense of the right, unfailing humor given by a gracious providence to uphold the suffering—these are some characteristics, some contributions of the Celt to humanity, and they attractively set forth his sense for the spiritual, his interest in the other world, his love for the unseen things that are eternal. "The dreamer lives on forever, but the toiler dies in a day." These gifts would have been of little use to humanity were they not accompanied by another unvarying characteristic of the Celt, his restless genius, his wandering impulse which,

apostle-like, diffused the other gifts to the ends of the earth. This wandering missionary spirit of the Celt is not a thing of the past. In medieval times it was, indeed, prominent. The harvest fields are changed according to the circumstances of the time and the opportunities of language, but today in far-off Australia, in South Africa, amid the snows of Canada. and beneath the Southern Cross of Argentina, at present commencing missionary work in China—wherever the Irish exiles are found—they are fulfilling the mission of their race.

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SHAKESPEARE AND FREE WILL.

The freedom of the will is an ever recurring problem in philosophy, in practical ethics and in art. The history of philosophic thought is largely the history of the theories pertaining to free will, from the days of the Epicureans down to the days of the Pragmatists. Every ethical teacher, however impatient he may have been of fine spun distinctions beloved of his more speculative brethren, has found himself at every turn face to face with the same problem. And the artist, too, despite his differing outlook on life and man, has to some extent realized that, whether he interpret life through the medium of sculpture or painting, poetry or music, the freedom of the will is an issue eminently pertinent to the understanding and the expression of the finer spirit of human nature.

This is especially true of the dramatist. Whether or not we object with Mr. William Archer to the Aristotelian designation of the drama as a conflict of wills, we cannot ignore the fact that without some manifestation of volitional force there can be no drama. The play does not, indeed cannot, concern itself merely with still life; it must show man in action and man in action implies man willing. It is a far cry from the comedies of Aristophanes to the comedies of Mr. George M. Cohan, but into both the element of volition enters in no unmistakable way. Every dramatist, according to the measure of his gifts, must be something of a philosopher, he must possess theories of life; and those theories will be found to constitute the guiding principles of his craftsmanship and the soul of his interpretation of life.

In his manner of presenting his theories of life the dramatist necessarily parts company with the philosopher. The latter has a case to state and he states it, a problem to solve and the solution—adequate or not—is at once forthcoming; his realm

is to a great extent the realm of the abstract, and he is concerned greatly with universal ideas. The presentation of his notions is ordinarily direct and unveiled. The dramatist, on the other hand, is often unconscious of his philosophy. He is concerned, not with man, but with men; what appeals to him is not the law of general averages, but the phenomenon of the exceptional instance. While his characters are almost always types, he is not interested in them as such, but as individuals. His general aim is to portray and to interpret human life; but he achieves that aim by limning individual souls.

Again, the philosopher is usually a subjective thinker—witness Epictetus and Nietzsche—while the dramatist is of necessity an objective thinker. Though characteristically sweeping and inexact, Macaulay's contention that Byron had nothing of the dramatic in his genius was based upon a profound truth—Byron was too subjective to find in the dramatic form the most adequate medium of expression. A random sentence taken from the writings of a philosopher or a lyric poet may prove to be an epitome of the author's outlook on life, the golden key that unlocks the treasure of his thought; but isolated passages from a dramatic writer are not necessarily the expression of the author's fundamental theory of life—in most cases they are merely the expression of the attitude of his character creations. The dramatist's life philosophy, if we are to reach it at all, can be glimpsed only from his works taken as a whole, from his prevailing tone and attitude, from the sum total of the impressions made upon us by his plays.

The attitudes taken by the most representative dramatists of the world toward the problem of free will may be reduced to three. The first attitude is that which regards men as powerless in the grasp of fate, and this view has been notably voiced by Sophocles. The second atttitude—which is to a vast extent the present-day attitude—stresses the elements of heredity and environment, and it receives its most adequate expression in the plays of Ibsen. The third attitude is that which, while not ignoring the element of fortuity in human affairs and making due allowance for heredity and environment, insists

that each man is personally responsible for the making or the marring of his own fortune. Shakespeare stands as the representative of this view.

Sophocles was a child of his race. The Hellenic stand against the eternal riddle of life took the form of evasion rather than of solution. When the strands of life become hopelessly tangled, it is an easy and often a graceful thing to lay the blame at the feet of the Fates; and that such was the prevailing procedure of Sophocles is the abiding impression one gets from a study of those of his plays that have been preserved to us. But seven out of the hundred odd dramas he composed are open to our perusal; but those seven sound so persistently the note of fatalism that we are justified in assuming that it was the characteristic expression of their remarkable author.

"Search where thou wilt," says Antigone in *Œdipus at Colonus,* "Thou ne'er shalt find a man with strength to escape when fate shall lead him on." This is the dominant note of the tragedy of Sophocles. The tragedy of life, to him, consists in the very fact that man is helpless, that individuals are but pawns upon the chessboard of the gods. The story of the unhappy Œdipus is the story of the relentlessness of fate. Aware of the dreadful prophecy that he should slay his own father and marry his own mother, Œdipus flees from his native place and seeks to set fate at defiance; but the means he chooses to avoid his destiny prove to be the means of fulfilling the oracle in all its repulsive details.

Sophocles, "who saw life steadily and saw it whole," gave a consistent expression of his philosophy in the words he put into the mouth of Creon, overtaken by the avenging fates: "I thought some god smote me from above with crushing weight, and hurled me, wretched man, into ways of cruelty." From one point of view this may be taken as the self-defence of the writhing offender, seeking to evade the force of the lash; but read in relation to its context, the passage yields no such interpretation. Creon, whatever else may be thought of him, was no cringer; and here he gives voice to his underlying convictions, convictions which the Chorus shares: "I see that

from olden time the sorrows in the house of the Labdacidæ are heaped upon the sorrows of the dead; and generation is not freed by generation, but some god strikes them down, and the race hath no deliverance."

This attitude toward life minimizes, or rather negatives, free will. The pathos that invests such a character as Œdipus is the pathos of hopelessness; turn in whatsoever way he will, the foreordained victim cannot escape his destiny. "Happiest beyond compare never to have tasted life."

The present-day attitude toward free will—an attitude which results from experimental science gone mad, knowing no confines—has been well expressed by Ibsen. Just what the future will think of Ibsen is not our immediate concern. He merits attention here because, in his own most representative plays and in those of his numerous imitators, we find the volitional element in man dwarfed almost beyond recognition. It is sometimes said that the Ibsen cult has already lost its power with play-readers and play-goers. However that may be, the influence of Ibsen, both as regards technique and as regards content, is still in evidence among playwrights. Any one, for instance, who fails to detect a striking kinship between Ibsen's *Ghosts* and Mr. Galsworthy's *The Pigeon* can hardly be credited with much acumen.

The key ideas in Ibsen's dramas taken as a whole are heredity and environment. Without a frank recognition of this fact the plays are—what more than one critic, including Mr. William Winter, declare them to be—a series of incomprehensible nightmares. Hedda Gabler is thoroughly unaccountable until we remember that she is the daughter of old General Gabler; that explains her bravado under fire and her uncomfortable penchant for toying with pistols. Nora Helmer baffles analysis until we recognize in her the inhabitant of the doll's house—a doll suddenly awakened to more than mechanical life. Often an audience has passed out from the once popular Ibsen matinee performance of *Ghosts* dazed, impressed, but not enlightened. Why does Oswald plead for the sun? The boy is what he is because of his father's character and his mother's training.

The dominant impression one derives from the bulk of Ibsen's dramas—at least one exception is found in the case of *The Pillars of Society*—is that life is a sad, hopeless affair at best and that man is far from being the architect of his own fortunes. The will is at most an impotent spectator, not an active power for good or ill. The obvious and futile lesson of the Ibsen drama is that if we would make a man what he should be we must begin our reform with the man's grandfather. In one of his final productions Ibsen seems to sum up life as life appears to him:

Irene: We see the irretrievable only when—
Rubek: When—?
Irene: When we dead awaken.
Rubek: What do we see then?
Irene: We see that we have never lived.

Compared with Sophocles and Ibsen, Shakespeare stands forth as the champion of the freedom of the will. His protagonists range from a callow Romeo to a super-sophisticated Hamlet; and everywhere we get the definite and distinct impression that, whether they rise with Henry V or fall with Macbeth, they reap according as they have knowingly and willingly sown.

Yet there is nothing one-sided about Shakespeare's presentation of the essential truths of life. We have no reason to believe that he was consciously, or at least deliberately, attempting to prove a thesis in favor of the supremacy of the human will. A true artist, he was not of set purpose a preacher. He merely saw life with clear and untroubled eyes, and related and interpreted what he saw.

Were one to make a careful study of such a handbook as Miss O'Connor's "Index to the Works of Shakespeare," there can be no doubt that numerous passages might be discovered which, wrenched from their context and ingeniously arranged, would lead the unsuspecting observer to conclude that Shakespeare was as strong a believer in fate as was Sophocles of old. As a matter of fact, Shakespeare does recognize the existence of what has been variously called, fate, providence, karma,

nemesis, destiny or what you will; he knew life too well not to know that there are some things that, seemingly at least, are beyond human foreknowledge and independent of human control: but he realized as well that man is not the helpless toy or the passive victim of powers beyond mortal ken. Similarly, long before the world knew anything of the theory of evolution or the pseudo-science of eugenics, Shakespeare recognized—as all keen thinkers have recognized—that a man's ancestry and a man's surroundings aid in shaping a man's character. He freely admitted the existence of both fate and heredity, but he was neither a fatalist like Sophocles nor a realist like Ibsen. For, above and beyond all else, he discerned the great fact of human responsibility pointing to the individual will as the dominant factor in the upbuilding or the destroying of honor and chastity and truth. He saw that, in the words of his own Cassius:

> "Nor stony tower, nor walls of beaten brass,
> Nor airless dungeon nor strong links of iron
> Can be retentive to the strength of spirit."

That oft-quoted passage from Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister,* likening Shakespeare's plays to the book of life with the wind of fate tossing the pages to and fro, is more brilliant and impressive than accurate and felicitous. If fate does move the pages, it cannot alter one jot or one tittle of what is writ thereon.

Shakespeare's prevailing attitude toward the freedom of the will can be gleaned from a study of his plays as a whole, especially from his most representative tragedies, for it is in the serious drama that he can be most readily contrasted with Sophocles and Ibsen. *Œdipus Tyrannus, Ghosts* and *King Lear,* vastly different in many respects, have at least one thing in common: each embodies in dramatic form a manifestation of the tragic element in life. Œdipus is a tragic figure because he is so poignantly under the dominance of a merciless, inexorable, irresistible fate; Oswald is a tragic figure because ancestry and training have made him the pitiable wreck he becomes: In both cases the protagonists are the passive victims of outside forces. But in Lear we have a man who goes astray

with wide open eyes and who has chiefly himself to blame for his misfortunes. Lear is none the less tragic because he is the agent of his own undoing—indeed the broken old man on the storm-swept heath is a more heart-rending figure than the broken old man wandering in the grove near Athens—but we gain the distinct impression that his enemies, in a very vital and intimate sense, are those of his own household. The rôle played by Kent in *King Lear* would be unthinkable in either *Œdipus Tyrannus* or *Ghosts* because the Theban king and the degenerate son are not responsible for their unhappy lot. Both Kent and the Wonderful Fool in Shakespeare's sublime tragedy exist mainly to serve the dramatic purpose of impressing the spectators with a realization of the fact that Lear's rashness and impetuosity and unfatherly conduct are the true causes of his unhappy plight. The poor old king wrings our heart when he protests that he is a man more sinned against than sinning. Yet, in strict justice, we know that he is sinned against because he has sinned.

Gloucester, in the same drama, is a believer in fate; the same credulous spirit that causes him to believe his son Edgar unfilial makes him attribute all manner of evil to "these late eclipses in the sun and moon." He concludes that it is owing to the dictates of an overruling fate that "love cools, friendship falls off, brothers divide." His mental vision is clouded long before he loses his eyes. But Edmund, villain though he is, makes no such mistake; he laughs at his father's fatalism. "This is the excellent foppery of the world," he comments, "that when we are sick in fortune—often the surfeit of our own behavior—we make guilty of our disasters the sun, the moon, and the stars: as if we were villains by necessity, fools by heavenly compulsion; knaves, thieves and treachers, by spherical predominance; drunkards, liars and adulterers, by an enforced obedience of planetary influence; and all that we are evil in by a divine thrusting on: an admirable evasion of whoremaster man, to lay his goatish disposition to the charge of a star!"

These are the words of a man who knows the world and who, be his moral ideals what they may, is determined to face the

facts of life. Edmund is a self-confessed villain; but he is too clear-sighted to regard himself a villain by necessity; he deliberately chooses his way of life. And when retribution visits him, when "the wheel has come full circle," he sees in it, not the rulings of a whimsical fatality, but the bitter fruits of his own unholy sowing.

And Iago, the cleverest villain of them all, likewise scouts the idea of fatalism and insists upon the supremacy of the individual will. He has looked upon the world for four times seven years and has seen much of both good and ill, and the most practical lesson he has learned is a firm belief in the freedom of the will. "Our bodies are our gardens," he assures the imbecile Roderigo, "to the which our wills are gardeners: so that if we will plant nettles or sow lettuce, set hyssop and weed up thyme, supply it with one gender or herbs or distract it with many, either to have it sterile with idleness or manured with industry, why, the power and corrigible authority of this lies in our wills."

This passage merits more than passing attention, for Shakespeare here puts into the mouth of his supreme scoundrel a fairly adequate expression of his own prevailing attitude toward the freedom of the will. He by no means maintains that a man can escape the consequences of his own deeds—that were not freedom, but chaos; but he does maintain that the ultimate fruition of life is of a man's own choosing. We can sow what we will in the garden of life, and if the crop proves scanty or if it consists only of bitter herbs, we have to blame only the gardener, the human will.

Cassius teaches the same lesson when, urging Brutus to join the conspiracy against Cæsar, he reminds him:

> "Men at some time are masters of their fates:
> The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,
> But in ourselves, that we are underlings."

What is this but a reiteration of Iago's declaration "'Tis in ourselves that we are thus or thus."

Shakespeare recognizes the influence of environment, just as he recognizes the influence of fate; but to neither nor to

both does he assign the balance of power in mundane affairs. He shows us both Prince Hal and Falstaff exposed to the emasculating environment of the Eastcheap tavern and pictures the reactions of each, the one rising to heroic heights, the other sinking to the level of a foul-mouthed buffoon. Prince Hal eventually became the virile Henry V who, as has been beautifully said, "flung the English yeomen like a foaming wave over the walls of Harfleur," while Falstaff drifted from worse to worse until we witness the wretched spectacle of his death, the once dashing, fun-loving knight plucking helplessly at the sheets and, as Theobald would have it, babbling of green fields. It was not environment that caused this wide difference between the ultimate careers of the erstwhile boon companions whom Dame Quickly knew so well; "the power and corrigible authority of this" lay in their wills. "Occasions," Thomas à Kempis has sagely said, "do not make the man, but they show what he is."

The problem of temptation is one phase of the general problem of environment. Shakespeare's presentation of it in *Macbeth* lends further illustration of his belief in the supremacy of the human will. The Weird Sisters hail the Thane of Glamis on the blasted heath as temptations come into the life of every man; they represent "supernatural soliciting," not supernatural compulsion. The prophetic salutation, "All hail, Macbeth, that shalt be king hereafter," did not destroy Macbeth's volitional freedom; it did not make him a mere toy of circumstance. He started and seemed to fear things that did sound so fair, because the mysterious words voiced his own long-nurtured thoughts of evil. It is only a superficial reading of the play that finds in the Weird Sisters' greeting Macbeth's first intimation of regicide. Here, as later in the play, Macbeth was determined to "take a bond of fate."

Of theories and counter-theories of *Hamlet* there is literally no end; but all of them turn in some manner or other on the freedom of the will. Whether we consider Hamlet a madman, an invalid, an idealist, a saint or a degenerate; whether we see in him with Goethe an oak tree in a vase, or with Miles

a hero equal to all odds and any emergency, or with Coleridge a thinker whose power of action is lost in the energy of resolve, we are at least convinced that his problem is a problem of volition.

Hamlet, the crowning glory of Shakespeare's genius, is his most superb exposition of the rôle played by the human will in the affairs of men. The motif of this marvelous fusion of thought and action, of tragedy and comedy which, in the words of one of its most brilliant commentators, "resembles some limitless Gothic cathedral with its banners and effigies, its glooms and floods of stained light and echoes of unending dirges," is sounded in a memorable couplet by the many-sided protagonist:

> **"The time is out of joint. O cursed spite**
> **That ever I was born to set it right!"**

Here we have a recognition of the three attitudes maintained by dramatists toward the human will. "The time is out of joint," voices the Ibsen attitude. Hamlet admits the fact of an uncongenial environment. Were the author of *Ghosts* to construct a drama on the theme of *Hamlet* the sentence would prove the keynote of the play. And the play itself, we have reason to assume, would concern itself with the tragedy of the Prince of Denmark beating madly against the bars of his limitations and finally falling vanquished, a victim of his environment.

"O cursed spite!" expresses the attitude of Sophocles, the believer in unbending fate. Were *Hamlet* rewritten in the spirit of the author of the Œdipus trilogy, the Ghost, as the symbol of destiny, would assume a leading part in the play. The supernatural mandate would fall with crushing force on the bowed head of the protagonist who, in his melancholy suits of solemn black would pace through the play aimless, hopeless, helpless, driven to his doom by forces over which he had no control, or else vainly flee from what was to be, even as Orestes of old sought to escape the unrelenting Furies.

But the note of personal freedom, of selective will, plainly

enters into the line, "That ever I was born to set it right," and becomes, under Shakespeare's treatment, the dominant theme. The work of setting right the time is given to the Prince of Denmark, even as some life work is given to every man born into the world. His specific problem—and a multi-facetted problem it proves to be—turns upon the manner of setting it right. Hamlet is given pause, not because he sees no way out of his difficulty, but because he sees so many ways. He must make up his mind; he must exercise his freedom of will. Hamlet waiting on the platform at Elsinore to meet the Ghost, Hamlet planning the play scene, Hamlet venting the torrents of his bitterness and woe upon the gentle Ophelia, Hamlet reproaching his mother, Hamlet observing the king at prayer, Hamlet wrestling with Laertes in Ophelia's grave, Hamlet engaged in the fatal game of foils—all these are vital steps in the development of the play, and every one of them turns upon a free, deliberate act of Hamlet's will. The "divinity that shapes our ends" has naught to do with the rough-hewing of the acts that make or mar our life work.

It need hardly be said that Shakespeare's attitude toward the freedom of the will—an attitude which is broad enough to take into account the fact of providence and the play of circumstances without attributing to either or to both the supreme and unalterable function of fashioning the career of the individual man—is one that commends itself both in the light of Christian teaching and in view of the practical affairs of daily life. Here as elsewhere, Shakespeare tells the truth. It is deeply significant that Shakspeare's professed fatalists and extreme believers in the force of environment are not one of them of heroic mold. His Edmunds and Iagos, on the other hand, are champions of volitional freedom; and though villains, they are at all events men of action. Ruskin, it will be remembered, maintained that Shakespeare has many heroines, but not one hero. Among those many heroines, it is difficult to find a solitary fatalist; Rosalind, Imogen, Beatrice, Isabella unanimously agree with Helena that

"Our remedies oft in ourselves do lie,
Which we ascribe to heaven: the fated sky
Gives us free scope; only doth backward pull
Our slow designs when we ourselves are dull."

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INSTRUCTION IN SEX HYGIENE.

The movement to introduce instruction in matters of sex into the curriculum of public schools, though strongly advocated as early as the eighteenth century by the German educationist Basedow, has only within very recent years become at all general. Such a step marks a long advance from the simple plan originally devised for our common educational institutions, but is only another expression of a prevailing purpose to establish in the school the theatre for the discharge of duties and offices that venerable tradition has heretofore restricted to the secluded precincts of the home.

That the manner and measure of imparting this instruction present no little difficulty is generally recognized. But it is not with any pedagogical problem that we are here directly concerned. Rather would we address ourselves to the moral aspect of the movement—an aspect involving confessedly the most vital consequences.

Of the havoc wrought by sexual immorality there can be no question. The statistics that would give us an approximate estimate of the physical evils due to the vice enable us to gather but a faint idea of its moral devastation. The disease surely cries for a remedy. And we are told that an effective remedy is at hand in the instruction which it is proposed should be introduced into our schools, regarding the nature and functions of the reproductive organs, their hygiene and the terrible issues following upon their abuse.

It will be noted at the outset that such a plan is of piece with the ethics of our modern day naturalism—the ethics that would submit all the springs and purposes of life to the scrutiny of the laboratory, thence to gather motives and sanctions sufficient for the purity and guidance of morals. The word morals is here, however, out of place. We should for great exactness use the word hygiene. For it is hygiene that is the norm of

action this new education would establish. "I confess that I am not moral" complacently observed a young man, one of the first fruits of this social reformation, "but I am hygienic." The cynicism of the remark cannot blind us to its logical pertinence. For what other attitude can be expected when the physiological aspects of one of the most sacred functions of life are so accentuated and the motives for sexual purity become identified with considerations of physical sanitation.

But confining ourselves to the narrow question of the specific proposed, we do not hesitate to affirm that the suggested instruction is thoroughly inadequate to afford the remedy sought. While illuminative, it is not operative. "Video meliora proboque—deteriora sequor" says Ovid, and we are warranted in concluding to the insufficiency of this kind of enlightenment alone to check indulgence from observing the results that ordinarily follow upon the efforts that are made to prevent boys from contracting the habit of smoking. A drop of nicotine, they are told, is capable of killing a dog. Yet while not formally rejected the warning proves of little avail. Again striking accounts are given in the text-books of physiology, commonly used in our schools, of the havoc wrought upon the human organism by alcohol. We have yet to hear, however, of any extended expressions of complacency over the measure of restraint brought about merely by means of such representations.

Now we would not be understood as discountenancing all instruction whatever in sexual life. Some direction is necessary, but even though there were the motive power in merely intellectual enlightenment, which we deny, such direction would not require the elaborate and technical knowledge urged by most of our modern hygienists. According to Havelock Ellis one who would adequately fill the role of teacher in this proposed department of education must among other wide accomplishments "have a sufficient knowledge of the facts of sexual psychology, sexual physiology, and sexual pathology, knowledge which, in many important respects, hardly existed at all until recently and is only now beginning to become generally accessible." [1]

[1] Havelock Ellis: *The Task of Social Hygiene*, Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1912, p. 250.

It would be interesting to know just what the author quoted has in mind as constituting a "sufficient knowledge" in the above named branches. We are warranted in inferring it to be a special scholarship, so special as quite to require the training of a physician. Indeed, according to Dr. Mall the ordinary physician is not fully equipped for the task: this writer informing us that "the very persons to whom to-day we have to look to effect the sexual enlightenment of children are themselves, to a great extent, also in need of enlightenment: and in respect of many of the questions about which the child has to be enlightened no general harmony of scientific opinion can as yet be said to obtain." [2]

Because of the lack of unanimity among the scientific, Dr. Mall expresses himself as sceptical regarding the results of sexual education. He instances as occasioning controversy—the question whether or not the secret sin is in certain circumstances physiological; again, whether or not sexual abstinence is detrimental to health. Yet even though these questions, as others that bear upon the sex problem, might be recognized as settled according to the sense of the great majority of representative physicians, the ends that it is sought to accomplish through the proposed instruction would to no appreciable extent be advanced. And this for the simple reason that the means to this end are to be found not in an increased measure of intellectual illumination but in an increment of moral strength, not in greater light but in ampler power. They are to be discovered in a strengthening and development of the will.[3] Now like every other faculty the will can gain the

[2] Dr. Albert Mall: *The Sexual Life of the Child.* English translation by Eden Paul, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1912, p. 303.

[3] The dramatic production of Brieux entitled "Damaged Goods (*Les Avaries*), which of late has created quite a sensation in New York and Washington, has been hailed as showing in a most eloquent way the necessity and efficacy of intellectual enlightenment to stay the plague of sexual immorality. Yet the futility of mere knowledge as a moral deterrent could hardly be more palpably set forth than it is in this play. The whole of the first act is taken up with a dialogue between a physi-

qualities of firmness and vigor only by pursuit of what is its distinctive object and by adherence to this object once it is attained. The good being the term of the will's action we recognize in what must consist the general manner and measure of this faculty's true education. In the question we are considering this training is secured by the realization and acceptance of the morally good. But by moral good we would signify something more than the hygienist ordinarily understands by the words. We would take it in the sense of a conformity to a norm of action prescribed by a personal God. This connotes an idea of obedience—an idea to which the Apostle refers when he writes the Thessalonians: "This is the will of God, your sanctification: that you should abstain from fornication, that every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour; not in the passion of lust, like the Gentiles who know not God." [4]

As correlative with the foregoing concept there necessarily occurs the thought of sin. And it is precisely here that we come upon a notion of which our frail youth stand eminently in need. Yes, our boys and girls require to be convinced of the nature, the enormity, the ravages of sin. In such a conviction will be found a motive and deterrent that all the considerations drawn from sociology, psychology, physiology and pathology are thoroughly incapable of supplying. These latter have a place of course, but anterior to them all must be the constraining thought that "neither fornicators, nor adulterers, nor the effeminate nor liers with mankind . . . shall possess the Kingdom of God." [5]

We recognize that we are here adducing motives that will

cian and a patient in which the latter is made to understand clearly the character of his disease and the moral obligation resting upon him to abstain from marriage for a certain period. But the injunction to defer wedlock laid down with all impressiveness is disregarded.

Again in the second act the grandmother is made aware of the dread results that threaten the nurse from suckling the infected infant. Such information, however, is impotent to check the purpose of the grandparent, the nurse being saved only by the warnings of the physician.

[4] I Thess. IV, 3 *sqq.* [5] 1 Cor. IV, 9.

be accorded small measure of efficacy in the ethics of our present day naturalism. Together with the religion whence they spring they will be reckoned as "such stuff as dreams are made of." But such an estimate is made possible only by the fact that our naturalistic philosophers fail to bear in mind the effect which just these religious considerations have had upon the society in which they live. It is because these motives still hold sway even to an extent of which society itself is generally unconscious, that the baneful character of the principles and morals of naturalism are not at present more generally discovered. As yet there is about these latter an academic aloofness. They are thriving in the attenuated atmosphere of the study. But once let them become vitalized, once let them supplant to a wide extent the religious springs of action that have prevailed thus far and we will have a practical demonstration of their pernicious quality which all the arguments from the arm-chair will be powerless to obscure. Then from their evil fruits will we know how to appraise unfailingly the ethics that would cry out for emancipation from the ancient restraints of a disavowed religion.

Of course, we do not forget that many who advocate instruction of children in the physiology and hygiene of the sexual life would disavow the principles of naturalism. But it is only through the extensive influence of these principles that this general movement finds its due explanation. And this not so much because naturalism would seek to bring about a moral reform through mental enlightenment, but because it would eliminate as impelling motives all considerations other than those afforded by the natural law as such. These, as far as they go, are excellent. But we affirm that for the great mass of humanity they are and ever will be morally indequate to encompass the end of which it is here question. Examples of this insufficiency are readily available. Instance the results following upon the earnest efforts of the eugenists to arouse in our society a greater sense of responsibility to the duties of parenthood. The glories of maternity, the duties that every woman owes to society, the social consequences that must ensue

if the role of motherhood is spurned or even in small measure slighted, were never so eloquently or so persistently set forth. But how meagre is the fruit of all these appeals we know. We are told that the shunning of the office is easily traceable to the inordinate love of ease and indulgence which pervades our modern life. Just so, but from this sensuous gratification our society is to be effectively aroused, not by information regarding its social obligations, not by thought of the natural dignity of motherhood, but by an awakened response to the old traditional motives of religion. And the best proof of this is to be found in the fact, that it is owing precisely to the neglect and scorn of these motives that the conditions rightly recognized as the fertile source of the evil deplored have come about.

Similarly, reason clearly dictates that we should hold imperiously in check our animal passions. This is seen to be a very fundamental prescription of the natural order. Nevertheless, if we are to appraise duly the constraining power of this ordinance, we must view it not as an abstract principle but as an actual motive in every day life. We will then recognize that with humanity in the mass, with its primitive and overweening passions this injunction of reason is thoroughly insufficient. No, the flesh and blood of this humanity must know and feel a power greater than itself, a power capable of raising it out of itself if it is not to succumb continually to its animal instincts. This power positive religion, with its sanctions alone, is capable of supplying. Says Prof. Foerster: "There are certainly a number of highly rational arguments against pleasure seeking, selfishness and passion, but when pitted against the elemental forces of life, they are seen to be powerless—at any rate in the case of strong and passionate natures. For such the belief in a higher and eternal life is alone able to overcome the enticements of our life in the flesh." [6]

[6] F. W. Foerster: *Marriage and the Sex Problem.* New York, Frederick A. Stokes Co. We would commend this work most highly. With the exception of an inexcusable passing reference to indulgences it sets forth the Catholic doctrine regarding the Sex-Problem admirably well. The chapter on "The Indispensability of the Ascetic Ideal" is particularly praiseworthy.

Again it will not be difficult to inculcate the truth that the laws of Nature cannot be violated without grave consequences. But the mills of God grind slowly, and the penalty that awaits the offender is readily recognized as being generally too distant to arouse the fear necessary to create an effective motive of restraint. Venereal diseases follow quickly, it is true, upon certain impure relations: but even those needing least any information regarding the character of such disorders easily persuade themselves that they will be of the number that will escape the dread contamination. Once the idea of sin is realized, however, the sanction behind offended law is seen to be inevitable. "If any man violate the temple of God, him shall God destroy." [7] "Wrath and indignation, tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doth evil.[8] This thought gaining harborage there comes a sense of personal responsibility and a deterring influence no other source can furnish.

We have said that we are to look for the remedy against sexual impurity in moral strength and consequently in the mastery of the will over the sensuous appetite. This entails, however, a constant and unremitting warfare. For while the rational faculty would seek what redounds to the weal of human nature as a whole, the lower appetites, regardless of this general welfare, would strive to indulge unrestrained the gratification of the senses. Hence it is that "the flesh lusteth against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh." The insubordination of the lower faculties to the dictates of reason constitute, it is clear, an inherent weakness of human nature. "I find then a law; that where I have a will to do good, evil is present with me. For I am delighted with the law of God, according to the inward man: but I see another law in my members, fighting against the law of my mind, and captivating me in the law of sin, that is in my members. Unhappy man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death." [9]

The unruly desire of the "members" against the "mind"

[7] 1 Cor. III, 17.
[8] Rom. II, 8.
[9] Rom. VII, 21-25.

is specifically known as concupiscence and though declared to be sin by Luther and the Reformers it is not such. It is, indeed, so styled by St. Paul, but this only in the sense that it is the result of sin and to sin is a most potent allurement. It beomes imputable as moral wrong only when it gains to its movements the consent of the will. And according to the measure in which this faculty resists the undue impulses and longings of the flesh will its power and ascendency be established as on the other hand weakness and final enslavement await inevitably upon its compliance with these cravings. In this conflict, moreover, the will can hope to escape the captivity, spoken of by the Apostles, not by direct assault or repulse, but only by flight. The voice of the tempter is so alluring that only by getting away from its sound can safety be gained. No one having had the least experience in the care of souls needs to be told this. Nor is such manner of acting called for only in time of pressing temptation. The smouldering embers of the masterful passion must, as much as possible, be allowed to remain unshaken. They would certainly be stirred up, however, in the case of the young by the analysis and discussion of the sexual life and its processes. Inevitably there would ensue upon such instruction a titillation of the senses and a stimulation of the imagination which would seduce the will before the evil effects of passion could be realized.

Let it not be supposed that in turning away the mind of the young from thought of the reproductive system the hope is entertained for a moment of eliminating all sexual stimuli. This thoroughly absurd idea, it would appear, is attributed by the hygienists to those who oppose their plans. "We must clearly realize at the outset," says Dr. Mall, "that the complete exclusion of sexual stimuli in the education of children is impossible," [10] and Havelock Ellis observes that: "Games and physical exercises induce in many cases a considerable degree of sexual stimulation. But this need not cause us undue alarm, nor must we thereby be persuaded to change our policy of recom-

[10] Mall, *op. cit.*, p. ——

mending such games and exercises." [11] Very true, but there is no question here of such exclusion, there is question only of mastery. And this, we submit for reasons given, our children will not gain by being told, in their class-rooms, about the nature and the workings of these stimuli. Sexual activities of course are not eliminated when the attention is diverted from them, but the evil suggestiveness they ordinarily would have for the youthful imagination is precluded.

It is argued, however, that right information is required to counteract the misrepresentations which are so frequently imparted by vicious associates. But just here we come upon an effective argument against the introduction of the proposed instruction into the schools. For the subject of the class-room discussion, though it be ever so skilfully and delicately presented, will be later called up by the depraved as a theme upon which to exercise their scurrility and mischievous wit. True, children of this kind need not to be prompted to discover their evil thoughts; nevertheless, they will not fail to avail themselves of the opportunity thus presented to give a wider play to their degrading influence. But it may be contended, after the sound instruction of the school, the power to mislead will be taken from these children. This would be true if the latter induced the innocent to wrong through psychological, physiological or pathological error. This, however, is ordinarily not the case. The evil is accomplished for the most part, not by misinforming and deceiving the intellect, but by arousing passion through representations offered to susceptible imaginations. And this can be brought about not merely through the erroneous ideas but likewise through the exact information which the vicious may publish. And that this class possesses

[11] Havelock Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 246. We are not sure what games Mr. Ellis has here in mind. We have assumed that he means healthy outdoor exercise. If however, he would embrace by the term what passes for games at many social functions or "parties," attended by the tender young of both sexes, we would strongly affirm that there is need for alarm since the effect of such games is to accelerate the development of the sexual instinct. And this should be ever studiously avoided.

a large fund of such information cannot be denied. Successful resistance then is conditioned, as a rule, not upon the possession of a body of accurate knowledge but upon the developed strength of will.

We have said that the influence of evil associates is not ordinarily owing to the power which these possess to vitiate the mind. We have thus qualified our statement, because we have in view certain false teachings that have had pernicious practical results. Mention has already been made of these in the extract quoted from the work of Dr. Mall. According to this teaching the secret sin is in certain stages of development purely physiological and continency in particular instances is detrimental to health. It will be recognized that the origin of these opinions is to be attributed not to the depraved company against which we would in a special manner warn our children, but to some members of the medical profession. This it is that gives to them a large measure of evil potency. With discussion of them we need not be detained. Fortunately, they have come to be universally repudiated by the more reputable physicians. We would observe, moreover, that though error such as this cannot but have baneful results, in practice the successful and thorough discountenancing of it, as we have already pointed out, affords no positive remedy against sexual immorality.

Largely as a consequence of the foregoing teaching is the idea current to some extent that mastery over the movements of concupiscence is at times impossible. This opinion may, indeed be regarded as the popular form which such doctrines could not but inevitably take on. And as this idea must needs lead to the enslavement of the will, so too must it gain increase of strength from the resulting subserviency of this faculty to the flesh. So it is that the debauchee fails to realize that others who have early and habitually exercised the restraints which he never practiced can possess a power of self-control to which he has become a stranger. Hence the insinuations, if not open charges, we so often hear coming from such a one against the celibate state; hence too the easy tolerance shown in many

quarters towards sexual immorality just so long as certain external forms of conventional propriety are not violated. Clearly then the doctrine that the promptings of the lower faculties can be successfully and habitually resisted must be studiously inculcated upon the young. But this is by no means sufficient. For again what avail is it all if one knows that he can gain the mastery over his animal passions if such mastery he does not gain. Over and above a pedagogy of the mind there is here required a sound pedagogy of the will and hence the necessity of recurrence to the principles we have endeavored briefly to set forth.

We have said that the best natural safeguards against sexual immorality was to divert the attention from the concupiscence of the flesh. And this suggests the rôle played by the sense of shame. The instructive characteristic of this sentiment should be accepted as an *a priori* evidence of its high value. It must have a function for which the intellect of itself is insufficient. We recognize such purpose in the case of other deeply rooted instincts. We know, for instance, that reason demands that every individual should take all available means to preserve his life, yet over and above this prescription is the impulse of instinct supplying the deficiency which in many a contingency would arise from the tardy workings of the higher faculty. We perceive, too, that the good of society requires that brother and sister should not entertain for each other the kind of sentiment that would prompt to their intermarriage. Reason would point out the evil consequences that would ensue, could such affection arise between those growing up together in the intimate association of the home. But anterior to the revelations of reason and precluding the danger that would result from waiting upon its discursive process, a providential instinct repels from these attachments. So in the instinct of shame we should find a preservative of purity—a preservative which reason unaided would often be too slow to afford. This in fact is the case. For this instinct puts a check to that freedom of speech and action which would incite to passion before the warnings of reason could be heard.

Again, it is recognized that the reproductive system has a most noble function. But this function is a social one. It is not primarily for the individual, it is for the race. Yet this view is realized only when the higher faculties are able to rise superior to the promptings of the flesh. This, however, will be morally impossible if the marital act and all that is naturally referable to it are freely and openly discussed. For in anything like an unhampered interchange of thought on the subject the imagination becoming inflamed and the will being captivated what should be regarded principally in the light of its high social purpose will come to be reckoned only as a means of individual gratification. Against the source of this overweening excitation must be arrayed, therefore, a barrier which is independent of the higher faculties. Such a hindrance is found in the instinct of shame.[12]

From this we may easily infer the answer that is to be made to Havelock Ellis when speaking of the doctrine opposed to what he would advocate on this question he tells us, "it is a theory that walks on two feet, pointing opposite ways: sex things must not be talked about because they are dirty; sex things must not be talked about because they are sacred."[13] That the so-called "sex things" are in a sense sacred, at least according to Catholic doctrine, there is no denying. The state of wedlock, in which only the generative act is legitimate, is a holy one, inaugurated in Catholic practice by a Sacrament. In a broad sense the act by which a human being is formed, necessitating as it does a particular concurrence of God, in the creation of an immortal soul, cannot but be looked upon as something sacred. But it is not because of this character

[12] It is a matter for surprise that even scientific writers should be so entirely oblivious of the scientific truth that very deeply rooted instincts invariably have some fundamental biological function to discharge. The mere intellect may not always understand what these functions are, for the very good reason that they may be intended as barriers to the intellect itself; they may serve to protect our most important vital processes from the dangers which threaten them through an excess of conscious attention." —Foerster, *op. cit.*, p. 185-186.

[13] Havelock Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

that there is thrown about the act and what immediately relates to it, a veil of secrecy. No, it is absolutely untrue to say that the reason alleged for not speaking about " things of sex " is the fact that they are sacred. If they were only this, no such silence would be imposed. The reason is elsewhere. For, besides being to an extent sacred, the generative function is physiological with such a passional content that while pure and undefiled within marriage, it cannot be generally discussed without imminent danger of arousing concupiscence. It is for this reason, and not because " things of sex " are in themselves sinful or " dirty," that they are not talked about. And for the more effective prevention of such perilous communication there exists the deep-rooted instinct we have described.

The sense of shame, as here understood, is we know reckoned of small value by our modern hygienists. And this for two reasons. It is, we are informed, but a relic of a discarded dogma according to which the sexual impulse is sinful. Originating thus in a false and pernicious tenet, this religious taboo is perpetuated by a no less false and pernicious conventionality. The other reason is to be found in the character of this feeling. It is morbid, springing from a false modesty and finding no warrant therefore in anything like healthy-mindedness. It is called prudery, and so stigmatized comes in for utter repudiation.

We have already referred to the error which would declare that concupiscence is in itself something sinful. As we said it was a cardinal doctrine of Luther and the reformers of the sixteenth century. But long before the dawn of Protestantism it was clearly involved in the baneful teachings of a certain branch of the Gnostics as later on in that of the Manicheans. It has always been condemned by the Church and the implication that it has been discountenanced only in our day, must be set down to ignorance or disregard of historical facts. It is unrelated to the idea that the sexual appetite is in itself sinful and such a contention is as unwarrantable as the various other theories that have been advanced by the naturalistic writers to account for its origin. The Sense of Shame of which we are

speaking is owing to the insubordination of the lower to the higher faculties. It is natural and intrinsic, in no wise the outcome of convention or conspiracy. And the proposal boldly advocated by some to speak unrestrainedly about the sexual life and its functions, opposed as it is to the compelling action of this radical instinct, must be dispatched as not only pernicious but nugatory.

But as there is a genuine so there is a spurious modesty. And it is this latter only we are told that would stand in the way of the proposed instruction in sex hygiene. That prudery merits the full measure of condemnation and of contempt as well, so generally given it, cannot be denied. It is to true modesty what the humility of the Uriah Heep kind is to the real virtue. For just as a parading obsequiousness is made to cover over an unduly sensitive self esteem, so the guise of modesty may often be assumed to hide a morbid consciousness developed from too much reflection upon the sexual life. "Is that statue immodest," was asked Johnson on a certain occasion, "No, but your inquiry is," was the prompt response. And so it might well have been. But this counterfeit shame, an artificial and vitiated growth, must not be allowed to discredit the character and office of the instinct of pure nature we have above described and which we insist would suffer violence by the instruction our hygienists would advocate.

Only less repellent than prudery is the absence of all delicate reserve regarding sex matters. While there is not in this latter, the content of shame generally associated with its opposite extreme, nevertheless in the case of womankind more particularly it is subversive of the charms that nature designed should be the portion of the gentler sex. Maiden modesty is more than a mere theme of poets. It has not only a protective value, as we have seen, but in constituting an attraction peculiar to sex it fills a rôle truly biological. But such reserve must necessarily be lost if in the class-room the girl of tender and susceptible years is made to listen to an analysis and discussion of a subject which according to all the promptings of her nature she would restrict to a matter of confidence with a sympathetic parent.

Finally, in the light of the contention that moral power is necessary to subdue the rebellion of our lower nature, we cannot but read a condemnation of the analogies continually drawn by the advocates of sex instruction between the reproductive process in man and the lower animals. Such assimilations are admittedly but part and parcel of the doctrine that would trace all instincts and emotions of humanity back to a "prehuman ancestry." [14] Into any discussion of that doctrine we are not called upon to enter here. We wish only to insist upon the total inadequacy of such considerations as would disregard the specific distinction marking off man from the lower creation to supply a sufficient check to sexual impulses. In catching up this idea of the artistic element, in animal courtship, in characterizing human love as a refined elaboration by means of evolution of the amatory passion that flows up through that of the fishes, of the birds and the higher mammals, we are looking for an ideal of conduct in a fatally wrong direction. No, our appeal must be made to a different court entirely. It must be presented to the spiritual nature in man—a nature that raises him to a thoroughly different order than that within which must ever range, the creatures below him. The lessons, then, which our hygienists would draw from animal physiology and life [15] necessarily tend to blind the mind to the source whence only can be found the strength to master the lower appetites.

In this diversion from the spiritual element, setting man apart from the lower order of existences, we read a contempt for the character and practice of asceticism. This form of self-conquest must, we are told, be put aside as violently unnatural.

[14] Say Thomson and Geddis: "To those at all acquainted with one of the most fascinating chapters in the natural history of the year, it cannot but seem strangely unobserving or pharasaic when men or women resent any analogy between animal-love and their own. In the first place we cannot deny our lineage even though we may not be able to point to any of its precise links. . . ." *Problems of Sex*, New York, Moffat, Yard and Co., 1912.

[15] As for instance in the story of the two colts in Winfield S. Hall's: *From Youth to Manhood*, p. 43, *et seq.*

It is dehumanizing, the fruit of it all being, as Havelock Ellis would say, ineffective angels rather than effective men and women. And right here we come upon an idea that has been more conducive to immorality than any other influence. This is the notion that the restraint aimed at and attained by the ascetics is to be looked upon as above the power of reasonable effort; that it is too much to expect of ordinary flesh and blood. The necessary issue of such a thought has been a relaxation of sustained struggle against native appetites and a consequent breaking down of what only could afford a barrier to the imperious onslaught of sensuality. To vindicate here the character and workings of asceticism would lead us beyond the scope of this article. Suffice it is to say with Professor Foerster that it "should be regarded not as a negation of nature nor as an attempt to extirpate natural forces but as practice in the art of self-discipline." [16] The realization that the essence of such discipline is in perfect conformity with a duly balanced life and that by it the spiritual powers of man can be enabled to maintain an habitual even though disputed sway over his lower faculties is a prerequisite condition to anything like an effective general movement looking to the restraint of sexual immorality.

As indicated at the beginning of this paper our criticism has been immediately directed against the plan to introduce instruction in sex matters into the curriculum of our common schools. We would not, however, be charged with desiring to shut off from the young all enlightenment and direction regarding their sexual life. But the place for such information and guidance is the home. And even here the method of instruction should largely be an indirect one. We have seen that education to purity involves primarily and essentially a question of power—a power which is to be developed, not so much by the exercise of strength elicited only when necessary to resist the rebellion of sexual passion, but by a larger round of habitual self-restraint issuing in an ever-growing sovereignty of the moral faculties. The regime submitted by many of our hygienists regarding diet, baths, out-door exercise, regular hours, sleep

[16] Foerster: *op. cit.*, p. 128.

and personal appearance must, therefore, be heartily approved. The faithful observance of such a regime besides its undeniable good effects on physical health, affords a discipline that must make for the upbuilding of moral character.

All this, however, is subsidiary to religious instruction, for it is religion, as we have pointed out, that is to supply the motives and sanctions that are to be the effectual checks to the evil we would stay. And as in the home the child first learns to lisp God's name, so is it there that the unfolding mind and heart are to be inculcated with the lasting idea of the heinousness of sin and of the seduction which on all sides await but to seduce from obedience to an Eternal Judge. True, it must be confessed the awful responsibilities here involved are in many instances but too poorly realized by those upon whom they necessarily fall. And just for this reason very largely sexual impurity has become so alarmingly general.

But what now of the instruction, to be given in the home and directly bearing upon sex hygiene?

We do not hesitate to say that such instruction is not to be at all of the extensive and elaborate kind that we might be led to think was necessary from the present literature on the subject. While not condemning the accounts given in such books as "What a Young Boy Ought to Know" to the childish query "Where did I come from," we think they ordinarily arouse more curiosity than they allay. Nor would we repudiate the stork story which has lately came into rather wide disrepute. Such a representation is to be put upon much the same level as that of Jack the Giant Killer and of the other Jack of the Bean Stalk. The growing child soon learns that it was not meant to deceive but to stop an inquisitiveness that might not well be indulged. Of course the critical age of puberty calls for especial attention and guidance. Understanding sufficiently the nature of the new phase that life takes on at this period, the sympathetic parent will strive to prevent the flood of vague feelings and emotions aroused in the child from taking the morbid bents to which they would often incline. The possible disquietude caused by the first appearance of certain physiolo-

gical processes will be duly allayed. Finally, the consequences following upon the indulgence of the secret sin will be made known, though for this anything like scientific discursiveness is uncalled for. Such is the amount of direct instruction, supposing the moral character otherwise developed, that will ordinarily be needed.

We have sufficiently referred to the power and influence of the Church to lessen the sexual evil when we spoke of the necessity and efficacy of religious sanctions and motives. We would say but a word in concluding of the particular potency resident in the confessional. In this tribunal not only the sin itself but the causes and occasions that have induced and encouraged it are unreservedly laid bare. It is here that the conditions modifying moral responsibility are best discovered. And this the confessor, at once spiritual father and physician, addressing himself to the peculiar weakness, liabilities and special temptations of the penitent, is enabled to afford a remedy which in its specific character is dowered with largest promise of healing and health.

JOHN W. MELODY.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Mediæval Musical Relics of Denmark, by Angul Hammerich. Translated from Danish by Margaret William Hamerik. Leipzig, Breitkopf & Haertel, 1912. In-4o, pp. viii + 126.

Although of foreign inspiration and publication, this book deserves a hearty welcome in its English translation. For, our English literature is so desperately poor in Gregorian science and matters thereto related, that any new piece of information about the subject takes the proportions of a revelation, at least for those who are not able to read foreign books in the original, that is to say, for the great majority of readers.

In truth, the present book does not deal with the majestic Gregorian repertory proper, but with elements of transition between the golden age of plain-chant and the music of modern times; eleven sequences or so-called proses, two hymns, and two hymn-like songs, all pieces of a popular character.

The sequence had a glorious life from the 10th to the 16th centuries. Born of the Gregorian chant, it was one of the factors that gave birth, after a long evolution, to the modern popular melody. Numberless sequences were composed and came into frequent use during the mediæval period, many of them being more remarkable in both the poetical and the musical aspects. But sequences were novelties, and works of private inspiration; and their texts, instead of being taken from Sacred sources as was the case for the bulk of the old liturgical repertory, were personal creations unsanctioned by legitimate authority, and, in some way, similar to our modern hymns in the vernacular; and, instead of keeping, as the latter, an extra-liturgical character and position, they showed a marked tendency to become an official part of the liturgical music. Hence arose difficulties and abuses, which finally were eliminated by the total suppression of sequences, with the exception of five only, that are still kept in our Catholic repertory. One of them, *Lauda Sion salvatorem,* has exactly the same melody as the sequence *Lux iocunda lux insignis,* reproduced and analysed in Mr. Hammerich's book. Likewise, his sequence *Ab arce siderea*

is musically about the same as the sequence *Exultet Ecclesia,* sung in the diocese of Paris on the feast of the patron St. Dionysius.

Condensed within a few pages, much information of great interest will be found in the first chapter of this book, about the origin and history of sequences, their older and newer textual forms, their musical structure, and other points. A second chapter treats of their primitive notation, rhythm, practical rendering, and transcription into modern musical notation.

After these preliminary generalities, the author comes to the scientific discussion of the musical pieces under examination. He makes his own the principle of the Benedictines of Solesmes in their *Paléographie Musicale;* no basis but "the sources." His sources are: 1° the *Liber Daticus Lundensis,* 12th century; 2° the *Liber Scolæ Virginis,* 14th cent.; 3° the *Codex Germanicus 786 Munich,* 15th cent.; 4° the *Codex Kiloniensis,* 13th cent.; 5° a Paper MS., Arne Magn. Collection, Univ. Libr. Copenhagen, 15th cent.; 6° the *Piæ Cantiones,* Finnish-Swedish song-book, 16th century. Number 1 supplies the sequences: *Ab arce siderea, Lux iocunda lux insignis, Alleluia nunc decantet;* n° 2, the sequences: *Missus Gabriel de cœlis* I, *Letabundus exultet fidelis chorus, Gaude Maria templum summe trinitatis, Jubilemus in hac die, A rea virga prime matris Eue;* n° 3, the sequence: *Missus Gabriel de cœlis* II; n° 4, the hymns *Gaudet Mater Ecclesia, Primo prôscriptos patria,* and the sequences *Preciosa mors sanctorum, Diem festum ueneremur martyris;* n° 6, the Carmen Vernale, *In vernalis temporis.* All these pieces may be read in the original notation, as the book gives facsimiles of the sources for each of them. And, of course, the sources first are verified, then the facsimiles with their special materials are discussed and analysed on account of the origin and history, text, tonality, melody, rhythm, use, etc.; and their transcription is made into modern musical notation. The whole work is a model of scientific accurateness.

Perhaps a slight objection may be raised about the transcription into modern musical notation as it figures in the book. In fact, when the Benedictine monks of Solesmes give such transcriptions of Gregorian chant, they take scrupulously into account the principle of the primary beat, or primary unit, which, in old music, adjusted all the time-values to the minimum value, that is to say, to the single note in music and the short syllable in speech; and they choose their primary unit in the modern system of notation,

usually the eighth-note or quaver; and, whatever may be the apparent monotony of the new writing, they stick to their principle, and put a quaver for each single note as well as for each integral element of neums or groups, trusting to the unisonic duplications of tones, the *morœ ultimœ vocum* suggested by crotchets, the so-called rhythmical signs, the influence of the tonic accent or text-phrasing, and the experience of singers, for the introduction of the due variety and for the vitalization of the melodies. Now, Mr. Hammerich is at home in everything relating to Gregorian rhythmics and knows all the controversies of the past and the present, and even chooses (p 10) to "agree with the Benedictine theory"; but he dares not reduce his faith to sweeping practice: for, in transcribing his manuscripts into modern notation, he uses quarter-notes or crotchets for the single notes, and eighth-notes or quavers from the grouped notes of neums. To be consistent, however, he gives us warning that "this rhythm in reality is timeless, and the notes must not therefore be misunderstood as representing fixed rhythmic values." All that would be well if every reader were able to understand this warning and to keep it in mind irrevocably. But, and here is the trouble, the great majority of readers will overlook or forget it, or will be unable to grasp its import; and the imperfect transcription is here, and will mislead everybody, even the best musicians, so imperious is the prestige of time-value in modern notation. A proof of this assertion is at hand in the book itself. Its Supplement gives a harmonization in four vocal parts of the sequence *Ab arce siderea* and of the *Carmen Vernale,* written by Professor Julius Röntgen. As the modern metric ¾ is supposed to be genuine for the latter piece, all is well for it. But what about the first one, which decidedly is an instance of free rhythm? Prof. Julius Röntgen, with the exception of a few passages in which some slight details are adapted by him to modern accentuation or to harmonic needs, takes the sequence with its rhythm as figured by the time-values of Mr. Hammerich's transcription; and he creates for it a very clever harmonization in true polyphonic style. Now, such a musical work, interesting as it may be, does away with any possibility of free rhythm: for, canonic imitations, as well as contrapuntal combinations of two or three notes against one, require a strict observance of the written time-values as soon as we come to a practical rendering.

It would be untimely, however, to insist on the foregoing objec-

tion. All told, the book, as a whole, is very remarkable, and will be of great interest to anybody who likes to inquire about the music of the past. And this is no small merit, granted that the chaotic position in which so many questions of musical archeology are still involved makes it extremely difficult to write about them in a manner which may please the majority of readers.

Mr. Hammerich closes his volume with a list of some seventy books of reference. Unfortunately, only five of them are published in English. When will our publishers start the work of translation and publication of some of those substantial books which compel the attention of the intellectual world on the other side of the Atlantic? Nobody knows! Publishers object that there is no demand for such books; and readers object that there are in English no such books to ask for: so, we are turning in a vicious circle. It is full time to act, if we would escape from it before the day of judgment.

ABEL L. GABERT.

The Lyric Year. Edited by Ferdinand Earle. Mitchell Kennerley, New York, 1912.

Over in England they have already learned to speak of the Victorian bards in that tone of polite contempt and depreciation which is more natural than proper in discussion the merits of our grandfathers and their times. And already the young poets and the young critics are hailing the Georgian Era as the dawn of a glorious day for English poetry. May their hopes have speedy and rich fulfilment. Meanwhile, we cannot help wishing the evidences they offer were as strong as their enthusiasm.

On this side the Atlantic, our poets, like the bards of old, have been competing for prizes. From ten thousand poems submitted by two thousand poets in one of these competitions, Mr. Ferdinand Earle, the donor of the prizes, has selected the hundred pieces which compose "The Lyric Year."

Unfortunately, we do not find ourselves able to greet our poets with the enthusiasm so generously bestowed on their contemporaries in England. Yet if this volume has only occasional fine poetic achievement, there is throughout it, at least, a keen sense of the poetical and a high standard of poetic expression—the elements which may combine in true poetry when inspiration strikes them.

What is lacking is not poetic imagination, but real inspiration, the spark which is struck from the clash of conflicting enthusiasms or bursts from a common enthusiasm, with a common faith and hope and love. The poets perceive the vague, impotent bigness and nerveless complexity of modern life; but what is it all about? Whither are we tending? What is there in our vast material civilization and feeble philanthropy to kindle their souls? And so, instead of being on fire, they are visibly striving after some master sentiment or idea to kindle their imagination into poetic expression. Hence the strained note of so many among them. Hence too the many varied tendencies in this volume, which mirrors, in little, our anarchic age.

These remarks may be verified, we believe, in examining the poems in this volume by Ridgely Torrence, George Sterling, Angela Morgan, Orrick Johns, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Herman Scheffauer, all of them highly gifted in poetry and all needing the spark from heaven to kindle their poetic gifts. Their power is ineffective, their vision vague and clouded. Probably, however, we should except the author of the most original poem in the volume, "Renascence." Edna St. Vincent Millay, was a girl of only nineteen when she wrote this remarkable piece, remarkable not because it was written by a young girl but because it expresses great conceptions in the simplest form. There are imperfections which mar its beauty quite seriously, but she is certainly a very promising poet.

Some of the older-fashioned poems are more successful. The best of all is the beautiful ode "To a Thrush" by T. A. Daly, a poet with a heart who believes it is a poet's business "to let himself go." There is high poetry in this piece because it expresses the genuine and keen feeling of a gifted poet. Those only were surprised at the perfection of its form who had never read his "Song for May." Another contribution to this volume very perfect in its way is Joyce Kilmer's "Martin," simple, unpretentious and homely, but as charming and human as Martin himself.

Our readers may like to know that the first prize was awarded to Orrick Johns, and the second prizes to T. A. Daly, and George Sterling. The editor speaks of "The Lyric Year" as aspiring "to the position of an Annual Exhibition or Salon of American poetry." If this aspiration be realized, it ought to stimulate some of our poets to do their best.

JOHN F. FENLON.

La Vénérable Emilie de Rodat, fondatrice des Religieuses de la Sainte-Famille de Villefranche-de-Ronergue (1787-1852). Par Mgr. J. F. Ernest Ricard, archevêque d'Auch. 1 vol. 12mo de la Collection "Les Saints." Paris, Lecoffre (J. Gabalda et Cie). 1912. Pp. xv + 210.

The admirable collection of biographies in this series (Les Saints) makes it clear that the heroes and heroines of faith, who have conquered the world in its warfare against the spirit, are not confined to any one period in the history of the Church. The life of the venerable servant of God which Archbishop Ricard relates with such touching devotion contains a profound lesson for Catholics of the present. Emilie de Rodat devoted herself to the cause of religion in the sphere where the need seemed to be greatest. Faith was assailed in the most insidious and most dangerous manner, namely through false methods of education. To meet this danger she collected around her a band of devoted women to undertake the task of educating young girls. Her biography is a narrative of difficulties and obstacles which were bravely overcome. A knowledge of her purposes and her devotion to the service of others will unquestionably do much to remove the spirit of oppression which gave rise to the "Associations Law."

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Das Missale als Betrachtungsbuch: Vorträge über die Messformularien. Von Dr. Franz Xaver Reck. Fünfter (Schluss-) Band. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis, 1912. 8°. Pp. viii + 451.

With this volume Dr. Reck ends his task of showing how the Missal may be use as a book for devotion and meditation. The plan of the work is well known. The various parts of the proper of the Mass, Introit, Prayers, Graduale, Epistle, Gospel, Post-Communion, etc., are explained and elucidated at length, with a view to bring out the great spiritual truths they contain. This volume deals with that portion of the Missal devoted to Lent and especially Holy Week. While the main purpose of the author has been to write a book of devotion, he has accomplished another

equally edifying and not less instructive in showing how the various parts of the masses have been brought together and thus illustrating the meaning and significance of liturgical times and seasons. One feature of the work especially commendable is the wealth of material it contains for instructive discourses based on Scriptural texts specially applicable to the various liturgical cycles.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Der Hl. Bernhardin von Siena und die Franziskanische Wanderpredigt in Italien während des XV. Jahrhunderts. Von Dr. Karl Hefele. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis, 1912. 8°. Pp. xi + 300.

The dearth of literature on the subject of popular preaching in the middle ages, especially the fifteenth century, makes the publication of this careful and scholarly work especially welcome. The author calls attention to the two great periods in the activity of the Franciscans as itinerant preachers, the thirteenth century, the time of St. Francis, and the fifteenth century which might be called the time of St. Bernardine of Siena. Several introductory chapters are devoted to the history of popular preaching as practised by the Franciscans in the fifteenth century. In graphic phrases the wandering friars are shown laboring zealously among the masses of the people and going from town to town and from country to country arousing the faith and rebuking the vices of the people. It is doubtful whether there were ever more successful religious "revivals" that those witnessed in the period under discusison. In some places business was suspended at certain times in the day to allow the populace to attend the sermons of the Frati. These sermons were most frequently delivered in the open air and were of just the quality to suit the capacity of the congregation. Various subjects of interest in connection with this extra-parochial preaching come in for due attention. There are chapters on the relations between the Friars and the diocesan clergy and their relations to the other Orders, the results of their preaching, etc. The life of St. Bernardine is described without detail or elaboration and with the intention of showing the place he holds as a great popular preacher. The last part of the work is devoted

to an analysis of the oratorical and homiletic characteristics of the preaching of St. Bernardine, of his special mission and purposes as a preacher and especially of his style.

In addition to its value as a contribution to the history of preaching this work throws a valuable light on the life of the fifteenth century. The preachers were practical above all else and concerned themselves with actually existing conditions. What was reprehensible in the lives of the people they adverted to, and the telling rebukes administered to some congregations for their lack of devotion, inattention at Mass, etc., are a vivid portrayal of popular life to be found nowhere else. The great academic preachers of the middle ages have had many biographers but it is doubtful whether their studied phrases and academic discourses were such important factors in mediæval life as the eminently practical sermons of the wandering friars.

Dr. Hefele has produced a most charming book and laid students of mediæval life under a profound obligation.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Life of George P. A. Healy. By his daughter Mary (Madam Charles Bigot). Edited by his Son and Daughters. Pp. 105.

Though this little volume is a tribute of devotion it is nevertheless merely a narrative of the life of an artist. Intimate details of family life and expressions of praise and veneration occur nowhere. In fact allusions of a personal character seem to be excluded only in as far as they are necessary to make clear some phase of the artist's activity. It is a biography of a man devoted to his profession rather than an account of a member of a family circle. Notwithstanding the care with which the peculiarly personal has been avoided, enough is said to reveal a man possessed of extraordinary mental and moral qualities and with unique singleness of purpose. The name of this great American is numbered among the world's great artists. His name is familiar on two Continents and it is singularly gratifying to know that his life so varied in its experiences and of such unremitting activity was that of a deeply and profoundly religious man. "He was mystically, sincerely, but most discreetly, religious. Born of a Catholic father

and a Protestant mother, he had been brought up in no particular form of worship. His art seemed to him religion enough. Then, through the influence of his friend, Bishop Fitzpatrick, of Boston, he became a most ardent Catholic. Once convinced he conformed his life to his creed, never speaking on the subject, never obtruding his belief on others. Only, almost invariably, he began his day of hard work by assisting at Mass."

PATRICK J. HEALY.

The Unbeliever, a Romance of Lourdes. By a non-Catholic. New York, Benziger Brothers, 1913. Pp. 243.

Many readers are acquainted with Zola's novel, *Lourdes*, in which the author, giving a vivid picture of pilgrim scenes at this famous shrine, distorts the significance of cures which he could not absolutely deny. In the present volume, the anonymous author, though not a Catholic, constructs a romance, in which the wonderful cures at Lourdes are taken to be undoubted workings of God's special agency, and became the means of turning a soul from irreligion to a life of fervent piety.

Felix Clement, a young Paris physician, is in love with his cousin, Andrée. She is a devout Catholic, while he is a confirmed agnostic. This wide diversity of religious views has all but shattered his hope of obtaining her consent to marriage. Andrée has a sister, Angélique, who is in the last stage of consumption. Having been pronounced incurable by her physicians, she was determined to make the pilgrimage to Lourdes to see if by supernatural means she could not regain her health. Dr. Felix strongly disapproves of what seems to him to be an act of sheer folly, but at the request of Angélique, he accompanies the invalid and her family on the pilgrimage. She is brought to Lourdes in a dying condition, and on the first day of the religious exercises, shows no sign of improvement. Andrée is deeply affected, and in her great desire to have the cure take place, secretly vows to become a nun and offers her own life as a substitute for that of her dying sister. The next day, Angélique is let down into the cold bath at the grotto and is suddenly cured. When the completeness of the cure is verified in the official bureau, Felix is impressed, but still does not believe. But a little later, when he finds himself before the

Blessed Sacrament, which is being borne in procession, he asks for a change of heart and to his great surprise is cured of an eye-defect. He recognizes the hand of God and believes. Thinking that every obstacle to marriage is now removed, he hastens to Andrée and is shocked to find her in the last stage of tuberculosis, and under a vow to die a nun. In a rage of despair, he goes to the shrine at daybreak, and is about to shoot himself, when a miraculous voice calls him to his sense of duty. He becomes a Franciscan and in after years leads the prayers for a band of pilgrims at Lourdes.

The story is cleverly told and enables the writer to depict vividly the typical scenes presented in a pilgrimage to Lourdes—the hospital train, the volunteer nurses and *brancardiers,* the bathing of the invalids, the blessings, the prayers, the processions, the medical examinations. The story is faulty, however, in the conclusion, where the supernatural element is employed far beyond the limits of probability.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

In St. Dominic's Country. By C. M. Anthony. New York, Longmans, 1913. Pp. 316. Price, $1.60, net.

Miss Catherine Woodcock, writing under the pen name of C. M. Anthony, brings this delightful little book to the public, timidly and with the frank avowal that it is by no means a *critical* work. The reader will see for himself that the book while not a dry-as-dust musty tome, is not by any means merely a tissue woven of unsupportable statements or an idle coinage of the author's brain. It is a charming and delightful description of the places in which St. Dominic lived and wrought the extraordinary apostolic career and the high sanctity over which the Catholic world has marvelled these seven hundred years—but it all rests upon well proven, authentic facts and in so far it resembles some rugged piece of masonry covered with a riot of verdure and blossoms. Be this as it may, the work was begotten of an intense and fervid spirit of love and admiration of St. Dominic and his work and carries its message to the souls which are swayed by a similar spirit of admiration and love.

In an introductory note the author says: "The book is not a life

of St. Dominic—not even a connected history of the Saint between 1205-1219, the period which he passed almost entirely in France. Still less, though several chapters deal with this much discussed war, does it claim to be a history of the Albigensian Crusade. That history has yet to be written. It is simply an attempt to describe St. Dominic's country as it is to-day, for the benefit of those of his children who have not, and may never have, the opportunity of visiting it; and to stir in the hearts of others for whom such a pilgrimage is possible, a great desire to make it! With such descriptions history naturally links itself, and each town, each village is fragrant with memories of St. Dominic, many—though by no means all—of which are noted in their place."

In a paragraph of the Introductory Note the author makes just acknowledgment of the sources from which she drew her information and from which she obtained the excellent and authentic illustrations which embellish the volume.

"I am also sincerely grateful to a large number of savants who have contributed not only valuable information but invaluable criticism. In a list of names far too long for quotation, which includes many French Dominican fathers, and the clergy of nearly all the parishes I visited—whom I would specially thank for their unfailing courtesy and kindness—a few must specially be mentioned: The Very Rev. Pierre Mandonnet, O. P., a historian of European fame, who has generously undertaken most of the responsibility of the French translation of this book, to which he is writing a Preface; The Very Rev. Fr. H. A. Montagne, O. P., Editor of the *Révue Thomiste,* and the Rev. F. M. Cazes, O. P., its secretary. Many Dominicans of this university, both Professors and students, have contributed expert information on various subjects. It was to gain such information that the book was written at Fribourg. I would also thank specially the Very Rev. Jean Lestrade, Curé of Gragnague, Hte. Garonne, an eminent archæologist, and Mlle. Louise Giraud, of Montpellier, a well-known historical critic.

As regards the pictures I must also say a word. Some places are not illustrated at all, while of others several different views are given. The former are those in which, so far as we know, nothing is left on which St. Dominic's eyes could have rested; the latter are still full of traces of his presence, *e. g.,* Fanjeaux and Montréal. To the Rev. Fr. Rosaire Eckert, O. P., of Toulouse,

whose seventeen beautiful photographs have been specially taken for us, this book owes much of its value. The thanks of all Dominicans are due to him."

Our author tells us that while Saint Dominic was conducting the crusade against the Albigenses and the Catharists the truths of the Catholic Faith were set forth before all the people by one of the missionaries and the Catharist and Albigensian errors and falsehoods refuted. The heretics in their turn replied and the conferences daily closed with a series of questions and answers not unlike that introduced into Catholic missions in recent years. We see here how ancient and time-honored are practices one sometimes rashly condemns as modern innovations and unwarrantable practices.

There are two appendices—Appendix A contains a clear and specific statement of the *Catharist Heresy* as St. Dominic found it in France.

Appendix B contains a transcription of a Fourteenth Century MS. in which is charmingly told the legend of the manner in which *St. Dominic* learned to speak German—a transcription of the original MS. was made by the Very Rev. Dr. Franz Steffens, Professor of Palaeography in the University of Fribourg, Switzerland.

In the excellent Preface which he has written to the volume, Fr. Schwertner, O. P., borrows the exclamation made one day by the Atheist M. Thiers when addressing the left wing of the French Parliament, who were not a little disturbed by the manifestations of Lourdes. "Pilgrimages are not the vogue with us." Let us hope that the volume will give to the French atheist the lie in the throat deep as the lungs and bring into vogue the custom again of going on pilgrimages to the places which still remain hallowed after the long lapse of seven hundred years, by the sweet and gracious presence of St. Dominic.

ALBERT REINHART, O. P.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Commencement Exercises, 1913

The Catholic University of America held its 24th Annual Commencement on Wednesday, June the 11th. The spacious Assembly Room of McMahon Hall was crowded to the utmost, and among the audience were noted many of the most distinguished persons in Washington. One hundred and sixteen degrees were granted, divided as follows: thirty-four A. B., thirty-three A. M., six B. S., ten LL. B., ten J. C. B., three J. C. L., nine S. T. D., three Ph. B., and three Ph. D. The degree of Doctor of Philosophy was conferred on the following: Rev. Paul Joseph Foik, Dissertation: "Pioneer Efforts of Catholic Journalism in the United States"; Rev. Matthew Francis McEvoy, Dissertation: "Fraternal Insurance with special Reference to Some Catholic Societies"; and Rev. Theodore Christian Petersen, C. S. P., Dissertation: "Unknown Copto-Arabic Grammar."

A notable feature of the Commencement was the granting of degrees to a large number of our Teaching Sisters. Twenty-three received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and twenty-five the degree of Master of Arts. In all cases this implied a year of residence in the Teachers' College near the University. The dissertations of the Sisters who took the Masters of Arts degree were marked by unusual excellence.

The address to the graduates was delivered by Representative Graham, of Springfield, Ill. In his beautiful and masterful address he paid a special tribute to the presence of fifty teaching Sisters at the Commencement, and hailed the work of the Teachers' College for our Catholic Sisters as the most important step we have taken towards the unification of our Catholic school Sisters.

The Deans of the several schools of the University presented the following students for degrees:

In the School of Theology:—

For the degree of Bachelor of Sacred Theology (S. T. B.):

Rev. Vincent de Paul Archambault, Albany, N. Y.; Rev. Joseph

Eugene Brady, New York City; Rev. George Aloysius Gleason, Providence, R. I.; Rev. Thomas Bernard Gloster, Hartford, Conn.; Rev. Patrick David O'Connor, St. Louis, Mo.; Rev. William Grover Schmitt, Cincinnati, O.; Rev. Walter John Orchard, Paulist Congregation, Helena, Mont.; Rev. Michael Martin English, St. Paul Seminary, St. Paul, Minn., Dubuque, Iowa.; Rev. Mathias Martin Hoffman, St. Paul Seminary, St. Paul, Minn.

For the degree of Licentiate in Sacred Theology (S. T. L.):

Rev. Francis Aloysius Fadden, New York City; Dissertation: "The Neo-Scholastic Conception of Actual Grace."

Rev. George Joseph Hafford, New York City; Dissertation: "The Teaching of Our Lord by Parables."

Rev. William Anthony Hemmick, Baltimore, Md.; Dissertation: "The Human Knowledge of Christ."

Rev. John William Marren, Providence, R. I.; Dissertation: "The Social Value of the Supernatural."

Rev. Robert Thomas Riddle, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dissertation: "The Morality of Strikes and Lockouts."

For the degree of Bachelor of Common Law (J. C. B.):

Rev. Joseph Roderick Allard, Dallas, Tex.; Rev. Vincent de Paul Archambault, Albany, N. Y.; Rev. John Lee Barley, Baltimore, Md.; Rev. Joseph Eugene Brady, New York City; Rev. Matthew Freeman Clarke, Providence, R. I.; Rev. Peter Joseph Gibbons, Providence, R. I.; Rev. John Xavier Murphy, Providence, R. I.; Rev. Patrick David O'Connor, St. Louis, Mo.; Rev. Eugene Brown Regan, Buffalo, N. Y.; Hugh Edgar Ryan, Natchez, Miss.

For the degree of Licentiate in Canon Law (J. C. L.):

Rev. John Joseph Featherston, Scranton, Pa.; Dissertation: "The Impediment of Disparity of Cult."

Rev. Thomas Joseph McHugh, Scranton, Pa.; Dissertation: "The Pauline Privilege."

Rev. James Joseph Mulholland, Scranton, Pa.; Dissertation: "Sponsalia."

In the School of Philosophy:

For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph. D.):

Rev. Paul Joseph Foik, Holy Cross Congregation; Dissertation: "Pioneer Efforts of Catholic Journalism in the United States."

Rev. Matthew Francis McEvoy, Fond du Lac, Wis.; Dissertation: "Fraternal Insurance with Special Reference to Some Catholic Societies."

For the degree of Master of Arts: (A. M.):

Rev. John O'Grady, Omaha, Neb.; Vernon Aloysius Coco, Marksville, La.; Charles Callan Tansill, Brookland, D. C.

For the degree of Bachelor of Arts (A. B.):

Thomas Raymond Robinson, Washington, D. C.; John Joseph Garvey, Providence, R. I.; James Leo McGuire, Riverpoint, R. I.; Ignatius Ambrose Hamel, Crookston, Minn.

For the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy (Ph. B.):

Albert Joseph Fleming, Scranton, Pa.; Francis James Fleming, Scranton, Pa.; Brother Matthew, St. Louis, Mo.

In the School of Law:

For the degree of Bachelor of Laws (LL. B):

John Augustine Gallagher, Wylie, Tex.; Alfred James Hackman, Cleveland, Ohio; Vincent de Paul Dooley, Brooklyn, N. Y.; William Concannon Walsh, Cumberland, Md.; Henry Philip Kerner, St. Mary's, Pa.; John Terence Clancy, New York City; Christian James McWilliams, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Julius John Weber, Mahanoy City, Pa.; John Adam Helldorfer, Baltimore, Md.; Thomas Bernard Ryan, Fairfield, Vt.

In the School of Letters:

For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph. D.):

Rev. Theodore Christian Petersen, Paulist Congregation; Dissertation: "Unknown Copto-Arabic Grammar."

For the degree of Master of Arts (A M.):

Rev. Patrick Aloysius Collis, Philadelphia, Pa.; Brother Jasper, F. S. C., Ammendale, Md.; Rev. Henry John Minea, St. Paul, Minn.; Rev. John Emerle Schwalbach, S. S., St. Austin's College; Henry Isidore Dockweiler, Los Angeles, Calif.

For the degree of Bachelor of Arts (A. B.):

James Francis Horan, So. Manchester, Conn.; Paul Cornelius Croarkin, Chicago, Ill.; Otto Sheibel Kretschmer, Saginaw, Mich.;

Charles Patrick McDonnell, Florence, Mass.; Clarence Nathan Touart, Mobile, Ala.; James Enright Woods, New London, Conn.; Stephen Edward Hurley, Fairmont, N. D.

In the School of Science:

For the degree of Bachelor of Science (B. S.):

Thomas John Mackin, Waukegan, Ill.

For the degree of Bachelor of Science in Civil Engineering:

Eugene Michael Dwyer, Albany, N. Y.; Thesis. "Computations for the Design of a Highway Bridge."

Charles Patrick Maloney, Washington, D. C.; Thesis: "The History, Manufacture and Use of the Asphalt Block Pavement."

John Joseph Widmayer, Jr., Washington, D. C.; Thesis: "Water Supply of Washington, D. C."

Joseph Flading Robinson, Washington, D. C.; Thesis: "The Mineral Waters of Hot Springs, Arkansas."

For the degree of Bachelor of Science in Chemical Engineering.

Emery Joseph Theriault, Van Buren, Me.

Certificate of Proficiency in Architecture:

Edwin Leo Ball, Pineville, La.

In the Teachers College:

For the degree of Master of Arts (A. M.):

Sister M. Columkille, Sisters of Charity of the Incarnate Word, San Antonio, Tex.; Sister Mary of the Immaculate Conception, San Antonio, Tex.; Sister Agnes Xavier, Sisters of Providence, St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Ind.; Sister Eugenia Clare, Sisters of Providence, St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Ind.; Sister M. Teresita, Sisters of Providence, St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Ind.; Sister Aloysia Marie, Sisters of Loretto, Nerinx, Ky.; Sister Mary Borgia, Sisters of Loretto, Nerinx, Ky.; Sister Miriam, Sisters of Loretto, Nerinx, Ky.; Sister M. Vitalis, Sisters of Loretto, Nerinx, Ky.; Sister M. Angelique, Sisters of Divine Providence, San Antonio, Tex.; Sister Mary of Good Counsel, Sisters of Divine Providence, San Antonio, Tex.; Sister St. Romuald, Grey Nuns of the Cross, Buffalo, N. Y.; Sister Mary of the Visitation, Grey Nuns of the Cross, Plattsburgh, N. Y.; Sister St. Edgar, Grey Nuns of the Cross,

Ogdensburg, N. Y.; Sister M. Antonia, Sisters of Charity of the B. V. M., Dubuque, Iowa; Sister M. Josephina, Sisters of Charity of the B. V. M., Dubuque, Iowa; Sister Thomas Aquinas, Third Order of St. Dominic, Sinsinawa, Wis.; Sister M. Ruth, Third Order of St. Dominic, Sinsinawa, Wis.; Sister M. Eva, Third Order of St. Dominic, Sinsinawa, Wis.; Sister M. Digna, Sisters of St. Benedict, St. Joseph, Minn.; Sister M. Jeanette, Sisters of St. Benedict, St. Joseph, Minn.; Sister M. Irma, Sisters of Mercy, Chicago, Ill.; Sister M. Catherine, Sisters of Mercy, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; Sister M. Ligouri, Sisters of St. Francis, Stella Niagara, N. Y.; Sister M. Germaine, Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, Scranton, Pa.

For the degree of Bachelor of Arts (A. B.):

Sister M. Madeline, Sisters of Charity of the Incarnate Word, San Antonio, Tex.; Sister James Aloysius, Sisters of Charity of the Incarnate Word, San Antonio, Tex.; Sister M. Laurence, Sisters of St. Mary, Lockport, N. Y.; Sister M. Constance, Sisters of St. Mary, Lockport, N. Y.; Sister M. Beatrix, Sisters of St. Mary, Lockport, N. Y.; Sister St. Angela, Sisters of St. Mary, Lockport, N. Y.; Sister Vincent de Paul, Grey Nuns of the Cross, Buffalo, N. Y.; Sister M. Angela, Ursuline Sisters, Cleveland, O.; Sister M. Beatrice, Sisters of the Humility of Mary, Lowellville, O.; Sister M. Veronica, Benedictine Sisters, Brookland, D. C.; Sister M. Urban, Sisters of Charity of the B. V. M.; Dubuque, Iowa; Sister M. Justitia, Sisters of Charity of the B. V. M., Dubuque, Iowa.; Sister M. Rosa, Sisters of Mercy, Hartford, Conn.; Sister M. Consolata, Sisters of Mercy, Hartford, Conn.; Sister Mary, Sisters of Divine Providence, San Antonio, Tex.; Sister M. Calixta, Sisters of Divine Providence, Newport, Ky.; Sister M. Pius, Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet, St. Louis, Mo.; Sister M. Rosina, Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet, Troy, N. Y.; Sister Mary of Nazareth, Sisters of Jesus-Mary, Woonsocket, R. I.; Sister M. Louis, Sisters of St. Joseph, Wichita, Kans.; Sister M. Gregory, Sisters of St. Joseph, Wichita, Kans.; Sister M. Geralda, Sisters of St. Francis, Stella Niagara, N. Y.; Sister St. Ignatius, Congregation de Notre Dame, Montreal, Can.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Gift to the Library. The Library of the University has just received a very valuable gift from the Treasurer of the University, Hon. Michael Jenkins of Baltimore, Md. It consists of two hundred volumes of Marylandiana, and is undoubtedly the most complete collection on the history, topography, etc., of Maryland. A future number of the *Bulletin* will contain a detailed description of the collection.

Lectures. During the first week of the holidays the Reverend Doctors Pace and Shields are engaged in giving a course of Lectures to the teaching Sisters at Montreal, Canada.—The Rev. Doctor Fox delivered the Baccalaureate Address at the Academy of the Sisters of Mercy, Hartford, Conn.—On Wednesday, June 18, the Rev. Doctor Turner gave the Baccalaureate Address at St. Mary's Academy, Monroe, Mich.—Dr. P. J. Lennox delivered the principal Address at the annual banquet of the Alumni of Duquesne University in Pittsburg, April 17. The text of the Address is published in the *Duquesne Monthly* for May, 1913.

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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—St. Vincent of Lerins, *Commonit, c. 6.*

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HOW THE THREE THOUSAND WERE CONVERTED.

I

Catholic teaching holds that, in the economy of grace established under the New Dispensation, for the salvation of the individual God insists upon two conditions—Christian faith and Church membership. Faith is not a blind or slavish submission to certain dogmas of belief, but a reasonable assent of the mind to doctrines as revealed and divine, on the basis of such evidence as begets moral certainty that these doctrines have been divinely revealed. Whereas the condition of membership is realized by submission to a certain rite of initiation and to the authority to teach and govern which resides in the Church. According to the divine appointment, therefore, to be saved a man must not only believe with true faith what God has revealed, but he must submit with true obedience to the dictates of the Church. Now, while this economy derives its existence from the institution of Christ, and on examination may invoke the highest encomiums on the wisdom of its Ordainer because of its adaptation to the needs of man, yet, is there no *a priori* reason why one on becoming a Christian—a believer in and follower of Christ—should thereby become a citizen and subject of an ecclesiastical society. We could conceive a disposition of things whereby Christ, the Divine Teacher,

would insist simply on faith in Him as a condition of participation in his divine life and in the fruits of His redemption; where each believer would individually and immediately enter into union with Christ and be guided by His Holy Spirit without the medium of a society or church which intervenes between Christ and the individual, and through which, and by obedience to which, the individual can and must discharge his duties towards God and His Saviour. In this case faith in Christ and in His revelation, apart from affiliation to a church, would be the order of salvation. We go further and conceive an economy of salvation where not even *rational* faith—faith based on external evidence generative of intellectual conviction—would be a necessity; where the invisible operation of the Holy Ghost in the soul of each man would insure for him salvation. This condition of things would meet the cherished hopes of such liberal Protestants as are adverse to religious authority and advocate the " religion of the spirit," and of such Modernist and Kantianists as are hostile to what they regard as the mental slavery superinduced by external evidence and intellectual processes in matters of religion where the " method of Immanence," should be our sole guide. All external constraint, under which the modern mind chafes, is abolished. The authority of a church is first removed, then follows the compulsion of external evidence such as rational faith, in the Catholic sense, exacts—until the spirit of man, emancipated from the weak and needy elements of the external world and the external senses, is free as the flowers of the field to tend whither the spirit of God inspires.

Such theories are not *in se,* and as fancies created by the ever inventive genius of man, unworthy of contemplation. Be they ever so inadequate to the needs of human nature as it really exists, they at all events suggest possibilities in an ideal order of things—what may be realizable were man somewhat differently constituted, and did Providence dispose things otherwise than we really find them. But when these theorists, or shall we say visionaries, invoke the testimony of Christ or

His Apostles in support of their fancies we feel bound to call a halt. When they would deny to Christ the institution of a church—as incompatible with his belief in the "Parousia," or the near approach of His second coming—and deny to His immediate followers the need of insisting on external historic happenings as the basis of Christian belief—because, foresooth, faith is but a trust in the goodness of God, or a growth divine within the soul—we enter our most emphatic protest, and inform them that these fancies are a fabric woven out of their innermost consciousness, but that they are in direct antagonism to the palpable facts of history, in open opposition to the doctrine and practice of Christ and the Apostles, and of the whole of Christendom down through the ages.

In confirmation of this statement we propose to adduce one incident, one piece of evidence which, by reason of its circumstances, we regard as a touch-stone by which the hollow claims of modern liberalism are disclosed, and the solidity and truth of the Catholic tradition are made manifest. We bring forward for consideration the first Christian sermon by which was effected the conversion of the first group of Christians. We ask ourselves how this conversion from Judaism to Christianity was brought about. In what did it consist? And what exactly constituted these men Christians who hitherto had been devoted adherents of the Jewish faith? The admirable address of St. Peter on that first Pentecost Sunday, and the consequent conversion and reception into the Christian fold of these three thousand souls have a great deal of apologetic value for us in dealing with modern problems that concern the Christian faith of the Catholic Church. Reading through the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles where St. Luke, the historian of the Infant Church, has beautifully and concisely crystalized for us the events of the day of Pentecost, we very easily pass over the full significance of the brief record. Studying the events of the distant past we are inclined to regard them as vague and indefinite. We need a special effort of concentration to make us realize that they were as objective

and as living as those that happen in our midst today, and agitate us so deeply. If we yield to this weakness, we come to regard the conversion of the first Christians as due, not to any intellectual convictions of the truth of the Gospel, but, to a kind of frenzied enthusiasm produced by the Holy Spirit, which urged them to join that little band of disciples who had attached themselves to the person of Our Lord; and, that the Christians themselves were knit together, not by any clear or definable ties of a common faith, authority and worship, but, by a vague general sentiment. If we desire to be disabused of this erroneous impression which seems to so mercilessly dominate non-Catholic Christians of today, we have but to carefully study and analyse the discourse of St. Peter and its results, as described for us, in the second chapter of the Acts, by one whose authority as a historian is every day becoming more and more unquestioned and unquestionable.

We shall deal with our subject, then, under two heads: Firstly we shall examine the Apologetics of St. Peter—what motives of credibility he urged so as to beget in the minds of his listeners faith in Jesus as the Christ. Secondly when they did believe what more was deemed necessary to constitute them full disciples of the Master and to insure their eternal salvation? The answer to these two queries furnished by Christianity on that first day when promulgated by those Apostles who had been just imbued with power from on high, will give the quietus to the "religion of the spirit" and the "method of Immanence," and will clearly establish for us the truth that Catholicity in its fundamental principles is as ancient as Christianity.

II

In compliance with the wishes of the Master, expressed on the day of His Ascension, that they remain in the city until they be "imbued with power from on high," patiently, prayerfully and with all confidence did the Apostles and the disciples await in Jerusalem the coming of the Holy Ghost.

Fifty days have passed since the celebration of the Pasch (the first of the three great annual Festivals), when Jesus of Nazareth was crucified in the presence of the Jewish multitude assembled in the Holy City. Ten days have gone by since the Savior ascended into Heaven, and now the morning dawns upon the second great event of the Jewish year, the Pentecostal Feast. This also attracted to Jerusalem the faithful thousands of the chosen race, whether resident in the land of Israel, or scattered abroad among the benighted Gentiles. Hither had they come to celebrate this Harvest feast and to commemorate that greatest of events in the history of Israel—the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai. What a suitable occasion here presents itself for the promulgaion of the New Law, which was destined to fulfil, and, to a certain extent, to supplant the ordinances of the Mosaic code. The scene enacted on the Arabian Mount is about to be renewed, though in subdued form as befits the Dispensation of love, when "suddenly there came a sound from Heaven, as of a mighty wind coming, and it filled the whole house where they were sitting. And there appeared to them parted tongues as it were of fire, and it sat upon everyone of them; and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and they began to speak with diverse tongues, according as the Holy Ghost gave them to speak." The commotion created by this marvelous occurrence excited the curiosity and attracted the attention of the crowds assembled in Jerusalem—"devout Jews, out of every nation under Heaven," —who must have been already astir and moving towards the Temple to join in the morning sacrifice and devotions. The multitude came together and were confounded in mind when they heard the group of Christians—poor illiterate Galileans,— magnify God in diverse tongues, foreign to Palestinians, but native to the Jewish elements in the audience who hailed from the various Gentile nations. What does all this mean? To the devout it portended something wonderful and mysterious which they would fain understand. Nor were there lacking mockers who derisively remarked: "These men are full of

new wine." Here was an ideal opportunity to enlighten the confused multitude—whose attention was arrested and whose souls were rendered receptive by the marvels they had just witnessed. Peter, true to his charge as chief of the Apostolic band, rose equal to the occasion, and, filled with the Holy Ghost, delivered a discourse which, for accommodation to his audience, for close consistent argumentation, and for earnest and stirring appeal, excites our profound admiration. For concise completeness it is a model sermon and worthy of careful consideration. We shall study it as a beautiful apologetic argument by which the minds of the listeners are tactfully disposed, and convincingly persuaded to accept the claims of Jesus to be the Christ. The thesis, to speak scholastically, which St. Peter proposed to establish for his hearers is that contained in the closing verse of the discourse: "Let all the house of Israel know most certainly that God hath made both Lord and Christ, this same Jesus whom you have crucified." The crucified Jesus is then Christ the Lord—such is the claim. Are those Jews—whose dreams of earthly glory were shattered by the Gospel of Jesus, who were scandalized in His humility, who had actually succeeded in crucifying as a helpless impostor Him who claimed to be the Christ, but who was unable to deliver himself out of their hands—are they to admit without strongest, nay without overwhelming evidence his claims to Messiahship, when they incurred thereby the reprobation of their own spiritual leaders, and excommunication from the Jewish synagogue?[1] Unquestionably no! Yet did not St. Peter succeed in making three thousand converts on that same occasion? How did he accomplish this marvelous feat? Omitting the invisible workings of the Holy Ghost in their hearts, which is ever a vital factor in conversion to the true faith, and which is a gift of God freely granted to men of good will, we shall analyze the positive evidence which brought conviction to the minds of these converts and which served for what theologians call "the preamble of faith."

According to a well recognized law of Pedagogics, when

[1] Cf. IX, 22.

desirous of imparting a new truth the teacher must enter into the mind of the instructed, discover its view-point, take into account its prepossessions and prejudices, accommodate himself to its disposition, accept whatever of radical truth it already possesses as the stem on which the new doctrine must be ingrafted, while tactfully dispelling whatever is prejudicial. How perfectly this fundamental law was observed by St. Peter becomes manifest on examination. His audience were Jews steeped in Jewish prophecies, imbued with the Messianic hope, proud of the Patriarchs and Prophets, ever conscious of the special divine favors which were theirs as the chosen people, yea more, "the children of the Prophets and of the Testament which God made to their fathers." This was the stem on which must be ingrafted the claims of Jesus if they were to make the least appeal to the Jewish minds. But further, this Messianic hope had become somewhat perverted. Its spiritual meaning had become materialized. The Christ who acording to the true sense of prophecy was to redeem mankind—the Jews first and through them the whole world—from the slavery of sin and death, who was to establish a kingdom of peace and righteousness by the sacrifice of self, had to the later Jewish mind been transformed into a temporal ruler who would, by casting off the galling yoke of Rome, and re-establishing Israel's supremacy with a splendor that would outshine the glories of David and Solomon, "restore again the kingdom of Israel." Here was a growth incompatible with the claims of Jesus—here was a prejudice that must be removed before the Messiahship of the Nazarene can find a lodgment in the Jewish mind. How adroitly St. Peter effected this result we shall presently see in an analysis of his argument.

III

Passing lightly over the mocking reference to their being intoxicated—yet to obviate unnecessary difficulties he dispels this suspicion by an allusion to the early hour of the day, for the Jews were not wont to break fast, especially on feast-

days, until after they had assisted at the morning sacrifice—Peter proceeds to satisfy the amazed and anxious inquirers in regard to the meaning of those manifestations of the Holy Spirit, which they had witnessed with their own eyes and heard with their own ears. He informs them that what they behold is the fulfilment of prophecy. "This was what was spoken of by the prophet Joel." These wonders you behold, this gift of tongues, these ecstasies and prophetic praises of God, are signs of "the last days" foretold by the prophet. Prophecy has therefore been fulfilled—the Christ must have come, the reign of the Messiah must have been already inaugurated, even if its full realization, to be signalized by still more startling portents, must await the consummation of all things, the second advent, "the great and manifest day of the Lord." Hence this is the acceptable time, this the day of salvation, when, in obedience to the counsel of the prophet, you are called upon to do penance and to convert yourselves unto the Lord if you would be saved; for the time has come when "whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved." Thus he touches the conscience of his hearers and inspires them with that fear of the Lord which is the beginning of wisdom, while their curiosity he stimulates to serious inquiry by the implication rather than the express statement that the Christ must have come, since the signs of the Messianic times have partially appeared. Having prophetically interpreted for his audience those wonderful outpourings of the Pentecostal Spirit, as indicative of the advent of the Messiah, St. Peter takes one most important step forward in his argument, when, by a line of reasoning employing prophecy as the foundation and miracles and the testimony of the Apostles themselves for the superstructure he brings them face to face with the vital and startling truth that the Christ to be acknowledged and the Lord to be invoked for salvation is none other than Jesus of Nazareth—"a man approved of God in their midst" by many miracles, crucified and slain, raised to life again, and being exalted now sits at the right hand of God in Heaven, whence He has sent forth those gifts of the

Holy Ghost which they had witnessed. Behold the sum and substance of Peter's discourse, the Gospel which he preached, the faith or creed which he proclaims! Each article of that creed fulfills a Jewish prophecy, corresponds to a Jewish hope, accomplishes a Jewish expectation. The claim made in behalf of Jesus to be the Christ was then sustained at every point by unquestioned prophecy, whose fulfillment was confirmed by undeniable miracles, witnessed by the Apostles and the Jews themselves. The claim, therefore, was doubly sealed by Heaven with the twofold stamp of prophecy, whose fulfillment was confirmed by undeniable miracles, witnessed by the Apostles and the Jews themselves—greater confirmation of a divine mission and doctrine God Himself cannot furnish, nor can the intellect of man demand. These were the motives of credibility adduced by Peter—the grounds of conviction that sustained the faith of the first converts. Who would assert that such a faith was not reasonable? that it was a blind emotion that seized those early converts and drew them along unreasoningly to acknowledge the claims of Jesus of Nazareth to be the Christ—while they in turn by their perfervid and fanatical zeal set in activity a vortex into which thousands were unwittingly drawn, and thus did Christianity make rapid progress? As we remarked at the outset, give the imagination free range and it will weave the most fascinating theories—but they are aerial castles made of the mists of morning, which vanish before the sunlight of historical evidence. The early Christians yielded to such motives and were persuaded by such evidence as are calculated to bring moral certainty to any rational and well-disposed mind that the claims—the mission, the doctrine and the religion—which rest on such a reliable foundation are assuredly divine, and in all prudence demand an assent of divine faith. But let us examine more in detail the argument by which the first Christians were converted to faith in Jesus as the Christ, in order that the wisdom of its presentation and the evidence of its persuasiveness be more clearly perceived.

IV

The prophet foretold the extraordinary signs of the Messianic age; he urged the need of calling upon the name of the Lord for salvation. You have this day witnessed the signs—they testify to you that the time has come when you are invited to receive the Messiah, to invoke the Lord if you would flee from the wrath to come, if you would ensure your salvation. But the Lord and the Christ who will save and deliver you is none other than Jesus of Nazareth Whom you have crucified—" Neither is there salvation in any other, for there is no other name under Heaven given to man whereby we must be saved." [2] So affirmed Peter; but surely he did not expect his hearers to accept without question, even in the presence of the wonders of Pentecost, his unproven statements. Accordingly he furnished proof of their verity. His first proof is the testimony of God Himself to the divine mission and Messianic claims of Jesus:—" Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you, by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did by Him in the midst of you as you also know." This verse deserves our careful consideration in the face of modern rationalism which would eliminate from the " true " life of Christ the supernatural as the growth of later years. Jesus was undoubtedly a great reformer, a man of God, divine in a broad sense; he preached a sublime doctrine; he led a stainless life; He was an ideal teacher and an ideal man, but He did not interrupt the unform course of events, whether in the historic development of the race, or in the operations of nature. Hence the miraculous works, the supernatural attributes ascribed to Him in the gospel-narrative are not objective—they are " the creations of faith," " the mythological growths " that universally pursue a great personage. This the insidious picture presented. Such a rationalistic fancy finds poor consolation in the verse quoted. According to the testimonv of St. Peter, Jesus performed " miracles " of mighty power and " wonders "

[2] Acts IV, 12.

calculated to arrest the attention of the beholders, and "signs" which assured them that he worked the works of God (for this is the full significance of the terms employed). And bear in mind that Peter alludes not to something done in a corner, and known only to the few, which would leave room to suspect deception or invention. No! He reminds his hearers that these extraordinary works were performed in their midst so that they themselves had witnessed them. What a striking confirmation of the truth of the miraculous Gospel-history is furnished in this brief statement of St. Peter, as recorded for us by the painstaking historian who wrote for the first generation of Christians, after "having diligently attained to all things from the beginning." No room is left here for "the growth of myth" for the "creation of faith." Peter preaches fifty days after the termination of Christ's public career which covered but the short period of a few years. He addresses those who had seen Jesus, and in whose minds the memory of His extraordinary works was still fresh and green; nay more, on their admission of the reality of such works he builds his appeal for their recognition of Jesus as the Christ. Perforce then, must we admit that Jesus worked "miracles and wonders and signs," and the Gospel-history must not be called in question because of the presence therein of the miraculous and the supernatural.

But granted that Jesus performed miracles, still, can He be the Christ, for was He not crucified and slain? whereas the Christ must reign as a great king—He must reëstablish with unprecedented magnificence the kingdom of Israel? Such the attitude of mind of the multitude who attended on Peter's message. Peter anticipated the objection which was struggling for expression in their minds. Jesus was slain, but "by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God." What means this? It means that even by His death, which to the Jews proved such a stumbling block and rock of scandal, Jesus was but fulfilling prophecies and the more surely establishing his claim to the Messiahship. For had the Jews but properly

understood their Sacred Scriptures, had they interpreted their prophets aright, and not allowed them to be overclouded and perverted by human expectations of worldly glory and temporal power, they would have realized that (as Jesus Himself said to the Apostles after the Resurrection) " Christ should suffer these things and so enter into His glory," [3] they would have realized the significance of Peter's statements made in his second sermon of a few days later that in the death of Jesus "those things which God before had showed by the mouth of all His prophets, that His Christ should suffer, He hath so fulfilled"; [4] they would have looked forward like Blessed Simeon, not to the advent of a powerful conqueror and temporal monarch but to the spiritual deliverance of the race which was to be accomplished by the self sacrifice of the Christ, who was thereby to be exalted, and to govern with spiritual sway the universal kingdom of God.

Having thus disarmed the prejudices of the Jews and having removed from the path of their conversion the stumbling block created by the death of Him who claimed to be the Christ, Peter next adduces the strongest evidence, the most convincing proof that Jesus was the Christ: *He arose from the dead.* It is worthy of note how this fact of the Resurrection is made the keystone in the arch of proof of the validity of the claim of Jesus to be the Christ in all parts of the New Testament—the Gospels, the Acts and the Epistles. His Resurrection from the dead is the supreme sign to which Jesus points forward in verification of His divine claims: it is the very *raison d'être* of the apostolate—to bear witness to the Resurrection of Jesus—as is evidenced in the Acts from the very outset: [5] and in the Epistles it is declared to be the very foundation of the faith of the Christians.[6] Here again to obviate the sophisms of rationalism how satisfactory to find the argument from the Resurrection so ably expounded by St. Peter, fifty days after the event, " during forty of which Jesus showed Himself alive

[3] Luc. XXIV, 26.
[4] Acts III, 18.
[5] Acts I, 22.
[6] I Cor. XV, 14.

to the Apostles by many proofs appearing to them and speaking of the kingdom of God." [7] In the first place Peter recalls to his hearers the words of the psalm which foretold how the Lord would not "suffer his Holy One to see corruption," but that he would raise Him up and glorify Him. This promise was evidently not fulfilled in David, but remained to be fulfilled in One who, according to the prediction of David was to be descended from the royal prophet himself and who should sit upon his throne. "Foreseeing this," adds Peter, "he spoke of the resurrection of Christ." The death and resurrection of the Christ being established on the evidence of prophecy and therefore conceded by his hearers, Peter must satisfy them that Jesus rose from the dead. Herein enters the chief and primary function of the apostolate—to bear testimony to the Resurrection of Jesus. Hence the significance of the words of Peter in verse thirty-two, to be so emphatically repeated by himself and by the other Apostles on all future occasions: "This Jesus hath God raised again, where of all we are witnesses."

The ultimate reason, and one supplementary to the Resurrection, given in evidence of the Messiahship of Jesus was His ascension. This reason completes and rounds off, as it were, the whole argument and leads the mind of the audience back to the miraculous manifestations with the explanation of which the discourse began. The same royal prophet had foretold in the memorable words of the 109th Psalm (whose inner meaning was sought in vain from the learned Scribes by Jesus Himself) the ascension of the Christ into Heaven: "The Lord said to my lord, sit thou on my right hand until I make thy enemies thy foot-stool." Jesus therefore after His Resurrection was exalted by God into Heaven, where He sits at the right hand of the Father, participating with him in the government of the world and thus He fulfills the office of the Messianic King, in proof whereof and in confirmation of our testimony thereto "He hath poured forth this which you see and hear." After such an accumulative argument woven into a perfect

[7] Acts I, 3.

web of prophecies and miracles and earnest unwavering testimony that Jesus is the Christ—that in the former is miraculously accomplished all that was foretold of the latter—who can deny but that the thesis proposed has been thoroughly established? Hence the bold and fervent conclusion or peroration of Peter was fully justified on logical grounds by the evidence adduced and the argument developed: "Therefore, let all the house of Israel know most certainly that God hath made both Lord and Christ, this same Jesus whom you have crucified." While the practical moral lesson implied and inculcated was: If you will be saved you must call upon the name of Jesus who is Christ the Lord. When this momentous truth was brought home to the hearers forcibly, so consistently, and so earnestly, need we be surprised that "they had compunction in their hearts," and that to save themselves from the "perverse generation" they received the words, were baptized and added to the apostolic group to the number of "three thousand souls?"

V

We have carefully analyzed the argument developed by St. Peter in his discourse delivered on that first Pentecost Sunday; we have scrutinized its logical consistency and apologetic value; and taking into account the intrinsic nature of the evidence adduced and the mental attitude of the auditors, we doubt if with all our boasted intellectual progress, and modern critical acumen, we could weave an argument of more telling force, of greater objective validity, and of wiser subjective adaptation —where the motives of credibility are so admirably arranged, and so persuasively presented as to insure intellectual conviction and secure volitional assent, which are the human factors that generate faith. One objection alone may, with some show of plausibility, and from the view-point of modern higher criticism, be suggested. Perhaps the Old Testament passages quoted did not contain the prophetic sense Peter discovers in them. This objection is, as far as our present purpose is concerned, beside the mark. Our aim has been to show that the

faith of these earliest converts was *rational,* that their acceptance of Christ and Christianity—or to speak more accurately, their acceptance of Jesus as the Christ and His religion as divine—was not a blind sentimental submission devoid of all intellectual conviction begotten of external evidence. Whether Peter interpreted the Old Testament passages aright or not—and he, specially enlightened by the Holy Spirit, should be a better judge than we are—is another question. That he interpreted them in a manner agreeable to his contemporaries and his audience we may rest assured, and hence their apologetic and rational value for the minds of his hearers. Besides, the miracles wrought by Jesus and the facts of His Resurrection, and Ascension, and the mission of the Holy Ghost of which the Apostles and many others were eye-witnesses, possess for all an apologetic and intellectual vlaue, independently of the consideration that these facts were the fulfillment of prophecy. But the combination of both and the accumulation of all constituted a preamble of faith overwhelming in its persuasiveness.

We have thus far dealt with one interesting aspect of the conversion of that first group of Christians. With the other aspect suggested we shall deal in a further contribution, wherein we shall endeavor to answer the equally if not more interesting question: At the inauguration of the New Dispensation what more than a rational faith was deemed essential to constitute one a true and full-fledged Christian? The answer furnished this question by the contemplation of the record which pictures for us that Pentecostal community, will be of no small assistance in discriminating between the merits of the fundamental position occupied by Catholic and Protestant Christianity, and will shed some clear light on the divine and apostolic origin of those principles on which the Catholic Church is reared.

(To be continued.)

CORNELIUS F. CREMIN, S. T. L.

ST. PAUL'S SEMINARY,
ST. PAUL, MINN.

THE ENGLISH CARTHUSIANS.

Notwithstanding the religious overturn of the sixteenth century—the ruthless wrench which severed England from the Church—the substitution of an heretical creed imported from Germany for the ancient Ecclesia Anglicana; the complete acclimation of Protestantism in a country once called "the Dowry of Mary" and noted for its devotion to St. Peter and the Holy See; notwithstanding the sanguinary penal code which strove to obliterate in blood every trace of Catholicism, it is surprising how many Catholic landmarks have continued to exist, despite it all. London alone, not to mention any other place, possesses many such. As Sir Walter Besant referring to traces of former monasticism in his impressionistic sketch of the history of the British metropolis, says: "You may find for yourselves where the London monasteries were by the names of the streets now standing on their cites. Thus, following the line of the wall from the Tower north and west you find St. Katherine's Dock where stood St. Katherine's Hospital. Minories marks the house of the Minorites or Sisters of St. Clare. Great St. Helen's is on the site of St. Helen's Nunnery. Spital square stands where St. Mary's Spital[1] formerly received the sick. Blackfriars, Charterhouse and Bartholomew's still keep their names. Austin Friars is the name of a Court; and the friars' church still stands. Whitefriars is still the name of a street. Grey Friars is Christ's Hospital. The Temple is now the lawyer's home, and the church of the Knights Hospitallers is still to be seen. Three great houses, it is true, have left no trace or memory behind: Eastminster, where the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary of Grace, which stood north of St. Katherine's, and was a very great and stately place indeed; the Priory of the Holy Trinity, which stood where is now Duke's Place, north of the Church of St. Katherine Cree and St. Mary's of Bethlehem, which stood just outside Bishopsgate.

[1] Abbreviation of Hospital.

The memory of Bermondsey Abbey and St. Mary Overy on the south side of the river, has also departed, but the church of the latter still stands, the most beautiful church in London next to Westminster Abbey." [2]

This list of Catholic landmarks in the heart of a Protestant country (as it is commonly, but perhaps erroneously, regarded, if count be taken of the spread of Ritualism and the increasing Romanward movement) might be easily lengthened. Many other traces of its Catholic past will readily recur to anyone familiar with London's highways and byways. Attention has quite recently been focussed on one of the places mentioned by Besant in the passage quoted—the Charterhouse, which in its reconstructed form, celebrated its tercentenary on December 12, 1911. The name is a corruption or transformation of Chartreuse. It was built in 1371 as a monastery for twenty-four Carthusian monks, who led their mortified lives there peaceably and holily until the Reformation, when the Prior and several monks were hanged and the remaining eight died of starvation and fever in Newgate Prison because they would not acknowledge the self-assumed spiritual supremacy of Henry VIII. There, the Blessed Sir Thomas More, one of the English martyrs, in early life spent five years—five of his happiest years when he dreamt of putting on the cowl instead of the coif, blissfully ignorant of the fate that awaited him; for martyrdom not monasticism was his goal. It was dissolved in 1540, and after being used by the King for the storage of his nets and pavilions, five years later was granted to Sir Edward North, who built a residence for himself to the east of the church. Twenty years afterwards the greater part of the property was purchased by the Duke of Norfolk, who erected a town House called Howard House on the site of the little cloister. His son, the Earl of Suffolk, sold it to Thomas Sutton, who had served Queen Elizabeth as her Master of Ordnance in the North, and who founded therein in 1612 the Brotherhood

[2] The History of London. By Walter Besant, 1893, p. 98.

of Charterhouse as a home or retreat for old and disabled soldiers and seamen, decayed merchants, or those who had endured captivity under the Turks. Such were to be the recipients of this charity according to statutes framed in 1613. As time went on a change was introduced which gave it a more distinctive character, and improved away the alms-house feature. The qualifications for the Brotherhood were defined at the Assembly of 1627 as follows: "Gentlemen by descent and in poverty, soldiers that have borne arms by sea or land, merchants decayed by piracy or shipwreck, or servants in the household to the King's Majesty." The mention of piracy recalls the fact that it was a time when the dreaded Corsairs roamed the seas from the Mediterranean to the British Isles. With the advent of the Commonwealth came a reversion to democratic ideas and the literal interpretation of Sutton's will by simply using the words "poor men" without any class limitation. The Chairmanship of the board of Governors was always filled by the Archbishop of Canterbury, but Laud was already in the Tower, to lay his head on the block on Tower Hill in January, 1645. Cromwell was a governor, and there was a time when the Board, or "Assembly," as it was called, was exclusively composed of Roundheads. The Huntingdon brewer who made himself Lord Protector of the Commonwealth was elected to fill the place of Manchester, who had been his companion in arms at Marston Moor. That Englishman of blood and iron, who made short work of the Long Parliament, once strode down to Charterhouse in a wrathful mood to a committee meeting to have the Royal arms, which were still above the entrance to the Hall and other places, removed and defaced. Another swing of the political pendulum, another turn of Fortune's wheel, having restored the Stuarts, the Royal arms were replaced, the Cromwellian governors were "invited to resign," and the men they had ousted were brought back. It is said that no colour of politics has at any time seemed to interfere with the conscientious government of the place. However that may have been, it was not so when differences of religion interposed; for when James II—every sover-

eign since James I has been a governor—nominated one Andrew Popham, a Catholic, to the Brotherhood, the Governors, through Thomas Burnet, the Master, respectfully objected that to elect a "Romanist" was contrary to their trust. But, notwithstanding this religious barrier which shuts out the adherents of the older creed of England, which was professed and practised by all from "the far, faithful North" to Cornwall, when Charterhouse was first built in the fourteenth century, there has clung to it or hangs round it, like the scent of the roses to a broken vase, a certain perfume of the past, an odour of the Catholic atmosphere which environed it in the bygone days of the Carthusians. As a London paper remarks: "If, your interest awakened by all that you hear, you pass through the quaint courts and the delightful rooms, full of the early glories of famous fashioners in wood and stone, you will find yourself subtly transplanted to a bygone day, in an atmosphere of peace and stateliness which has existed for three full centuries." The writer might have said six centuries. In the chapel the oldest portions of the edifice have been preserved and protected by judicious covering and panelling. In the wall to the right of the Communion table—an innovation which three centuries ago displaced the Catholic altar—is a moveable panel covering an aumbry belonging to the original church, which followed the plan of nearly all Carthusian churches, being divided by a screen into two portions for the choir religious and the lay brothers. Near the vestry is a fragment of the tomb of Sir Walter de Manny, who died in 1372. The lower portion of the great hall, where the Brotherhood dine daily, belongs to the date of Prior Tynbygh's improvements (1499-1529). They no longer occupy the old monastery barns and outbuildings, but these still exist.

The *genius loci* is not only manifest in these material mementoes, reminiscent of the ages when Catholicism flourished in England and permeated its national life, but in the very constitution of the Brotherhood of Charterhouse which bears the stamp, however faint, of the Catholic ideal of a lay community modernised. They must be widowers or bachelors,

celibates, must attend prayers in the chapel once a day, and dine together in the Hall at a stated hour. Leave to be absent from chapel or Hall must be obtained from the Master. The discipline, though now more lax, was more stringent in the early days when eighty old men of broken fortunes formed the Brotherhood. The Governors then cautioned one man that if he gave any further trouble he would be sent to Bridewell. They were forbidden to wear long hair, ruffs, feathers, and Russian-like apparel; from which it would appear that a form of Russophobia was epidemic in England long anterior to 1854 and onwards. A certain Captain Bell was ordered to make a public apology in the Great Hall on his bended knees before the Master for his misconduct, whatever his transgression may have been; a penalty which savours of a monastic penance. But, unlike a meek monk, this stiff-back Englishman refused, and was forthwith expelled. Another was expelled for "misprision of treason"; another for "coyning"; and yet another—*horribile dictu!*—for "being found a married man." The last named delinquent, Sir Robert Wingfield, was one of the 133 knights created by James I when, during his Coronation week he "lay at Charterhouse" in 1603. The accolade was given in the tapestry room, where hang rich Flemish designs, an adornment attributed to the Duke of Norfolk.

When Thomas Sutton, of Castle Camps, Cambridgeshire, the year he died, paid his £13,000 to Lord Suffolk for the London monastery of the Carthusians, he endowed the famous Hospital (more properly Hospice) and School for 80 old men and 40 boys with the revenues of upwards of twenty manors, lordships, and other estates in various parts of England. The institution is under the direction of the sovereign, fifteen governors, and the Master who receives a salary of £800 a year. The bas-relief on the founder's tomb, finished in 1615, represents the brothers assembled in chapel, while the founder lies beneath a full length effigy. Thackeray, in a well-known passage, describes it "with its grotesque carvings, monsters and heraldries," how it "darkles and shines with most wonderful shadows and lights. There he lies," says the English novelist, "*Fundator Noster,*

in his ruff and gown, awaiting the great Examination Day." Thackeray himself was a Charterhouse pupil and wrote *con amore,* making one of the most loveable of the creations of his fertile fancy, dear old Colonel Newcome, one of the brotherhood among whom he lived to the close of his unselfish life until he answered " adsum " for the last time. He regularly visited the school with his pockets well filled with ten-shilling pieces, which he was in the habit of distributing among the " grown boys." In the tapestry room until 1872—when the school was transferred to Godalming in Surrey, the scholastic portion of the premises being sold to the Merchant Taylors' School—the head grown boy, crowned monarch of the rest, was wont to deliver his annual Latin oration in praise of the founder. " We go to the chapel and have a sermon," wrote Thackeray, " after which we adjourn to a great dinner where old Condisciples meet, old toasts are given, and speeches are made." The rostrum from which these juvenile orators declaimed still stands, but somewhat shaky and the worse for usage.

Charterhouse is not only a link with the past, but its famous school is historical. It has had a succession of distinguished men as Masters and pupils. Among the latter it counts Richard Lovelace, the poet, Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, two literary lights of what is called the golden age of English literature, three luminaries of the law, Judge Blackstone of the " Commentaries " and the two Chief Justices, Lords Ellenborough and Alverstone, the two historians Grote and Thirlwell, and among artists, John Leech and Sir Charles Eastlake. Leech's mother rented a room overlooking the playground, so that she could see that her boy did not get into too much mischief. In a passage leading to the chapel are tablets recording the names and fame of pupils who have won renown in the army or navy, in law, literature, learning and art. One, recently erected by Oscar Straus, an American citizen, is sure to arrest the attention of Transatlantic visitors. It is to Roger Williams, the founder of the State of Rhode Island, whom an inscription lauds as " the pioneer of religious liberty." Eminent sculptors like Flaxman and Chantney have employed

their best skill in adorning the tombs of deceased Charterhouse worthies in the chapel itself.

The Brotherhood, too, has had its associations with English literature, for Charterhouse harboured Archibald Macbean, Dr. Johnson's amanuensis when he was compiling his ponderous dictionary, and Elkanah Settle, the last "City Poet," who rivalled, or was flattered into fancying he was a rival of Dryden. Since its foundation Sutton's Hospital has been a haven of rest and refuge to between two and three thousand "decayed gentlemen" who have found shelter under its roof. If it is no longer a home of prayer, if its chapel no longer echoes to the chaunting of psalms entoned by monks, if it has for over three centuries and a half ceased to be identified with monasticism, which has conferred so many benefits upon every country in Europe, if it is no longer hallowed by saintly men who would march to martyrdom rather than recognise a spiritual supremacy in a lay sovereign or a Parliament-made Church, it may be admitted that it is a monument of the praiseworthy benevolence of a good citizen of London. The idea has been fairly well seized and expressed in the following graceful lines on the tercentenary which appeared over the signature "H. I. R." in the *Westminster Gazette:*

"A cell of stone lies on the mountain side
Where Bruno dwelt and wedded poverty
A solitary monk, resigning liberty
With other five, and by him all the pride
Of opulent Cologne was put aside—
Two hundred convents rose from out that cell
Where still we hear the monastery bell:

In our vast city still the tones abide.
The monks were exiled. Sutton founded Homes
For aged men in Charterhouse, for youth
Free place of learning until Manhood comes.
Such was the work the saintly Bruno wrought,
Such was the glorious flaming Light of Truth
From Desert,[3] to our Wilderness[4] he brought."

R. F. O'Connor.

[3] La Grande Chartreuse.
[4] The Garden and Wilderness Row, London, E. C.

THE JEWISH SECT OF THE NEW COVENANT AT DAMASCUS.

Once more we are in presence of a Hebrew document of rare interest, one produced from the same source from which a considerable part of the text of Ecclesiasticus was brought to light, namely, the Genizah at Cairo. M. Schechter, who conceived the happy idea of bringing about the discovery, is entitled to a still more uncommon merit in having made it known with a complete array of rabbinical lore of the very highest order.[1]

But how could this document have become the companion of a text so honored as that of Ecclesiasticus? By the very fact of its having been cast into the Genizah, for the Genizah is a sacred receptacle both for the sacred books no longer in use, which may there be safeguarded from profanation, and for other books which pass for dangerous. It has been somewhat wittily described as serving "the twofold purpose of keeping good things from harm and bad things from harming."[2] In the estimation of orthodox Jews of Cairo, the document in question belongs beyond a doubt to the harmful class.

In our day, as formerly, the Jews are divided into two parties. The majority, constituting almost the entire nation, are grouped about the rabbis who have fallen heirs to the teachings of the Pharisees as contained in the Talmud and numerous other works more or less closely related to the Bible. But here and there are found synagogues of the Karaites who unhesitatingly reject all Pharisaic and rabbinical traditions. Anan, their spiritual ancestor, inaugurated in the very heart of Judaism a sort of

[1] Documents of Jewish Sectaries, Vol. I, Fragments of a Zadokite Work, edited . . . by S. Schechter, Cambridge, at the University Press, 1910. The documents consist of two MSS. on parchment, one containing sixteen pages the other two, and dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries.

[2] *Jewish Encyclopedia*, V, 612.

Protestant worship of the Letter which was to yield to no authority but Scripture. Like all heretics he pretended to have had forerunners who constituted a chain of tradition *without traditions,* and by thus opposing himself to the Pharisees, he deemed it natural to attach himself to the other great party of Judaism, the Sadducees. He even cited in his favor certain Sadducean works and it seems that the document of the Genizah is one of them. On this feature hinges the whole interest of the discovery. May it indeed be that we have recovered a Hebrew document written in the same spirit as the Talmud but which, because of its higher antiquity, reflects the state of mind of a part of Jewish society contemporary with our Lord? A problem like this cannot fail to impassionate theologians and historians alike. It has already set ink flowing in abundance. The present paper proposes only to sketch the elements of solution.[3]

At first sight the document is far from appearing to err in anything from sound Israelitish orthodoxy. It affects an unstinted respect for the law. All the evils that have overwhelmed Israel it ascribes to headstrongness and disobedience to laws imposed by God. This reproach is insisted upon unceasingly and in a variety of ways. It is the *leitmotif* of the entire piece. It is also as everyone knows, the grievance most clearly articulated in the Scriptures. Its peculiarity here lies in its being addressed to persons of a certain class, who, unfortunately, are not designated by name. It is characteristic of this kind of literature, so like the apocalyptic, to lure by mysteriousness and to appeal directly to the minds of the initiated only. We, however, not being of this favored class, are constrained to direct our efforts towards lifting the veil by conjectures.

The adversaries that are represented as a stumbling-block to Israel are innovators who, without being free-thinkers, have made the law more or less illusory. They are individuals firm

[3] For fuller details see the *Revue Biblique,* April, 1912, and nos. following.

in upholding the law as such, but who interpret it to suit themselves, and have changed everything to their own liking, whence the enigmatic description applied to them: "They build the wall and plaster it with parget." The words call to mind the striking contrasts, such as exist on the one hand, between those magnificent blocks of stone which compose the Temple structure, —splendid when beheld in their bare white courses, and on the other, an ashlar wall, hastily and irregularly built and then faced to conceal the defective workmanship. Instead of adhering to the law, the adversaries had fabricated an unsound system of observances the brilliancy of which failed to outshine its weaker points. What more like the Pharisees! They it was who mitigated and distorted certain commandments with a view to adapting the law to the varying necessities of life, the very crime which our reactionary conservatives judged irremissible. Chief among the guilty, ranks a man who seems identified with Falsehood. Might this not be a way of designating Bar Kokba, "son of the star," who was named by his foes Bar Koziba, or "son of lies"?

Happily, God had his watchful eye fixed upon Israel. In order to save it He held in reserve an élite of faithful servants to whom he revealed the true meaning of the Law. Needless to say, they were the spiritual brethren of the author of the document whom we may well name sectarians, since they aim at forming a distinct group within the nation, or an élite who pretend to be working out the destinies of Israel in troublous times. Let us grant them a hearing.

The document begins as follows:

"And now, listen, all you who know justice and understand the works of God, for He is contending with all flesh, and He will judge all those who despise Him; for, because of the unfaithful ones who have abandoned Him, He has hidden His face from Israel and from His sanctuary, and He has delivered them to the sword; but on remembering the covenant with the fathers, He left a remnant in Israel which He did not yield up to destruction in the time of wrath. Three hundred and ninety years* after He had delivered them to Nabuchodonosor, king of Babylon, He visited them and He caused to grow from Israel and Aaron, the root of

*A number, probably symbolical, borrowed from Ezech. IV, 5.

a plant to possess His country and to make his soil prosperous. And they understood their sin, and they acknowledged their guilt, and they were for twenty years like the blind and like people who grope along the way, and God had regard to their works as they sought Him with a perfect heart, and He raised up for them a Teacher of justice to lead them into the way of His heart. . .[5] . . . It is through them that God established His covenant with Israel forever by revealing to them the hidden things concerning which all Israel had gone astray: His holy Sabbaths and glorious feast-days. . .[6] . . . And He built them a sure house in Israel,[7] such as had never been erected before . . . as God had spoken through the ministry of Ezechiel: "The priests and the Levites, and the sons of Sadoc who kept watch over my sanctuary, while the children of Israel strayed far from me, they shall offer me fat and blood."[8] The priests are the penitents of Israel who went out of the land of Juda, and the Levites are those who joined them, and the sons of Sadoc are the elect of Israel who shall rise up at the end of time.[9]

They[10] who build the wall and are strong for the Law . . . have fallen into lust by taking two wives during life, while the principle of creation is: "male and female He created them."[11]

On the other hand, God raised up Aaron from among the intelligent and wise men of Israel . . . the penitents of Israel who departed from the country of Juda and who settled in the country of Damascus, all whom God has named princes.[12] . . . But the men who entered into the new covenant in the country of Damascus, and afterwards rejected it . . . and separated themselves from the well of living waters, will not be counted in the council of the people, nor be inscribed in the book of God, from the day when the only Teacher was taken away, till the coming of the Messiah of Aaron and Israel.[13] As to those who shall have persevered in these counsels, they shall exult and rejoice, and in their heart will be strengthened and shall rule over all the sons of the world, and God will pardon them, and they shall see his salvation, for they have taken refuge in the shadow of His holy Name.[14]

The reader will have remarked a two-fold aspect of the sect. At the same time that it affects an inviolable respect for the law it has recourse to a special revelation for its authorization. Things have come to such a pass that it does not suffice to preach fidelity to the Law. A thorough reform is needed, and there is no shrinking back from the progressive term, "new covenant," which was perhaps suggested by Jeremias.[15] Is this because

[5] Page 1, lines i-ii.
[6] P. 3, ll. 13-14.
[7] II. Sam. II, 35.
[8] Ezech. XLIV, 15.
[9] P. 3, l. 19.
[10] P. 4, l. 4.
[11] Gen. I, 27. P. 4, ll. 19-21.
[12] P. 6, ll. 2-6.
[13] P. 19, l. 33 to p. 20, l. 1.
[14] P. 20, ll. 33 ff.
[15] Cfr. Jer. XXXIV, 10.

the new times predicted by the Prophet had arrived? Has God really sent the Prophet announced by Moses? Or had the Messiah appeared in Israel after the manner of Balaam's star to guide it to more glorious horizons? Without that, how can one have dreamt of a "new covenant"? What right was there to meddle with the covenant concluded with Abraham and Moses?

The solution offered by the sect is not clear. Facts all too evident had prevented within its bosom a consciousness of having already entered into Messianic glory. On the other hand, the sect could not have arisen but through the influence of a man whose genius was decidedly religious, of one who had already died and who was not therefore the Messiah.

Parenthetically it may be remarked here that the document brought to light from the Genizah at Cairo is a new proof of the difficulty there was in passing for the Messiah without being authorized by God and it shows us the degree in which Christ's resurrection is the seal of His work. If the Apostles had not seen the Savior risen, Jesus could not have been characterized as "doctor of justice," nor could anybody have applied to him the title of Messias.

Yet that is what took place with the founder of the sect. He was styled the singular Doctor the Star which conducted the sect to the country of Damascus. He may even be more or less vaguely the Messiah . . . but it is not in him that the people hope. There is nothing in him to indicate that he is to come again. The expected One is he who will put an end to the time of trial and misfortune. He is the Messiah of Aaron and Israel.

There is another peculiarity of our sectarians. They await the Messiah undaunted. Those days have passed when criticism might have asked if Israel associated everything of importance with the Messiah. Yet, strange to say, the Messiah, doctor of justice, is not, in their view, to be born of David and of Juda, but of Aaron and of Israel. Our document leaves no doubt on the matter. David had transgressed the Law by taking so many wives and his whole palliation is that he did

not know the Law! As for Juda, the sect has separated from him and left him in order to settle near Damascus, the separation being irrevocable. Even at the moment of national restoration when the twelve dreamed of re-uniting, as of old, nothing was to be feared from Juda. The stand had been taken, the spirit of the sect refused pardon, and in doing so it bolstered itself up on the authority of Micheas.[16]

The Messiah then is to be born of Israel and Aaron. Must one understand by that that he is to come from the tribe of Levi? No, for hope must nowhere be discouraged, save perhaps outside the sect. Of this, Aaron and Israel are taken precisely as a very noble designation. It is composed of priests and laity from one of whom the Messiah shall very certainly go forth yet it is not so certain that he shall spring from a priestly race. No description of his reign is furnished. Mention is several times made of the coming of a Messiah but that will be at the close of history and at the end of the world. Nothing is said of what will then occur, except that the Jews of the sect will rule the entire world. As for the rest, the Messiah will be all-powerful. In no passage is it asserted that for each individual there will be another life in which chastisement and reward will be meted out.

But what transpires during the interval? While waiting for the Messiah the sect organizes with the Law as its natural basis. Logically, no one could add to it without becoming like those who "build the wall and spread the parget." Yet everyone is aware that no reform has been able to extricate itself from this contradiction. The sectarians reject all traditions to adhere to the Word of God in its purity, and straightway they write commentaries on it, they regulate life according to their manner of understanding it, they inaugurate a theological system with jurisprudence and new traditions. Our author has accordingly been unable to escape the rôle of legislator, and the rigor of his principle has drawn him to place himself in opposition to the Law. His reasoning against the Pharisees was not bad when

[16] P. 4, l. 11.

he forbade marriage between an uncle and a niece on the ground that according to the Law, an aunt was prohibited to marry her nephew. Yet he exceeds the old Law, through preference for the newer one by interdicting bigamy and apparently repudiation. Ordinarily he is more strict than the Pharisees themselves, particularly on the article of the Sabbath. For example, should a man fall into the water on the Sabbath day, one can help to rescue him if he can do so easily, but if the use of a ladder, a cord, or any instrument is necessary,—all the worse for the unfortunate man! It has ever been contended that, after the manner of the Essenes, our sectarians were obliged to refrain even from natural necessities on the Sabbath. The belief seems better founded that they were called upon simply to lay aside their work at the sound of the trumpet announcing the Sabbath, just as many a holy religious who has been known to leave a letter half formed at the stroke of the bell. Naturally, great stress was laid on the necessity of avoiding defilement. The blood of animals was forbidden to all Israelites. The prohibitoin was now extended to the blood of fish, a food which the Pharisees were accustomed to tolerate.

To maintain such strict observance it was of great import to draw tight and firmly the lines of discipline. Our sectarians were divided into minor communities, which were not to be too large, lest fervor should be imperiled, nor too small, lest they should be invaded by the spirit of the world. They were to contain no fewer than ten and no more than a thousand members. This last figure proves that the communities did not possess convents, much less, convents of celibates like the Essenes. They were rather normal groups, the authority over which was vested in a priest and lay inspector, assisted by a council of ten persons embracing four priests or Levites and six of the laity. The priest was charged with the religious instruction which was to be given either according to the Law and the Prophets, or according to a book peculiar to the sect named the Book of Hegou. This title remains up to the present unexplained. The inspector's office was to provide for justice, peace, the help of the poor and afflicted. He might

broadly be compared to a bishop, were it not that his duties were exclusively of a civil nature. The document continues to speak of sacrifices as if they were being offered in reality, yet this may be only a reminiscence of the time when the Temple of Jerusalem was abandoned and victims were still immolated. Proselytes were sought, but with marked discretion. It was to the interest of the society to surround itself with mystery, the purpose of which was doubtless to predispose its members to persevere, because of the importance of the secret. In this there was a striking similarity with apocryphal literature whose origin is also concealed. Our document cites the "Book of Jubilees," which is known only through an Ethiopic version, the "Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs," which has reached us largely interspersed with Christian interpolations, and even the books of Jeremias to Baruch and of Eliseus to Giezi the very names of which were unknown.

Such are the more general features of the document drawn from the Genizah at Cairo, whose physiognomy has been well sketched by M. Schechter.

We are now prepared to inquire into the historical name of the sect of "the new covenant" established at Damascus, as well as the time of its separation from the principal throne of Israel. Unfortunately, it is no easy task to dispel the darkness enveloping these questions.

It has been volunteered that the "new covenant" is our own, the one founded by Jesus Christ. The term invites the identification, but beyond the term there is scarcely anything in common between the Jewish sect, more Jewish indeed than the Pharisees, and the spirit of the Gospels. It has been alleged that the sect had only one Teacher and his respect for marriage has been pointed out. But the Teacher in belonging to the past is not the Messiah since the latter is still represented as the object of expectation. As for the marriage-tie, there were already existent here and there in Judaism traces of a greater respect than the school of Hillel had shown it, and when our Savior proclaimed its indissolubility, it was to a text of Genesis

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that he appealed, the very text which is called to mind in our document.

It is true that certain Jewish converts to Christianity continued the practice of Mosaic observance. Sts. Epiphanius and Jerome knew them under the name of Nazarenes. They inhabited Syria, Berea (today Aleppo), and Cocaba which was probably in the vicinity of Damascus. But the Nazarenes made profession, at least, that Jesus Christ was the Messiah and they had a Gospel much like that of St. Matthew, whereas our sectarians are completely within the horizon of Mosaic religion. If they have received a revelation it concerns only the true sense of the Law of Moses; if one enters into a "new covenant" in being affiliated to their society, it is only by taking an oath of absolute fidelity to that Law, while their hostility to Juda is irreconcilable with the Davidic origin which Christians recognize in the Savior.

It will be more natural to compare the sect at Damascus with the Samaritans. Like the Samaritans they had broken away from Juda and Jerusalem; like the Samaritans they had been guided in their exodus by schismatical priests. The Samaritans are awaiting a Messiah who is to spring from their midst and be called "Taheb" (the restorer); the sect looks forward to a Messiah from Aaron and Israel. The situations are very much alike, as are those of all schisms which keep to old beliefs after sacrificing unity. The two schisms would be identical only in the case of their having the same point of departure inasmuch as their doctrines might be characteristic of the moment of rupture. But nothing of the kind occurs, for while the Samaritans admit the Pentateuch and the book of Josue as canonical and inspired Scriptures, our sectarians cite willingly and in addition to them the Prophets, in whom they acknowledge an authority as great as do the compilers of the Talmud; yet they are less rigorous than the Talmudists in discarding apocryphal writings. From this it results that they left the Holy City at a time when the Canon of the Scriptures embraced the Prophets, that is, later than the Samaritans. That they were formed like the latter and displayed the same

hostility towards official Judaism, were but the natural consequences of their schismatical position. This resemblance, however, is rather negative and does not go so far as to adopt Gerizim as a sanctuary competitive with Jerusalem.

On the other hand, it is not allowable to think of too merry a sect as were the Karaites. The Karaites, owing to their aversion for Pharisaic traditions could not welcome apocryphal works very graciously. We must here apply the criterion just spoken of, according to which the sectarians of Damascus have been placed earlier than the condemnation of the apocrypha. And still, certain analogies in detail with the legislation of the Karaites are not lacking. Since indeed, Anan and the first founders of the Karaites built up their system on anterior writings, there is no room for doubting that they used works similar in character to the one to which our fragment belongs. These writings were styled Sadducean, a fact that seems to justify our query in the beginning: "Have we in hand a relic of Sadducean literature?" If we have it would be all the more precious for being alone of its kind.

When Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus, the entire Jewish structure gave way in general disaster. Holy Scripture and its interpreters survived. The Sadducees, as we learn from the New Testament and the writings of Josephus, were engaged for the most part in temporal affairs. The party derived its strength from the priesthood, the high-priest being its chief, although it had associated with it a few influential families. The priesthood was doomed to disappear with the Temple, since sacrifice offered elsewhere than on Mt. Moriah would have been sacrilegious, and with this reverse of fortune the aristocracy lost its influence. It is also possible that the Sadducees wrote little. Their principal grievance against the Pharisees was the ever increasing number of decisions relative to jurisprudence, to which the doctors gave the force of Law, and the new dogmas they continued to impose upon the people. For such a state of mind the written Law was sufficient. The Sadduces are represented, indeed, as men of strong minds, imbued with Greek culture and not overzealous for their religion,

but the statement is only half true. It would be more accurate to describe them as a great religious and political party that held aloof from such schools as were effectually closed against distractions from without and exclusively intent upon their own theoretical conceptions. In contact with the government and associated in the administration, the Sadduces followed the various influences and fashions of society. This made them of worldly repute by almost hellenizing them under the Syrian kings, making them zealous for religion under the first Asmoneans, and causing them to court the friendship of Rome under Herod. But after the reactionary Macchabean movement in favor of religion they are not known to have again fallen into the laxism of Jason and Menalaus, the two willing instruments of the Syrian kings in their endeavor to force the Jews into apostasy from their natural religion.

One may therefore, without too little likelihood, ascribe to this party a document like that in question, which implicitly denounces Pharisean novelties, is much attached to the priesthood and which seems even, precisely like the Sadducees, to have chosen the title "son of Sadoc" as a designation for its adherents. The extreme zeal displayed in the document for the Law indicates nothing to the contrary.

In the New Testament one sees in a general way that the princes of the priests were no less zealous than the Pharisaic doctors, in the strife with Jesus and the apostles. If indeed they appear to have tempted our Savior less often by ensnaring Him in His speech, they labored none the less energetically to repress Him, as was their wont on similar occasions. It was Gamaliel, the chief of the Pharisees, who advised moderation in the Sanhedrim when the leaders were bent on a summary extirpation of Christianity to its very roots.[17] It may be objected that the Sadducees admitted only the Pentateuch, since Jesus refrained from citing the Prophets to them in the controversy about the resurrection of the dead. Yet it is by no means proved that they rejected the Prophets. The Law

[17] Acts of the Apostles, v, 34 ff.

was *par excellence* their canonical book and directive authority. The same rôle is accorded it in the " new covenant " of Damascus. There seems then to be no alternative but to classify our document as Sadducean. Yet this must be done cautiously.

We have recognized in the document a double physiognomy. In certain respects it is very conservative, and it is animated by an euthusiasm that ordinarily accompanies explosive religious movements. The combination of these two phenomena is not altogether unheard of. Besides the institutions that spring into existence like a new creation, there is the " revival "; and the latter exhibits as much imaginativeness and poetic transport as sects newly founded. Very conservative minds can be subject to revelations, prophecy and religious manifestations of every kind. This was the case, if it is permissible to recall it, of the partisans of legitimism in France. As long as there was hope that the Count of Chambord would ascend the throne, many a prediction was put into circulation, among others, the famous prophecy of Orval.

But this not the procedure of great political parties organized in broad daylight. The Sadducees, even without being strong minded or free thinkers, were not disposed to see supernatural manifestations everywhere. They even denied the existence of spirits, and we know from the history of Christianity itself their extreme hostility towards every religious innovation. Now our sectarians were the disciples of a special Teacher; they pretended to have been favored with revelations; they admitted apocryphal books, and as it seems, they placed them on the same footing as inspired writings. They are not then the historic Sadducees, such as we know them. What remains to be said but that they are a branch broken off from the Sadducean party who must have taken birth at a time when the priesthood was being renewed in its fervor, namely, at the Macchabean uprising?

While the leaders of the Party, the highpriests and grand lords, were gliding into the worldly atmosphere of the court, a small group preserved unalloyed its primitive ardor by saturating its energy in Messianic hope. But, drawn with the

majority of the party under Asmonean influence, it lost sight of the very clear prophecies which made the Messiah David's heir. Perhaps they reasoned that the prevarication of the former kings had worn out God's patience and that thenceforth the priest-kings of the Macchabean family had fallen heirs to the promises made to David concerning his throne. Analogous tendencies have already been observed in the Book of Jubilees and in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs; tendencies—mark well!—for when those two books had been written the rupture with Juda had not been consummated, and that tribe was still in the enjoyment of its privileges.

What events could have conspired to have turned a pious, severe and enthusiastic group filled with hope, into a schismatical body that turned its back on the nation? The perversion seems to have been accomplished when the nation had no longer any other leaders but Pharisees, in whom the sectarians were accustomed to see avowed enemies. So long as the priesthood preserved its prerogatives and its official rank with a certain amount of influence over the populace, the Sadducees, because of this elevation, guarded patience. But the virtue failed them when they were obliged to submit to the yoke of those whom they directly charged with being the cause of Jerusalem's downfall. In the midst of the national disturbances following the ruin of the Temple, their spirit, which beheld in the disaster a great chastisement from the Lord, endeavored to command the situation once more. To a great evil they resolved to oppose a great remedy. Instead of being guided by the doctors of untruth, whose only art, for them, lay in plastering the breaches with roughcast, they felt called upon to practice an unlimited observance of the Law and to live in isolation, or else run the risk of ceasing to be the small remnant destined to perpetuate the hope of Israel.

The schism, therefore, according to all appearances, broke out subsequently to the capture of Jerusalem by Titus (70 A. D.). It could not have been much later, for the doctrine is written in very correct Hebrew, more classic than the Mishnah (which

dates from about 200, A. D.) and it originated before sacrifices had ceased to be offered in the sanctuary of the Holy City. Now we know that, although the Temple was utterly destroyed and razed to the ground by Titus, the altar was re-erected by Bar Kokba who had a high-priest associated with himself in the first year of his revolt under Hadrian (135 A. D.). This war, which is so little known, was positively a Messianic war, since its hero took the name of "Son of the Star" (Bar Kokba) and was recognized as Messiah by Aquiba, the greatest authority of Judaism. It resulted in atrocious repression, and annihilated forever the aspirations of Israel for independence. Then it was, I imagine, that our little Sadducean group, without awaiting the end of the tragic adventure, broke definitively with the Pharisees, with Juda whom they had brought to ruin, and with Juda's false Messiah, the man of lies who had seduced Israel. This is only a conjecture, but perhaps another discovery in a Genizah yet unknown will tell what it is worth.

JOSEPH BARNES, O. P.

TWO NOTES ON THE APOCALYPSE.

1. Its Greek Text.

The ordinary Greek text of the *Apocalypse* is in an unhappy state. For his edition in 1516, Erasmus used only the cursive 1, of the twelfth century. This lacked the last six verses of the book, so the scholar translated them into Greek from the Latin Vulgate; and some of his words still remain in the commonly received text. In other places, as Miller's *Scrivener,* ii. 184, notes, the difficulty of distinguishing between the text and the commentary in the manuscript, led him to supply phrases by translating them from the Latin.

To restore the original text, we have only six uncials, that is, manuscripts in half-capitals or majuscules. Of these, the ninth-century Kosinitsan, *Gimel,* is still unedited. The whole of the *Apocalypse* is found in the Sinaitic, *Aleph,* probably of Caesarea and the year 331, in the Alexandrian, *A,* of Alexandria and the early fifth century, probably about 431, and in the Vatican Q, of the eighth century, about 800. Two uncials, the Ephraem palimpsest, *C,* of Egypt and the fifth century, and the Porphyrian palimpsest, *P,* of the ninth century, are incomplete. These five manuscripts present more than 1600 various readings in the 404 verses, to say nothing of mere differences in spelling. But, besides these uncials, we have early versions and writers, and 223 manuscripts in the cursive or minuscule form, which was used for this purpose from the ninth century.

In the ordinary treatment of such material, we distinguish ancient types of text, and classify the witnesses according to that which they most resemble. There is the Western Text, characterised by interpolations. This belongs to the second century, and is generally represented by the Old Latin, the Old Syriac, and all the earliest writers in Christendom. Then

there is the Alexandrian Text, which we may regard as arising between the year 231, when Origen left Alexandria for Caesarea, and the year 331, when Eusebius of Caesarea provided fifty manuscripts for Constantine. This type is marked by grammatical corrections and the smoothing of phrases.

The Syrian text contains readings which are not found in any writer before 250. It belonged to Cyrian Antioch, and is generally associated with the name of Lucian, martyred in 312. Whether it is the result of two revisions or of only one, it represents the official text, which passed from Antioch through Constantinople to the world. It is marked by conflation, as it often solves a question of two variants by combining both as far as possible. For example, in *Apoc.* xvi. 17, there are the two Greek words, *τοῦ ναοῦ*, which should be rendered "of the Sanctuary," and not "of the Temple." They form the true text, which is supported by the Alexandrian uncial, as well as by other witnesses. As that Sanctuary is in heaven, some substituted "of the heaven" for "of the Sanctuary." And therefore, we find *τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* in some cursives, and translated into the Armenian version. The two variants are combined in the phrase "of the Sanctuary of the heaven" by the Vatican manuscript, *Q*, and the commentary of Arethas, both these witnesses representing the Syrian text here as elsewhere.

Westcott and Hort, in their *Greek Testament,* ii. § 154, confess the peculiar difficulty of distinguishing these texts in the case of the *Apocalypse.* They indeed miss the guidance of the Vatican B, which does not contain this book; and everyone must feel restrained by the small number of the witnesses. Further, the work contains many short clauses with similar endings, so that a scribe, having copied one such ending and looking back to the manuscript, might easily light upon the second occurrence of the form, the intervening words being omitted. This error of *homoloteleuton,* or "similar ending," is found in all our witnesses.

But a still greater difficulty is occasioned by the way in which the texts, Western, Alexandrian and Syrian, are mixed in the same manuscripts. This is especially the case in the

cursives of the commentary, which Cappadocian Andrew composed about 550 A. D. So it is only with qualifications that we can hold the Western Text of the *Apocalypse* to be represented by the Porphyrian *P* or Cent. ix., the Andrew text, about 20 cursives and the Old Latin; the Alexandrian text, by the Sinaitic *Aleph* of Cent. iv., the Alexandrian *A* and Ephraem *C*, both of Cent. v., the Latin Vulgate, the Egyptian and Syriac versions, and nearly all early writers; and the Syriac text, by the Vatican *Q*, of Cent. viii., the Cappadocian Arethas about 900 A. D., and about 30 cursives.

If we could, it would be our business to get behind the Western, Alexandrian and Syrian texts. It would carry us to an early date in the second century, if we succeeded in tracing the Old Latin, Syriac and Bohairic versions to the point, at which they diverged. The epistle of the churches in Lyons and Vienne, written in 177 A. D., and preserved by Eusebius in his *History*, v, i., implies an Old Latin version like that of Africa. The Egyptian Bohairic may reasonably be dated about 200 or 250 A. D.; and the Egyptian Sahidic appears to have been made about 188. But unfortunately, we are dependent for the Syriac of the *Apocalypse* on Gwynn's Philoxenian version of 508, and on the Harclean Syriac of 616, which represents the book in our copies of the Syriac Vulgate or Peshitta.

It is necessary in this connection to remember how closely Rome, Carthage, Alexandria, Syrian Antioch and Edessa were related. Even in Egypt, as we can learn from *Gallandi*, v, p. viii., there were very many Latin monks, who knew neither Coptic nor Greek. Coptic does indeed include many Latin words, such as *phossa*, that is, *fossa*, *doux*, that is, *dux*, *strata*, *Biktōr* for *Victor*, and *paganos* for *paganus*. But the position of Alexandria as a granary of Rome, and the direct connection by coast-service between Alexandria and Syrian Antioch, or even by just 800 miles of coast-road, besides the close relation between Rome and Carthage, and that between Syrian Antioch and Edessa, are perhaps sufficient to explain an early com-

mingling of the versions without assuming as Hoskier does, in his treatise *Concerning the Date of the Bohairic Version,* p. 110, a triglot in Greek, Syriac and Latin, and a tetraglot in Greek, Syriac, Latin and Coptic.

In our effort to classify the witnesses, we commence with the Latin Vulgate, and determine its text by means of the manuscripts, Fuldensis, of 540 A. D., Amiatinus, just before 716, Toletanus, of Cent. viii., Harleianus, of Cent. ix., Demidovianus, of Cent. xii., the Lipsienses $^{4, 5, 6}$, of Centuries xiv. and xv., and the Clementine edition of 1592. Then, representing these witnesses by the signs for them, we present the resultant testimony of Fuld Am Tol Harl Demid Lipss $^{4, 5, 6}$, as simply Vg.

In determining the Old Latin text, we must deal with much material, which needs delicate handling. There are 205 quotations from the *Apocalypse* in Tertullian, who became a Christian about 195 A. D., but quotes irregularly. 188 are found in Hippolytus, who preached before Origen at Rome in 211. Then we have St. Cyprian's *Testimonies against the Jews* in 248, the commentary on the *Apocalypse* by Victorinus of Pannonian Pettau about 290, and that by the Donatist and African Tyconius about 390. The commentary of Victorinus exists in two forms. The shorter, in De la Bigne's *Bibliotheca Patrum,* vi., is really a revision by St. Jerome, who had published his Latin Vulgate of the *Apocalypse* in 385, and now used the work of Tyconius in editing Victorinus. This shorter form was again revised, and afterwards expanded into the longer form, which we find in Migne's *Latin Fathers,* v. At the end of the fourth century, besides Tyconius, St. Jerome's *Vulgate* and his *Victorinus,* we have the Latin translation of *St. Irenaeus* with 65 quotations from the *Apocalypse.* St. Augustine follows Victorinus and Tychonius, and has many references to the *Apocalypse,* especially in his *City of God,* finished in 426 A. D. About the year 550, we have three commentators, carrying on the same tradition and text. These are the Spanish Apringius, the Roman Cassiodorus, and the African Primasius. And in the seventh century, there is the purely African Latin text of the Fleury or Floriacensis palimpsest, h.

The commentary of Bede, who died in 735, is printed in Migne's *Latin Fathers,* XCV. The Benedictine Ambrose Ansbert completed his commentary in Italy about 767, and the Spanish Benedictine Beatus wrote his about 785. In the same eighth century comes the treatise *on the Divine Scriptures,* wrongly attributed to St. Augustine. This, the *Speculum* or "Mirror," denoted by m, seems to present a Spanish form of the Old Latin Version. In the ninth century, there are Haymo of Halberstadt, to be found in Migne's *Latin Fathers,* CXVIII., Alcuin, Berengaudus, and Walafrid Strabo. The commentators in the twelfth cenutry include the famous Joachim of Calabria, Richard of St. Victor, Anselm of Havilberg, Anselm of Loan, Bruno of Asti, and Rupert of Deutz. In the thirteenth, there is the *Gigas* manuscript, g, representing a late European form of the Old Latin, like that in the Sardinian Lucifer. In the same period, there are Albert the Great, Hugo de S. Caro, Peter John Oliva, and a commentary wrongly attributed to St. Thomas Aquinas. In the fourteenth century, we find Nicolas of Gorham and Nicolas of Lyra.

To these we must add the homilies the *Apocalypse* in Migne's *Latin Fathers,* XXXV, and at the end of vol. III. in the Benedictine editon of *St. Augustine.* These may be regarded as representing the text and commentary of Tyconius, and are quoted as anon^{aug}.

For practical purposes, we determine the Old Latin text of the *Apocalypse* by h m g Tert Hipp Cyp Vict Iren^{lat} Aug Prim Cassiod Haym anon^{aug}, and denote the resultant as *It,* that is, the *Itala* of Tischendorf's nomenclature.

To reach the early Syriac text, we are dependent upon Gwynn's copy of the Philoxenian version, S, and upon the Harclean version, *Sigma,* which represents the *Apocalypse* in the Syriac Vulgate. But the Philoxenian version was made in 508 and the Harclean in 616. Elsewhere the Armenian version contains some Old Syriac readings; but according to Zohrab, in his Armenian Bible of 1805, the Armenian version of the *Apocalypse* was not made before the eighth century. The Syriac text, then, is represented by two versions, the Philoxenian in the sixth century and the Harclean in the seventh.

The Armenian belongs to the eighth. Then there are two families of Greek cursives, which support the Philoxenian Syriac. Six of these are so alike that they may be regarded as representing one witness. Of these, 70 and 94 belong to Cent. xiv., and 25, 58, 78, and 84 to Cent. xv. They may all be represented by 70. The cursives in the second family also are late. These may be represented by 80; and they include 79, 80 and 100, of Cent. xiv., 21, 28, 73, and 101, of Cent. xv., and 79^{a} and 182, of Cent. xvi. Then there is a related group, which Hoskier has named the Erasmian, because it contains 1, the cursive used by Erasmus. It includes 1, of Cent. xii., 67, of Cent. xiv., 46, 59, 62, 88, 109, of Cent. xv., and 63 and 72, of Cent. xvi.

Turning now to Egypt, we find 11 quotations in Clement, head of the Alexandrian School in 189 A. D., and 165 in Origen, who succeeded him in 203. Hoskier, in his great work on the Bohairic Version, dates it in 200 or 250 A. D., p. 1, and accepts 188 A. D., as the date of the Sahidic Gospels, p. 117. So we have St. Clement and the Sahidic about 189, Origen and the Bohairic about 200. Then the Sinaitic uncial, *Aleph,* probably appears at Palestinian Caesarea in 331. The Alexandrian A and the Ephraem C belong to the fifth century. And a small but independent group of Greek cursives belong to Egypt. It includes 34 and 68, of Cent. xi., and 35 and 87, of Cent. xiv.

There are single cursives of importance, such as 95, of Cent. xi., 36 and 56, of Cent. xiii., and 32 of Cent. xv.

As to the uncials, the Vatican Q and the Porphyrian P, the former belongs with Arethas to the eighth century and the Syrian text. The latter is of the ninth century, and represents a mixture of the Western and Alexandrian texts. These two concur in only about fifty instances against the united testimony of the Sinaitic *Aleph,* the Alexandrian A, and the Ephraem C.

2. Its Greek Grammar.

The grammatical style of the *Apocalypse* is influenced by the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, by the Greek Vulgate or Septuagint, by a Greek version like the later edition by Theo-

dotion, and by the insertion of explanatory notes by the writer. It is also affected by the ecstatic condition of the prophet. So the result cannot be simply described as a specimen of the Common Dialect. It is not to be classed with Biblical Greek, nor with the everyday language of the papyrus letters, much less with the more formal styles of inscriptions and papyrus contracts. It is a speech of its own kind.

For example, the feminine word ἶρις, "a rainbow," though it is feminine, as in x. 1, is followed in iv. 3, by the masculine form, ὅμοιος, "like"; but that is because the latter word is used for the Hebrew prefix, *k*, "as," without reference to gender. In xii. 5, "a boy" is expressed by "a son, a male," the word "male" being neuter; but the expression represents the Hebrew *bēn zākhār*. The Greek genitive absolute is never used in the book, ix. 9 being no exception. The use of the preposition ἐκ, "out of," after the verb ἐκδικεῖν, "to avenge," may of course be due to the ἐκ, prefixed to the verb; and the ordinary construction is with atto, "from"; but some would explain the ἐκ by the Hebrew preposition *min*, "from," which follows *nāqām*, "to avenge." Certainly, we should not explain the μετὰ and genitive, that is "with," used with ἀκογουθεῖν, "to follow," in vi. 8, by the *achár*, "behind," "after," used with the Hebrew *hālákh*, "to go."

We note also that St. John uses Ἱερουσαλὴμ for "Jerusalem" in the *Apocalypse*, not Ἱεροσόλυμα, as in the *Gospel*, the former being adopted from the Greek Vulgate or Septuagint. Similarly, in the *Apocalypse*, the seer employs the intensive ἰδοῦ of the Greek Vulgate and the middle voice, we accenting it as an adverb, ἰδού in place of the less impressive ἴδε, "behold"; and he adopts other words and phrases, such as παντοκράτωρ for "almighty" and ἡ σκηνη τοῦ μαρτυρίου for "the tabernacle of testimony," from the same source.

We need not take account of the nominative case in place of the vocative, of the plural for the dual, or of the accusative case to mark a point of time. Such forms do not make the *Apcalypse* singular in its grammar.

With regard to the relation between nouns, the nominative ὁ μάρτυς, "the witness," appears at first sight to be in appo-

sition to the genitive Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, "of Jesus Christ," in I. 5. A similar construction is found in the nominative participle, ἡ καταβαίνουσα, "the descending," or "which is descending," this following the genitive τῆς καινῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, "the fresh Jerusalem," in III. 12, and again in the nominative plural, οἱ τηροῦντες, "who are keeping," after the genitive τῶν ἁίγων, "of the holy [ones]," in XIV. 12. There are other examples, some of them doubtful as true readings. But the author knows the rules of apposition, as he shews in many cases, such as IV. 9, VI, 1, VII. 1, and VIII. 13. As to his apparent breaches of rule, we can see in such cases as III. 12, and XIV. 12, that the break in the construction is due to St. John's insertion of an explanatory note, the grammar in the gloss being independent of that in the text.

We may also draw attention to the change of genitive into accusative in XVII. 4, and to the change of the nominative into the accusative in VII. 9 and X. 8.

As to the relation between noun and adjective, we find the noun ληνός, "a wine-vat," which is indeed masculine or feminine in Attic Greek, used with a feminine article, and afterwards defined by the masculine expression, τὸν μεγαν, "the great," XIV. 19. In IV. 1, we find the feminine φωνή, "a voice," followed by the masculine λέγων, "saying"; but the latter word is evidently a "formula of quotation," and represents the Hebrew *lē'mōr*, "to say," or "saying," this being a gerundival form, composed of the preposition *l*, "to," and the construct form of the infinitive in the Qal or simple conjugation of *'emōr*, "to say." The compound form was represented in the Septuagint by λέγων or λέγοντες, that is, "saying" in the singular or plural. In VI. 9, 10, the feminine accusative, τὰς ψυχάς, "the souls," is followed by the masculine nominative, λέγοντες, "saying." In IX. 13, the feminine φωνήν is followed by the masculine λέγοντα, "saying." But the author well knows the gender of φωνή, "a voice," and of ψυχή, "a soul," and gives them feminine adjectives in VI. 10, and XVI. 3. Apparently, the treatment of λέγων, "saying," is extended to ἔχων, having, in X. 2, XIV. 14, and XXI. 14.

We may also note the masculine participle ἑστῶτες, "standing," used with feminine nouns in xi. 4, and the masculine participle γέμοντα "being full of," used with the neuter form θηρίον, "a wild-beast," in xvii. 3, to represent the monster as a personal power.

As to the connection of nouns with verbs, we find neuter plurals with plural verbs in iii. 4, xi. 13, 18, xv. 4; but the rule is known, for such nouns are followed by singular verbs in ii. 27, viii. 3, xiii. 14, xiv. 13, xvi. 14, xix. 14. Both the rule and the exception are found in i. 19. There is the same rule and similar exceptions in the Greek Vulgate of the Seventy. The rule is there illustrated by *Ezekiel,* xxxviii. 10, and the exceptions by *Ezekiel* xxxix. 7, *Nahum* ii. 5, iii. 10, *Zechariah* ii. 11, x. 7, xii. 3. But it is easy to understand that a plural verb would follow a neuter plural, when that, as in Xenophon's *Anabasis,* VII. iii. 11, 1 *Cor.* i, 27, 28, *Eph.* ii. 14, and *Heb.* vii. 7, is used of persons in a general sense.

Then as to the connection of nouns and prepositions, some regard the repetition of the preposition in a series of nouns, as for example in xvi. 13, as something unusual; but we find the same thing often enough in the Greek Vulgate of the prophets, as for example in *Zechariah* i. 4, 6, vi. 10, 14, viii. 7. Then the preposition ἀπό, "from," requires the genitive; but it is followed in i. 4, by a phrase in the nominative. This expression is the well-known, "He who is and the [One who] was and the Coming One." So it is plainly intended that the whole phrase be taken as one word, and as an indeclinable noun. The preposition is employed on nearly forty other occasions in the *Apocalypse,* and always regularly with the genitive.

The relative pronoun is constructed in Hebrew fashion in ii. 7, "To him who conquers, I will give him," and in vi. 4, "And to him, who was sitting on it, there was given to him."

As to conjunctions, we note that ἵνα, "in order that," is preceded by καί, "and," in xiii. 17, according to the corrected Sinaitic, the Alexandrian A, the Vatican Q, the Porphyrian P, many Greek cursives, the Latin Vulgate, the Armenian and Ethiopic version and Arethas, but not in the Sinaitic or Eph-

raem C, the cursives 6, 28, 32, 79, 96, the Bohairic or the Syriac version, the Latin translation of St. Irenaeus, Hippolytus or Primasium. Though οὖν, "therefore," is very frequent in the *Gospel,* it only occurs six times, i, 19, ii. 5, 16, iii. 3, 3, 19, in the *Apocalypse,* and is not found once in the true text of the *First Epistle.* Naturally, καί, "and," is more suitable to the *Apocalypse,* which so resembles Hebrew poetry in its arrangement, and adds detail to detail to form the complex symbols. Then ὅταν, "whenever," which regularly takes a verb in the subjunctive, is used with the future indicative in iv. 9. The future implies a fact to be; the conjunction suggests the uncertainty of the time; but the two together are equivalent to a frequentative future.

With regard to the tenses, there is strict regularity in many passages. In i. 7, ii. 5, 16, 22, iii. 9, the present passes into the future. But the use of a present and a future verb together is found very often in the Greek Vulgate, as for example, in *Zechariah,* ii. 9, 10, xi. 6. The construction is really due to the sequence of tenses in Hebrew. There, as Gesenius says in his *Grammar,* § 49, 1, in continued narrative of the past, the first verb alone is in the past tense, the others being in the future form; and, on the contrary, in continued descriptions of the future, the first verb alone is in the future tense, the others being in the past. So in the *Apocalypse,* the angel swears

x. 6 i That there will no longer be time,
7 But [the end will be] in the days

Of the voice of the seventh angel,
Whenever he may be about to sound,

And the mystery of God will be finished,
As He evangelised His own bondmen, the prophets.

The Greek verb, ἐτελέσθη, "it was finished," x. 7 d, follows ἔσται, "there will be," x. 6 i,in Hebrew fashion, and must therefore be rendered in English as a future, "it will be finished."

Finally, the perfect εἴρηκα, "I have said," in vii. 14, and the perfect εἴληφεν, "he has taken," in viii. 5, are used as vividly realistic. The futures in the description of the New Jerusalem, xxi. 24-27, are employed of events really future; and those in xxii. 3-5, are required, because the name on the foreheads is still invisible, and the Vision of the Blest still unattained.

George S. Hitchcock.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Italy in the Thirteenth Century. By Henry Dwight Sedgwick. In two volumes. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1913. Vol. I, pp. x + 440. Vol. II, pp. 398.

The Thirteenth Century is often spoken of as the greatest century of the Middle Ages. At any rate it was a great century. Each country contributed to its riches: England brought Magna Charta, the beginnings of Parliament, Bishop Grosseteste, Roger Bacon, and Simon of Montfort; France gave the Cathedrals of Paris, Rheims and Amiens, her University, her literature, and St. Louis; Spain added the culture of Moor and Jew at Cordova and Seville, Alphonso the Wise of Castile, James of Aragon the Conqueror, and St. Dominic; Germany presented her victories over the heathen in the East, the Hanseatic towns, Walter von der Vogelweide, Albertus Magnus and Rudolph of Hapsburg. But the contribution of Italy was the most important of all; she showed "more energy, more productive power, more many sided genius than any of them: no other country can produce a list of men to match Innocent III, Frederick II, St. Francis, Ezzelino da Romano, Thomas Aquinas, Niccola Pisano, Giotto and Dante, nor matters of such world-wide concern as the Papacy, the Holy Roman Empire or the Franciscan movement." Such, at least, is the opinion of Mr. Henry Dwight Sedgwick who, in the two ample volumes under notice, has set himself the ambitious and attractive task of telling the story of Italy in the Thirteenth Century. To review his work with any detail would be to write an article. We must content ourselves, therefore, with a general survey of its contents.

The period of Italian history covered by the present volumes is so crowded with affairs of moment and with memorable men; documents, biographies and monographs bearing upon it are so numerous, that it is not easy to present in mere outline a true picture of the times. The author has here laid stress on those topics that seem to him most interesting and the variety of matters he has put together—religion, politics, literature, art, trade

guilds and other subjects not of a piece—goes to account for the apparent patch work of Mr. Sedgwick's book. It is, in fact, a series of literary essays rather than a formal or closely woven historical record. Thus in Volume I, after a short introductory chapter intended to show "where the way leads," we have twenty-nine separate chapters which deal in succession with Innocent III as Priest, as Preacher and as *Dominus Dominantium;* with Joachim of Fiore "the Prophet"; with Papal Jurisprudence; with St. Francis and his first disciples; with the Emperor Frederick II and his relations with Gregory IX; with Provencal and Sicilian Poetry; with the Lombard Communes; with Bologna, her constitution, her university and with some of its professors; with the nobles of the North; with Italian art in its earliest development and its thirteenth-century applications; with Innocent IV; with Gothic architecture; with the progress of the Franciscan order; with the disciples of Joachim of Fiore; with King Manfred; with Tuscany (1200-1260) and with the city of Florence. Volume II contains twenty chapters which treat of the following topics in the order given: the intermediate poets; Venice; the French Conquest; Charles the Conqueror; the Pontificates of Gregory X, Nicholas III and Boniface VIII; St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventure; Lombardy, Romagna, Piedmont and Tuscany (1260-1290); thirteenth century manners and history; sculpture and painting with special reference to the pupils of Niccola Pisano; the frescoes at Assisi; *il dolce stil nuovo;* Latin literature; the outrage at Anagni. The last chapter is followed by an Epilogue in which Mr. Sedgwick insists that the greatest gifts of thirteenth-century Italy to the world are the ideals which S. Francis and Dante held up in word and deed, "Through these two men," he concludes, "Italy of the thirteenth century has given us a part of the best that we possess."

Such in barest outline are the subjects which the author deals with in the present work. The task of condensing the vast amount of material bearing upon these subjects in such a way as to be at once readable and reasonably complete is indeed a difficult one. And the difficulty is aggravated by the lack of agreement among scholars as to several of the questions touched upon; in regard to some of these questions, "controversies are thick as blackberries and prickly as their thorns." Mr. Sedgwick tells us that he has tried to write without bias and he is to be congratulated on the

success with which he has carried out this intention. Taken as a whole, his present contribution to the literature of mediæval history is commendably impartial and discerning readers will make allowances for statements which are never intentionally unfair. The interlacing of causes, occasions and circumstances in the eight hundred odd pages in which Mr. Sedgwick sketches Italy in the *Ducento* is, however, far from being outside the range of criticism, but then, where there is so much that is good, we are reluctant to carp at the few blemishes inevitable in a book like the one before us. To be sure the author has by no means said the last word as to any of the topics upon which he touches and there is yet room for a modern, comprehensive, scientific survey of the same field. In default, however, of such a work, Mr. Sedgwick has here provided an eminently readable, though a far from complete record, full of interesting matter for the average reader and one which will thus find acceptance with many to whom a severely critical work would not appeal. It remains to be said that the author is thoroughly in sympathy with his subject and that he handles it with enthusiasm—for he has fallen under the spell of thirteenth-century Italy. He is specially strong on her art and poetry and, so far as he could, he has introduced the personages of the *Divina Commedia* in order that his book may serve in a manner as an historical introduction to Dante. The Appendix contains a helpful chronology and bibliography of the period covered by the two volumes. There is also a very good index. A series of thirty-two appropriate illustrations further enhances the merits of the work.

PASCHAL ROBINSON, O. F. M.

Economics as the Basis of Living Ethics. A Study in Scientific Social Philosophy. By John G. Murdock, A. M. Pp. 373. Allen Book Printing Company, Troy, New York.

The following passage may be picked out from many pages, scattered throughout this volume, of similar import, as presenting the thesis which the author supports:—"Any interpretation of history which aims to deal with real force-bearing factors must henceforth make intelligible peace with the economic factor or else straightway to the rubbish heap. The totality of man is not

denied. But the foundation of the whole man is material. Material conditions are the determinants of mass movements, are directive of, and the source of great human changes. Apart from this foundation there is no real history of the human race. On the foundation of the production and distribution of material goods arise, interact, and perish the innumerable fabrications of the human spirit."

The writer, however, does not maintain his economic theory in the rankly materialistic form in which its socialist parents clothed it. He admits that love, charity, justice, law, morality, art, culture, literature, philosophy, all have their share in determining the total aspect of any historical epoch. But, he warns us that it is impossible to divorce them safely from their material source. Neither the reformer nor the philosopher, he very truly affirms, can afford to ignore the physical conditions under which man lives and provides for his physical necessities. He devotes a chapter to a criticism of Kant's ethics from this point of view; and passes some very effective criticisms on *a-priorism*. Three chapters discuss the question of interest. The examination and condemnation of Clark's Productivity Theory, and the Boehm-Bawerk Theory are the most valuable parts of the work. The injustice of interest in any form is maintained by Mr. Murdock as uncompromisingly as it was by any of the staunch theologians who treated the subject in the past. In his effort to prove that all our moral standards are derived from the varying conditions under which man at various times has found himself situated with regard to making provision for his physical needs, Mr. Murdock insists upon the variations that have arisen in moral codes and standards as a consequence of variations in economic conditions. Under this stress, what was just or right at one time becomes unjust or wrong at another. But he has not faced the question which no person who would prove that all our moral ideas are derived from the economic. How does it happen that in all the shiftings and variations which have occurred in human history men have always displayed an invincible and indestructible tendency to apply to life and action a standard differing from the standard of utility, that of right and wrong? Nor in the numerous historic instances which he cites to prove his theory, do we find him explaining what economic changes in the world sent out the fishermen of Galilee to preach Christ crucified.

Stolen Waters. A page in the Conquest of Ulster. By T. M. Healy. New York, Longmans, Green & Co. Pp. x + 492.

The title of Mr. Healy's long but interesting narrative of the recent *cause célèbre* in which he was one of the leading counsel is, unfortunately for justice, only too literal. In 1911, the House of Lords gave judgment against the fisherman of Lough Neagh, and deprived them of their immemorial right to eke out a livelihood by fishing for pollan, in the Lough. The history of the case begins with the promise made to the London Companies, by James I, that he would grant them, for considerations received, the fishery of the River Bann. This promise was broken and the Londoners were defrauded, through the machinations of the Lord Deputy of Ireland, Sir Arthur Chichester, who obtained the fishery for himself. The long story that runs from the times of the Stuarts, up to the present day, is replete with frauds, perpetrated under the guise of legality, by, or in the interest of the Chichesters, the Donegalls, the Massereenes and those who had derived from them. The climax of injustice is reached in a forged lease, which, by means of surreptitious interlineations of the words "and Lough Neagh" introduced into the text, became the evidence on which was grounded the final decision of the ultimate tribunal of English law which deprived, in favor of the heirs of the Chichesters, the fisherman of Lough Neagh of the right of common fishery which even the Plantation of Ulster had spared to the kinsmen of the O'Neills and O'Donnells. The story of this cause is one which, to use a phrase of Mr. Healy, pierces to the marrow of Irish history. In the final trial the Law Lords stood three to three on the question of the validity of the lease referred to. Lord Ashbourne, the Irish Lord Chancellor, refused to endorse the lease, holding "that the judgment goes too far in holding the right claimed to be established in respect of the entire area of Lough Neagh." But by something like a legal technicality, which Mr. Healy explains, Lord Ashbourne was finally counted as voting with the majority. As one closes this account of egregious oppression one cannot but concur in the author's hope: May it appear, by what the history offers that the cause of justice is no lost cause, and that riches and power and laws are in vain brigaded against the commonweal. Perhaps when truth is known pity may be moved or statesmen stirred to rescue the forlorn.

Marriage, Divorce and Morality. By Henry C. Day, S. J. New York. Benziger. Pp. xi + 75.

Although the five sermons which make up this book are comparatively short and deal with no less extensive a general topic than the signs and causes of the growing laxity of morals, they touch on all the main topics of the problem. The writer speaks frankly, without overstepping the decorum of the pulpit, on race degeneration, the falling birth-rate, and the methods of regeneration proposed by the advocates of modern Eugenics. He has but little confidence in this system as a saviour of society, and amply supports his judgment with argument. His chief charge against it is that in its "valuations" no notice is taken of the supernatural, and it proposes the production of physical fitness as an end in itself.

Dante and the Mystics: A Study of the Mystical Aspect of the *Divina Commedia* and its Relations with some of its Mediæval Sources. By Edmund G. Gardner, M. A., with three photogravure plates. London: Dent; New York: Dutton, 1913. Pp. xvi + 358.

The large literature in English on Dante and the *Divina Commedia* has received an addition of first rate importance in the volume before us. Its author is already well known as a Dante scholar, having written much and lectured a great deal, on the famous poet. This, his latest work, includes portions of courses of public lectures delivered during the last three academical sessions at University College, London, and it is well that these studies should have been brought together and offered to a larger public than in the original form. As the title of the book indicates, its main purpose is to lay stress upon the mystical aspect of the *Divina Commedia,* to trace the influence upon Dante of the earlier mystics from St. Augustine onwards, and to illustrate the mystical tendency of the sacred poem by its analogies with the writings of other contemporary or even later, masters in the same "science of love." For the study of the mediæval sources of the *Divina Commedia* especially from the mystical aspect is mainly one of analogies and general tendencies. Mr. Gardner treats successively

of the mysticism of Dante, of the Poet's appeal to St. Augustine in defence of the mysticism of the *Paradiso,* of Dante and Dionysius and, again, of Dante and St. Bernard, Dante and the Victorines, Dante and the Franciscan Mystics—St. Francis, St. Bonaventure and Ubertino da Casale—and Dante and the two Mechthilds. It is easy, Mr. Gardner thinks, and, in the present enthusiasm for Franciscan studies, tempting, to overestimate both the general influence of "Franciscanism" upon Italian literature and its specific influence upon Dante. Be this as it may, we should like to know more than the author has chosen to give us as to the connection between Dante and Jacopone da Todi, whose death (1306) was almost contemporaneous with the beginning of the *Divina Commedia.*

It is, perhaps, worthy of note that Mr. Gardner assumes, without discussion, the authenticity of the Letter to Can Grande, which is of primary importance to the student of the mystical side of the *Divina Commedia,* alike for the question of personal experience and for that of the literary sources of the poet's mysticism. No doubt his investigations as to the influence of St. Augustine, St. Bernard and Richard of St. Victor, upon the sacred poem will be regarded as most valuable even by those scholars who do not accept the appeal to the authority of these three mystics, in the Letter, as a genuine utterance of Dante. It is a matter of regret that the author did not consult the recent studies of Manfredi Porena, Giuseppe Picciòla, Augusto Mancini, and Michele Scherillo on the question of "Matelda," which, as Dr. Moore has observed, involves "one of the thorniest problems in the *Divina Commedia.* In passing we may say that both Mancini and Scherillo have ably supported the identification of "Matelda" with Mechthild of Hackeborn which was first suggested by Antonio Lubin, undoubtedly a pioneer in attempting to interpret the mysticism and allegory of the *Divina Commedia* in the light of the Letter to Can Grande. But this oversight does not, of course, seriously detract from the value of Mr. Gardner's present volume, which but strengthens his claim to be reckoned amongst the most accomplished and authoritative of modern writers on the *Divina Commedia.* In giving us these studies he has conferred a signal service on all lovers of Dante and the mystics. The book is most attractive in externals as well as in contents. For consultation and reference its usefulness is increased by a table of parallel passages in Dante and

the mystical writers quoted, by a lengthy list of the works and editions cited and by a full and informing index.

PASCHAL ROBINSON, O. F.M.

Of Six Mediæval Women. To which is added a Note on Mediæval Gardens. By Alice Kemp-Welch, with introduction and illustrations. London: Macmillan and Co., 1913. Pp. xxix + 189.

This book is intended to afford those who are interested in the Middle Ages a general view of the manner of life of the women of the time. But on this subject—a very large one and one only partially explored—light can only be thrown gradually. For this there are various reasons. One is that mediæval historiographers and chroniclers were chiefly engaged in recounting the deeds of kings and feats of arms. Then again to get any true insight into the life of the woman of the Middle Ages we must study the small details of everyday life which go so largely to make up a woman's life, and such details have generally been taken for granted by writers on the subject. Furthermore, as the author observes, self-advertisement was not a mediæval fashion and the spirit of self-effacement which is considered a salient characteristic of the Middle Ages finds, perhaps, its highest expression in the lives of the women, who seldom ventured beyond town or castle or convent walls. Indeed, it is only women who were prominent through their high official positions or who interpreted the mysteries of Divine love to mediæval society from whom the veil has been withdrawn and even amongst such as these it has sometimes been only very slightly lifted. In order, therefore, to form some idea and estimate of women generally in the Middle Ages, the author has perforce to "fall back on reasoning from the known to the unknown, and, by studying the few who are recorded in written history, judge of that great majority who, though nameless, have yet so largely helped to make up the world's unwritten history."

Premising this the author of the volume under review tells us of six women whom she regards as types of the influential women of the Middle Ages. They are Roswitha the Nun, "a tenth century Dramatist"; Marie de France, "a twelfth century Romance-

writer"; Mechthild of Magdeburg, "a thirteenth century Mystic and Beguine"; Mahaut, Countess of Artois, "a fourteenth century Art-Patron and Philanthropist"; Christine de Pisan, "a fifteenth century Feministe," and Agnes Sorel, "the mistress and inspirer of Charles the Seventh." This selection is one that will probably evoke different appreciations from different readers and we venture to think that some, at least, of the views expressed in the Introduction as well as in the outline sketches of these six mediæval women, will be received with a certain measure of reserve or qualification. But there is much in the present volume that it thoughtful and suggestive and its author deserves our thanks for seeking to bring us into closer touch with the life of the women of the Middle Ages. Not the least interesting chapter in the book is the "Note on Mediæval Gardens" and a special word of praise is due for the rendering of Christine de Pisan's verses on Joan of Arc. The illustrations, which are mostly taken from early Books of Hours and illuminated MSS. have been carefully chosen and admirably reproduced. The *format* of the volume reflects great credit on the publishers.

PASCHAL ROBINSON, O. F. M.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Summer Session of Teachers College—Report of the Secretary.

The Third Summer Session of Teachers College of the Catholic University of America, which was held from June 29 to August 8, surpassed all previous sessions in point of attendance and extent of work accomplished. Three hundred and eighty-three students were enrolled: 329 taking the courses offered in the University proper, and 54 taking the courses of Trinity College. Of these students 307 were members of 27 religious orders and congregations, representing 75 religious houses of the United States and Canada, and 22 were lay women. The students came from 48 dioceses; from 29 States, and the Dominion of Canada.

CHART 1

CLASSIFICATION OF STUDENTS

Sisters at University	307
Lay Women at University	22
Sisters at Trinity College	54
Total	383
Religious Orders and Congregations	27
Motherhouses	75
Dioceses	48
States	29
Canada	21

STUDENTS ACCORDING TO STATES

Alabama	4	Kansas	3
California	2	Kentucky	16
Connecticut	8	Maryland	8
District of Columbia	18	Massachusetts	8
Georgia	5	Michigan	6
Illinois	6	Minnesota	4
Indiana	10	Missouri	7
Iowa	6	New Hampshire	2

New Jersey	33	South Carolina	2
New York	61	Tennessee	7
North Carolina	2	Texas	17
Ohio	26	Virginia	3
Oklahoma	1	West Virginia	6
Pennsylvania	23	Wisconsin	12
Rhode Island	2		

Chart 2

STUDENTS ACCORDING TO DIOCESES

Baltimore	9	Manchester	2
Boston	2	Mobile	4
Brooklyn	4	Montreal	14
Buffalo	24	Nashville	7
Charleston	2	Newark	33
Chatham	2	New York	28
Chicago	4	North Carolina	2
Cincinnati	11	Ogdensburg	2
Cleveland	12	Oklahoma	1
Concordia	3	Ottawa	3
Covington	10	Peoria	2
Davenport	2	Philadelphia	10
Detroit	6	Pittsburg	6
Dubuque	4	Providence	2
Duluth	12	Quebec	2
Erie	3	Richmond	2
Fall River	6	St. Cloud	2
Fort Wayne	2	St. Louis	7
Galveston	6	San Antonio	11
Green Bay	5	San Francisco	2
Hartford	8	Savannah	5
Indianapolis	8	Scranton	4
La Crosse	7	Toledo	3
Louisville	6	Wheeling	5

Chart 3

REGISTER OF STUDENTS

Benedictines	24
Duluth, Minn	2

Bristow, Va. 2
Elizabeth, N. J. 11
Cullman, Ala. 4
Ferdinand, Ind. 2
St. Joseph, Minn. 2
Guthrie, Okla. 1

Charity 31
Mount St. Vincent, N. Y. 20
Convent Station, N. J. 5
Greensburg, Pa. 4
Mount St. Joseph, Hamilton County, Ohio. . . . 2

Charity, B. V. M. 4
Dubuque, Iowa. 4

Christian Education. 2
Arlington Heights, Mass. 2

Divine Providence. 15
Newport, Ky. 10
San Antonio, Texas. 5

Dominicans. 32
Nashville, Tenn. 3
Caldwell, N. J. 17
Sinsinawa, Wis. 7
Galveston, Texas. 3
Adrian, Mich. 2

Franciscans 23
Buffalo, N. Y. 6
Stella Niagara, N. Y. 3
Oldenburg, Ind. 3
Alverno, Wis. 5
Clinton, Iowa. 2
Glen Riddle, Pa. 4

Gray Nuns of the Cross. 3
Ottawa, Ont. 3

Holy Cross. 2
Notre Dame, Ind. 2

Holy Names 4
Montreal, Can..... 2
Oakland, Cal..... 2

Hotel Dieu 2
Chatham, N. B..... 2

Humility of Mary..... 3
Lowellville, Ohio..... 3

Immaculate Heart of Mary..... 6
Scranton, Pa. 2
Monroe, Mich..... 4

Charity of the Incarnate Word, San Antonio, Texas..... 5

Sisters of Jesus-Mary..... 7
Fall River, Mass..... 2
Woonsocket, R. I..... 2
Sillery, P. Q., Canada..... 2
New York City N. Y..... 1

Lay Women..... 22

Loretto at the Foot of the Cross..... 4
Loretto, Nerinx, Ky..... 4

Mercy 44
Nashville, Tenn..... 4
Gabriels, N. Y..... 2
Titusville, Pa..... 3
Hartford, Conn..... 8
Belmont, N. C..... 2
Manchester, N. H..... 2
Chicago, Ill..... 4
Cincinnati, Ohio..... 2
Charleston, S. C..... 2
Wilkes-Barre, Pa..... 2
Buffalo, N. Y..... 4
Ottawa, Ill..... 2
Mount Washington, Md..... 7

Notre Dame, Congregation of..... 8
Montreal, Can..... 8

Notre Dame of Namur	2
Washington, D. C	2
Precious Blood	4
Maria Stein, Ohio	4
Providence	3
St. Mary-of-the-Woods	3
Sacred Heart of Mary	7
Tarrytown, N. Y	7
Sisters of St. Ann	4
Lachine, P. Q	4
St. Joseph	32
Augusta, Ga	5
Brentwood, L. I	4
Wheeling, W. Va	5
Concordia, Kans	3
Baden, Pa	2
St. Louis, Mo	7
Chestnut Hill, Pa	6
St. Mary	11
Lockport, N. Y	11
Union of the Sacred Hearts	4
Fall River, Mass	4
Ursulines	21
Cleveland, Ohio	9
Galveston, Texas	3
St. Martin's, Brown County, Ohio	2
Cincinnati, Ohio	1
Louisville, Ky	2
Toledo, Ohio	3
San Antonio, Texas	1

The courses announced in the official program of the Third Summer Session, 82 in all, were given without change. Ten of these constituted the continuation courses in the natural sciences, Physics, Chemistry and Biology, given from August 18 to September 26, which were arranged for the accommodation of students

who had registered in them before August 8. The lecture courses consisted of 30 hours each, with the exception of three, the public lectures given by the professors of the Department of Education, Drs. Pace, Shields and McCormick, which were of 6 hours each. The laboratory periods of 2 hours daily, amounted to 60 hours each in Physics, Chemistry and Biology, or 120 hours each, including those of the continuation session. There was, consequently, a total of 2,088 lectures in the regular session, and a total of 150 lectures and the same number of laboratory periods in the continuation session. Thirty-six instructors were engaged for the work of the Session of whom 27 are members of the teaching staff of the University.

The school day lasted from 8 A. M. until 6 P. M., with a recess of two hours at noon. Most of the Sisters were given residence accommodations on the University grounds. Gibbons Hall, which was completed during the year 1912-13, offered such increased facilities that it was unnecessary to open Albert Hall and St. Thomas' College. The Sisters occupied all other buildings of the University, Trinity College, various convents in Brookland, and the city of Washington. The dining room being open to all, the students were enabled to pass the day in class work or study without leaving the University campus.

On Wednesday, July 16th, his Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, visited the Summer School. He arrived at noon and all of the students were assembled in the Chapel of Divinity Hall to hear his address. The Cardinal expressed his delight at witnessing the increased number of students in attendance and warmly encouraged the Sisters and lay teachers in their studies. He later presided at Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament. After the ceremony all of the students were individually presented to him.

The Welcome Committee of the National Catholic Women's Circle, who kindly received the Sisters on their arrival in Washington, conducted small parties of the students to the many points of historical interest in Washington and to the Government buildings. Saturday mornings, which were free of class duties, offered occasion for these pleasant and instructive excursions, the most delightful of which was that to Mount Vernon.

The Retreat for Sisters opened on the evening of Friday, August 8, and was conducted, as on last year, by the Rev. Paschal Robinson, O. F. M.

PATRICK J. MCCORMICK,
Secretary.

Colleges and High Schools Affiliated with the University.

The following institutions, in addition to those whose names appeared in the June *Bulletin,* having complied with all the requirements for affiliation, have been duly affiliated:

COLLEGE

Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio, Texas, conducted by the Sisters of Divine Providence.

HIGH SCHOOLS

Mary Immaculate Academy, Wichita Falls, Texas, conducted by the Sisters of St. Mary, Lockport, N. Y.

College and Academy of the Incarnate Word, Alamo Heights, San Antonio, Texas, conducted by the Sisters of Charity of the Incarnate Word.

Academy Notre Dame of Providence, Newport, Kentucky, conducted by the Sisters of Divine Providence.

Sacred Heart Academy, Waco, Texas, conducted by the Sisters of St. Mary, Lockport, New York.

St. Edward's Academy, Dallas, Texas, conducted by the Sisters of St. Mary, Lockport, N. Y.

St. Xavier's Academy, Denison, Texas, conducted by the Sisters of St. Mary, Lockport, New York.

St. Joseph's Academy, Sherman, Texas, conducted by the Sisters of St. Mary, Lockport, N. Y.

Mary Immaculate Academy, Buffalo, New York, conducted by the Sisters of St. Mary, Lockport, New York.

St. Joseph's Academy, Lockport, N. Y., conducted by the Sisters of St. Mary, Lockport, N. Y.

St. Ignatius Academy, Ft. Worth, Texas, conducted by the Sisters of St. Mary, Lockport, N. Y.

Our Lady of Victory College and Academy, Fort Worth, Texas, conducted by the Sisters of St. Mary, Lockport, N. Y.

Our Lady of Good Counsel Academy, Dallas, Texas, conducted by the Sisters of St. Mary, Lockport, N. Y.

Loretto Heights Academy, Loretto, Colorado, conducted by the Sisters of Loretto, Loretto, Kentucky.

Mount St. Joseph Academy, Augusta, Georgia, conducted by the Sisters of St. Joseph.

Villa Marie Convent, Notre Dame de Grace, Montreal, Canada, conducted by the Sisters of the "Congregation de Notre Dame de Montreal."

Annual Convention of Catholic Educators.

The Tenth Annual Meeting of the Catholic Educational Association took place at New Orleans, La., June 30, July 1, 2, and 3. On the first day the regular annual meeting of the Executive Board was held, and the work of the Association was gone over in detail. The reports of the officers showed a gratifying increase in the membership during the year and an extension of the work. The financial condition of the Association is satisfactory, and indicates a general recognition and appreciation of the value of the work accompished by the organization.

The convention opened with pontifical Mass in the Mater Dolorosa Church, and at the end of the services Archbishop Blenk delivered an address of welcome. The cordiality of the Archbishop's sentiments, and the wisdom of his advice made a deep impression on the large audience of Catholic educators. After the Mass the members of all departments met at Loyola University, which had been generously placed at the disposal of the convention by the Jesuit Fathers. Monsignor Shahan, President General of the Association, opened the meeting with a very happy address, in which he pointed out the fact that the favorable regard in which the Association has been held places on the members a great responsibility. The following letter of His Excellency, the Apostolic Delegate was read:

"The efforts of the Catholic Educational Association to elevate and render more perfect and useful the standards of educational work cannot but meet with the approval of all good people and particularly with that of the Holy See. Hence it is with pleasure that I learn that the Catholic educators will convene at New Orleans under the auspices of His Grace, Most Rev. James H. Blenk, for the purpose of studying the many vital and important questions of education, and I most sincerely hope their endeavors will meet with the intended success.

"JOHN BONZANO,
Apostolic Delegate."

The leading theme of the papers and discussions in the general and departmental meetings this year was the curriculum. At the opening and general session of the convention a paper on "The Problem of the Curriculum," by the Rev. F. W. Howard, Secretary General, sounded the keynote and suggested the lines for many of the discussions which followed. The paper was formally discussed by Brother John Waldron, S. M., of Clayton, Mo.; the Rev. H. S. Spaulding, S. J., of Chicago, Ill.; and the Very Rev. J. A. Burns, C. S. C., of Washington, D. C.

A paper on "The Standard College," by the Very Rev. James P. O'Mahoney, C. S. V., President of St. Viator's College, Bourbonnais, Ill., opened the proceedings of the College Department. It was followed on Wednesday by a paper on "The Teaching of Philosophy in Our Colleges, the Status of the Question," by the Very Rev. E. A. Pace, of the Catholic University of America. Other papers in the same department were: "Science in the High School and College," by the Rev. Daniel J. McHugh, C. M., of De Paul University, Chicago, Ill.; discussed by the Very Rev. R. H. Smith, S. M., President of Jefferson College, La.; "The Curriculum of the Comercial High School," by Brother L. Joseph, C. B. Under the auspices of the College Department a successful public meeting was held on Wednesday evening in the interest of Catholic higher education.

The general topic for discussion in the Seminary Department was "The Curriculum of Our Seminaries." Papers were read by the Rev. Herman J. Heuser, D. D., and the Rev. Francis P. Siegfried, of St. Charles Seminary, Overbrook, Pa.; and the Very Rev. John B. Peterson, S. T. L., Rector of St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Mass.

The Parish School Department considered at its opening session a paper on "Vocational Guidance," by the Rev. Albert Muntsch, S.J., of St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo., which was discussed by Brother Engelbert, C. S. C., of Holy Cross College, New Orleans, La., and Brother Edward, F. S. C., President of Manhattan College, New York City. On Wednesday, July 2, the Rev. Daniel J. Lavery, D. D., of St. Louis, Mo., read a paper on "The Pastor and the Schools, from the Financial Standpoint." The Rev. Thomas V. Tobin, of Little Rock, Ark., who wsa appointed to discuss the paper, was unable to attend. His paper was read by the Rev. Michael J. Larkin, of New York City. On Thursday

this department conducted two meetings: in the first, which was held for the teachers of the Province of New Orleans, the following program was presented: "Child Study," by the Rev. John D. McKenna, Superintendent of Parish Schools, Brooklyn, N. Y.; discused by Brother Florentius, C. S. C., of Holy Cross College, New Orleans, La., and Brother Bernardne, F. S. C., of the Christian Brothers' College, Memphis, Tenn., "Uniformity of Text-Books," by a Sister of the Incarnate Word, San Antonio, Texas; discussed by the Rev. S. P. Heuber, C. M., of New Orleans, La., and a Missionary Sister of the Sacred Heart, of New Orleans, La. The second meeting was arranged for pastors and diocesan superintendents of parish schools and here was considered the paper, "The Priest's Adaptability for School Work," by Rev. John Ryan, of St. Paul's Church, Cambridge, Mass. It was discussed by the Rt. Rev. Mgr. P. R. McDevitt, Superintendent of Parish Schools, Philadelphia, Pa.; the Rev. F. V. Nugent, of St. Stephen's Church, New Orleans, La.; and the Rev. F. L. Gassler, of the Church of the Annunciation, New Orleans, La.

The superintendents of parish schools debated practical questions occasioned by the following papers: "The Superintendent's Visit to the School; How to Make It Most Fruitful," by the Rev. J. A. Dillon, Superintendent of Parish Schools, Newark, N. J., the discussion of the Rev. J. B. O'Leary, of St. Mary's Seminary, La Porte, Texas, being read by Rev. Father Eaton. "The Need of Men Teachers in Educational Work," by the Rev. Bede Horsa, O. S. B, of St. Joseph's Seminary, St. Benedict, La., discussed by Very Rev. Thomas J. Larkin, S. M., of the Holy Name of Mary Church, New Orleans, La., the Very Rev. Thomas J. Weldon, C. M., of St. Joseph's Church, New Orleans, and Brother John Waldron, of Clayton, Mo. On Wednesday was considered the paper, "How Can We Meet the Demand for Industrial and Vocational Training?" by the Rev. Michael J. Larkin, Superintendent of Schools, New York; discussed by Brother Joseph Matthew, F. S. C., of St. Louis, Mo., and Brother George M. Sauer, S. M., of Detroit, Mich.

Two meetings were held of the Provincials and representatives of religious communities engaged in teaching in the United States. Papers were read on "The Thorough Formation of Our Teachers in the Spirit and Observance of their Respective Orders, an Indispensable Condition to Sound and Successful Pedagogics," by the

Rev. William Power, S. J., of New Orleans, La.; "Problems Confronting Religious Superiors in the Professional Training of Their Teachers," by the Very Rev. J. C. Ei, S. M., President of St. Mary's College, San Antonio, Texas.

The public meeting held in Knights of Columbus Hall on the evening of July 3 brought the Convention to a successful close. Archbishop Blenk, of New Orleans, presided and gave the introductory address. The Rt. Rev. Mgr. Shahan, President General of the Association, thanked the Archbishop, clergy, committees, press, and people of New Orleans for their kindly treatment and splendid hospitality. Admirable addresses were then heard from Robert A. Hunter, of Alexandria, La., on "Catholic Education and Public Welfare," and by the Rev. Peter C. Yorke, D. D., of Oakland, Cal., on the "World's Desire."

The general and departmental Resolutions of the Association were as follows:

RESOLUTIONS OF THANKS

The Catholic Educational Association in its tenth Annual Convention assembled, desires to express its appreciation of the efforts of all those who have labored so earnestly to make this meeting a success. We wish to thank in the first place the Most Reverend James H. Blenk, S. M., Archbishop of New Orleans, and the Bishops of the province, the Right Rev. N. A. Gallagher of Galveston, the Rev. Edward P. Allen of Mobile, the Right Rev. Cornelius Van de Ven of Alexandria, the Right Rev. Joseph B. Lynch of Dallas, the Right Rev. John B. Morris of Little Rock and the Right Rev. John W. Shaw, of San Antonio, for their cordial reception to our delegates and their substantial interest in our proceedings.

We tender our thanks also to the reverend clergy, the religious communities, the local committees of the diocese, and to the Jesuit Fathers of Loyola University for their generous provision of facilities for the meeting of this Association. We are especially grateful to the Catholic and the daily press of the city for their co-operation in bringing the work of this convention to the attention of the general public.

GENERAL RESOLUTIONS

We return thanks to our Holy Father for his blessing, each year bestowed on this gathering of the Catholic Educators of the United States. We rejoice in his restoration to health, and pray that God may preserve him for years to come. We humbly tender him the expression of our filial love, our profound veneration and our entire obedience.

As Catholic Educators we pledge ourselves to renewed efforts under the direction of ecclesiastical authority to the service of Church and country in the grand cause of Christian Education. We regard this work of religious education as one on which the future welfare of our Nation depends.

We call attention to the great waste of public funds and the evil of the constantly increasing burden of taxation. This extravagance has resulted largely from a tendency on the part of the State to do for children what should be done for them by parents, and do for the citizen what he should do for himself. Let the State urge and encourage the citizen to care for his children, but let it not place unjust burdens on those who at great sacrifice are discharging this primal duty of parenthood. Let the State cherish the idea of parental responsibility as one of the foundation stones of American freedom.

Whereas: Liberty of education has always been recognized in our country as a basic principle; and

Whereas: the right of the parents to educate is one of those fundamental rights which cannot without injustice be interfered with; and

Whereas: The continued recognition of this right is essential to the preservation of a most cherished prerogative of American citizenship; be it

Resolved: That the Catholic Educational Association objects to any encroachment on this right to liberty of education; be it further

Resolved: That the Catholic Educational Association views with alarm the activities of certain individuals and corporations whose utterances and efforts threaten to interfere with the just liberties of private educational institutions.

Whereas: The Council of Education of the American Medical Association has elicited the aid of the Carnegie Foundation in the examination and classification of hospitals; and

Whereas: Said Carnegie Foundation has shown a spirit antagonistic to institutions under religious control; and

Whereas: There are more than five hundred hospitals in the United States under the direction and control of Catholics; be it

Resolved: That we hereby protest to the American Medical Association against the action of the Medical Council; and be it

Resolved: That we request the American Medical Association to instruct its Medical Council to discontinue the services of the Carnegie Foundation.

Whereas: All education should be so directed as to preserve moral purity, and the communication of knowledge relating thereto should be adapted to the age and growth of the child; and

Whereas: The communication of this necessary knowledge pertains of right to the parents and the divinely constituted guides of the children; be it

Resolved: That we protest against and condemn as subversive of true morality, the imparting of sexual knowledge to children as at present carried on in many private and public schools in the country.

Whereas, five thousand and more Catholic deaf and mute children, deprived of opportunity for receiving religious instruction, are losing their faith under non-Catholic influences, be it again resolved that every effort be made to give these handicapped children the same educational advantages accorded to the normal children of our Catholic parish schools.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE COLLEGE DEPARTMENT

1. The college department of the Catholic Educational Association recommends that the colleges of the Association require 128 semester hours as a minimum for graduation.

2. As there seems to be a general agreement among educators that pupils entering the secondary schools from the eighth grade are too far advanced in age, and that secondary education should begin at or about the age of twelve, we favor an arrangement whereby pupils may be able to begin their High School course after the completion of six years of elementary work.

3. While we favor the highest standards in education and heartily approve of every attempt to classify colleges according to just principles, we deprecate the action of the Federal Bureau of Education in its attempt to classify the colleges of the country in groups of A, B, and C, and we believe that in this work of classification the said Federal Bureau of Education has gone beyond the limits of its power.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE PARISH SCHOOL DEPARTMENT

1. We rejoice in the advancement of our educational institutions, and in the testimonies of the confidence of our Catholic people in their worth. We pledge ourselves to more earnest efforts to be faithful to the obligations of our caling and to inspire our children with devotion and love for the highest ideals of religion and patriotism.

2. The Christian child receives his first education in the religious atmosphere of a Christian home. He has a natural and indefeasible right to a Christian education and he suffers an injustice if he is committed to schools where that early religious influence is neutralized or antagonized.

3. We hold that the life and well-being of our Republic depend on resisting the influence of centralizing and devitalizing methods that have throttled enterprise in industry and have created our trusts; and that, in the name of efficiency, are now applied to education and are in danger of stifling initiative and private endeavor in this field.

4. Whereas modesty is the most becoming adornment of woman, we urge pastors and teachers to guard and warn children against vanity in dress, against the excessive love of pleasure, against the evils of the picture show, and against the influence of corrupt newspapers.

5. We respectfully urge pastors who under the Bishops are teachers of the people, to frequently impress on parents the great importance of home training, and the necessity of qualifying themselves by good lives

and the frequentation of the sacraments for the performance of this important duty.

6. We again return thanks to our Holy Father for his solicitude for the little children in admitting them at their early age to Holy Communion; and as Catholic teachers we bear testimony to the excellent fruits of this practice of early and frequent Communion.

7. We urge parents, teachers and pastors to watch over children that the purposes of Divine Providence may be discovered in their regard, and that the children may be aided in selecting their life work in comformity with their inclinations, aptitudes and opportunities.

8. We urge pastors to do all they can to watch over and foster the dispositions of those who manifest an inclination for religious life, to the end that the needs of the Church in this great work of education may be adequately supplied. Let children be taught that the way to be found worthy of the call of Grace is through the practice of self-denial and self-control.

9. We urge our teachers to avoid the current secular literature of the day which, lacking the basis of sound philosophy, cannot but produce partial and imperfect results. The Catholic Church is the great Mother of education and contains in her traditions and experience the greatest treasure of educational theory and practice.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

The Michael Jenkins Collection of Works on the History of Maryland. The Library has received from Michael Jenkins, Esq., of Baltimore, an important collection of works on the History, etc., of Maryland. There are in the collection some two hundred titles, including rare works, pamphlets and brochures. These have been placed in a case specially constructed for the reception in the General Reading Room of the Library and a Catalogue has been published descriptive of the Contents of the Collection. To the generous donor who has spent years in bringing these books together, the Catholic University of America is profoundly grateful.

Collection on the Monumental Brasses of England. A generous but anonymous friend of the University has presented to the Library a most valuable collection of works on the Monumental Brasses of England. The collection numbers 200 volumes, including some of the rarest works on this curious and interesting phase of Ecclesiastical Art. Every shire in England is represented by important facsimiles. In fact, the University is now in possession of one of the most complete collections of works on medieval ecclesiastical ornamentation. The collection represents the learned labors of a lifetime and places the University in debt of gratitude to the gifted and cultured gentleman who, for the present, at least, desires that his name be withheld from publication.

Registration. The total number of new lay students registered, up to date, is one hundred and fifty.

New Dining Hall. A new Dining Hall is under construction which, on being completed, will provide dining accommodations for six hundred students. The building will be three stories high, the two upper stories to be used for residence.

It will have two towers, rising to the same height as the tower of Gibbons Hall, which the new building resembles both in the material used and in the general style of architecture adopted. The Dining Hall on the first floor will be an unbroken space, 260 feet long, lighted with broad and lofty windows of the Collegiate Gothic type. One of the towers will contain provisions for accommodating the various Debating and Literary societies of the University.

Gibbons Hall. The grounds surrounding Gibbons Memorial Hall are being graded, concrete sidewalks are being laid down, and a roadway is being built to connect the sidewalks with the main entrance to the University.

Summer School. Elsewhere is published the Report of the Teachers' College, containing a description of the Summer Session of 1913.

Knights of Columbus Endowment Fund. The Endowment Fund being collected by the Knights of Columbus is nearing completion. It is said to amount to more than $470,000, and steps are being taken for the presentation of the Fund to the University in the near future.

Margaret Barry Scholarship. By the Will of the late Miss Margaret Barry, of Washington, D. C., the University will receive the sum of $10,000 for the foundation of a scholarship to be known as the Margaret Barry Scholarship. The University is grateful to the pious donor who has thus provided for the Catholic education of a long line of recipients of her generosity.

Appointments. A large number of new Appointments were made at the end of the last academic year or the beginning of this. The next number of the *Bulletin* will publish a complete list of these.

Resignation. Readers of the *Bulletin* and especially the clerical alumni of the University, will learn with regret that

Reverend Dr. Creagh has resigned the chair of Canon Law to resume work in his native Archdiocese of Boston. Dr. Creagh has been associated with the University as student and professor since 1901, and has held a most honorable and distinguished career as a priest, an instructor and a scholar of more than academic reputation. The best wishes of his colleagues accompany him to the new scene of his sacerdotal and professional labors.

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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit, c. 6.*

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THE JACOBITE POETS OF IRELAND 1690-1770.

The Stuart race is memorable alike for its antiquity, its ramifications, its greatness, and its misfortunes. Norman in its origin and traceable in direct descent back to the eleventh century, it became the progenitor not only of numerous untitled gentle families but also of over a score of noble houses enrolled in the peerages of Scotland, of England, and of France. To the Church it gave a cardinal and several archbishops and bishops; to France it gave one of its most winsome queens. For 232 years it supplied to Scotland independent kings. In 1603, while still continuing to reign in Scotland, it succeeded by inheritance to the thrones of England and Ireland, and for 111 years thereafter a Stuart was monarch of the three kingdoms. Its blood ran in the veins of William of Orange, as well as in those of the father-in-law whom he deposed, and of the sister-in-law by whom he was succeeded. To the joint thrones it furnished claimants, around the story of whose adventures and sorrows there has been thrown the glamour of thrilling and undying romance. When the Hanoverian dynasty came into possession of the sovereignty of Great Britain and Ireland, it owed its title to the throne to its Stuart descent. Nor has the line yet failed. To-day one scion of the Stuart race is consort of the King of Bavaria, and another is Emperor of India as well as King of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British

dominions beyond the seas. Its misfortunes are the commonplaces of history. Two Stuart kings, James I and James III, were assassinated; one, James II, was killed by the accidental explosion of a cannon; another, James IV, fell, with the flower of Scottish chivalry, on Flodden Field; if ever a man died of grief and a broken heart, it was James V, who pined away after the disgraceful rout of his troops at Solway Moss, November 25, 1542, and was dead, in the prime of his youth, within nineteen days; his daughter, Mary, Queen of Scots, was a prisoner for twenty years and finally fell a victim to the headsman's axe; her grandson, Charles I of England, met a similar fate; and Charles's son, James II of England, driven from his dominions by his own daughter's husband, died an exile, as did the son who was granted to his prayers, and the grandson whose face he did not live to see.

The founder of this far-spread royal and noble, though unfortunate, family, was one Alan Fitz-Flahald, a Norman follower of William the Conqueror, who invested him with the barony of Oswestry in Shropshire. Alan's second son, Walter, went to Scotland, where, in the twelfth century, he was appointed high steward of King David I. This position of honour and emolument became hereditary in the family, and from it their surname, as so frequently happened, was derived. Walter, the sixth steward, married Marjory, daughter of King Robert the Bruce. Robert, the only son of that marriage, who thus united in his own person the Norman and the old Irish-Gaelic blood, succeeded his father as seventh steward in 1326, and established the royal line of the Stewarts (or Stuarts), when in February, 1371, at the age of 54, he ascended the Scottish throne as Robert II, in succesion to his uncle, King David II.

In the fulness of time the twelfth sovereign of this royal race came to the throne of the three kingdoms in the person of King James II. James succeeded his brother, Charles II, on February 6, 1685, and should have reigned until his death on September 6, 1701; but he ceased to be king *de facto,* when, on the Revolution of 1688, he became a fugitive from his Brit-

ish dominions on December 18 of that year. It is with this unfortunate king, with his son, and with his grandson, and with some of the Irish poetry of which they were the direct or indirect cause, that this paper is mainly concerned.

In 1672 the Duke of York, as James was then known, who had been a Catholic in secret for some years, openly avowed his change of faith. His first wife, Anne Hyde, having died in 1671, he married in 1673 a Catholic princess, Mary d'Este, of the family of Modena. These acts naturally made him unpopular in a nation which was then actively and even aggressively anti-Catholic. In 1673 was passed the Test Act, by the provisions of which those who refused to take the oaths and receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, at the same time formally renouncing the fundamental Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation, were debarred from all public employment. Under this act James had to resign his office of Lord High Admiral of England, an office which he had filled with credit and even distinction. During the ferment and tumult caused by the so-called Popish Plot of 1679, the Duke of York was obliged to retire to Brussels. Solely on account of his religion, different bills for his exclusion from the throne were proposed in Parliament. That of 1679, by which the crown was to pass to the next *Protestant* heir, as if the Duke of York were dead, secured its second reading in the House of Commons by 207 to 121, whereupon, to stay further proceedings, King Charles prorogued the parliament. In 1680 the bill was again introduced and passed through all its stages in the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords by a vote of 63 to 30. Other attempts were made to have the Exclusion Bill passed in 1681, but they were again foiled by the dissolution of parliament by the King.

In time, however, the bad feeling engendered by these proceedings disappeared to some extent, and when Charles II died, James succeeded quietly to the throne, and commenced his administration with a large measure of public good will. The general confidence was, however, somewhat shaken when the king was seen, on the first Sunday after his brother's burial,

going to Mass publicly with all the insignia of royalty, and ordering the doors of his chapel to be set wide open. A note of warning was sounded by one of the great lords of his retinue. The Duke of Norfolk, who carried the sword of state, stopped at the threshold of the chapel. "My lord," said the King, "your father would have gone farther." "Your majesty's father would not have gone so far," replied the Duke. On the following Easter Sunday, in the words of Macaulay, "the rites of the Church of Rome were once more, after an interval of a hundred and twenty-seven years, performed at Westminster with regal splendour." [1] It was obvious that James was a sincere Catholic, who professed his faith publicly before men; but he was treading on dangerous ground.

Another act of his, which humanity and justice would alike commend, but which in the then state of public opinion caused high displeasure, was, by royal warrant, to discharge from the prisons of England thousands of Protestant dissenters and Catholics, who had been enduring a horrible captivity for conscience' sake. James further irritated his subjects by appointing Catholics to office in spite of the Test Act. Fury was raised to a white heat when in April, 1687, by his memorable Declaration of Indulgence, he gave liberty of conscience to all his subjects. By his own sole authority he suspended all penal laws against all classes of Nonconformists, and authorised Roman Catholic and Protestant Dissenter alike to perform their respective acts of worship in public and without molestation; and by the same authority he abrogated every act of parliament which imposed a religious test as a qualification for any civil or military office.

This declaration, so creditable in itself, was much in advance of the age, and showed that, if the King had great zeal for his own faith and a praiseworthy tolerance for that of others, he had but little prudence: he neither judged aright of the temper of the nation nor reckoned with the consequences of the unconstitutionality of his acts. There is no doubt that from the

[1] Macaulay, *History of England*, Chapter IX., p. 230 (Popular Edition).

point of view of ordinary prudential considerations the King had blundered.

He blundered still more grievously when he violated the law in endeavouring to control the public schools and the Universities in the Catholic interest, for, in doing so, he roused into opposition bodies corporate and individuals that, traditionally and temperamentally, were the friends of absolute monarchy and the advocates of passive obedience to kings, and had gone to great lengths, in times of stress and trial, to prove their loyalty to their opinions and their friendliness to James's father and James's brother and, still more recently, to James himself.

Fuel was added to the flame of discontent and sedition when a second Declaration of Indulgence, put forth by the King in April, 1688, was appointed, by Order in Council of May 4, to be read, on two successive Sundays, at the time of divine service, by the officiating ministers of all the churches and chapels in the kingdom. For petitioning against this command seven Anglican bishops were thrown into the Tower to await the exhibition of a criminal information against them in the Court of King's Bench. The populace was angered beyond measure by this move.

The culminating misfortune for the King was the occurrence of an event which he and all his Catholic subjects, but very few others, most earnestly desired. On Sunday, the tenth of June, 1688, James's queen, Mary of Modena, was delivered of a prince, who should in time have been James III of Great Britain and Ireland, but who never in fact attained that title, and is known to history as the Old Pretender or the Chevalier St. George. Had there been no doubt of the genuineness of the birth, the bulk of the nation would have felt badly enough that the Catholic succession was thus secured. But a rumour, to which some attendant circumstances in the then inflamed state of public opinion gave just a shred of justification, was industriously circulated that the Queen had not been pregnant at all, that a trick had been played, a shameless imposture practised, and that the new-born child, who was indubitably present, was the son of a bricklayer,

and had been smuggled by designing Jesuits into the queen's bed by means of a warming pan. It was a gross fiction; but it was sprung at the psychological moment; and it did its work.

The seven bishops were acquitted on June 30. On the same day a formal invitation was despatched to William of Orange at the Hague, informing him that nineteen-twentieths of the English people were desirous of a change, begging him to come as soon as he could at the head of some troops, and assuring him that tens of thousands would flock to his standard. The representative character of the seven signatures that were appended in cipher to this document proved to the Prince that business was meant. After making great preparations William at length set sail, and landed at Torbay on November 5. As prophesied by those who had invited him, the bulk of the nation quickly threw in their lot with the invader. James was deserted by large sections of his army, by his officers, by those on whom he had heaped the greatest favours, even by his own daughter, the Princess Anne. Having sent his wife and infant son for safety to France on December 9, he himself followed on December 18, and received a royal welcome from Louis XIV.

In England both houses of a Convention Parliament resolved: "That King James the Second, having endeavoured to subvert the constitution by breaking the original contract between king and people, and, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby become vacant." They next adopted a resolution by which William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, were declared King and Queen of England for their joint and separate lives; after them the crown was settled on the posterity of Mary; then on Anne and her posterity; and then on the posterity of William. After an interregnum extending from December 18, 1688, to February 13, 1689, William and Mary ascended the throne. The Bill of Rights, passed in 1689, enacted that every English sovereign should, in full

parliament, repeat and subscribe the declaration against transubstantiation, and that, if a sovereign should marry a papist, the subjects should be absolved from allegiance. Scotland also declared for William and Mary, and thus James and his descendants by his second wife seemed effectually barred from Great Britain.

But he was not disposed tamely to submit to so summary a dismissal: he had a powerful ally in Louis XIV, and Ireland still remained, and in Ireland James was exceptionally strong. His Lord Deputy there from February, 1687, had been Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell. A Catholic himself, and acting for a Catholic master, Tyrconnell had quickly spread terror among the Protestant colonists, and in the same degree raised the hopes and aspirations of his Catholic fellow-subjects. From the army he dismissed 300 Protestant officers and 6000 men and filled their places with Catholics. Catholics were made Privy Councillors, Judges, Sheriffs, Mayors, Aldermen, and Justices of the Peace. The charters of boroughs and cities, hitherto close corporations for Protestants, were recalled, and so re-modelled that at least two-thirds of the freemen should be Catholics. In an incredibly short space of time practically the whole civil and military power in Ireland had been transferred from Protestant to Catholic hands. All this tended of course to foment religious animosity, and to religious animosity was added race hatred, and to both the rancorous bitterness that has always characterised disputes regarding the possession of the soil.

In truth, the soil of Ireland was then held in a most anomalous way. Leix and Offaly, in the midlands, had been planted with English colonists by Queen Mary; Munster had been similarly planted by Elizabeth; and in the reign of James I six counties of Ulster had been confiscated and given in the main to Scotch and English undertakers, the natives of Ulster receiving but a miserable allotment. Again, in the reign of Charles I, there had been a confiscation of Connaught, but no plantation. Under Cromwell practically the whole of the rest of Ireland was forfeited, and the bulk of the forfeited lands was given to English adventurers and soldiers. The only ex-

ception made was a portion of Connaught, to which the native Irish and Anglo-Irish Catholics were to be allowed to retire. These arangements, much to the surprise, disappointment, and disgust of those who had been dispossessed, were confirmed by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation passed in the reign of Charles II.

The actual condition of affairs, then, in Ireland at the time of the English Revolution of 1688 was that three-fourths of the Irish soil was in the hands of the English and Scotch Protestant colonists, who formed but one-fourth of the entire population; and that the Catholic Irish and Anglo-Irish, who between them formed the other three-fourths, had to get on as best they could with one-fourth of the soil and that the barrenest and least productive.

It is easy to understand that the original landholders were not satisfied with this iniquitous arrangement. Sometimes they expressed their discontent by savage acts of revenge, and always they looked forward to the time when by some chance they should come into their own again. Now when a Catholic sovereign, who had for some years shown them exceptional favour, was forced into a contest for his crown, and needed their aid to recover it, their golden opportunity seemed at last to have arrived. By religious affinity on the one hand, and on the other by loyalty to a prince who was a descendant of the old Milesian line, which in the dim days of history had conquered Scotland, they were drawn to his support; but a still stronger motive lay in their expectations of a repeal of the Act of Settlement, of the expulsion of the hated Saxon, and of a redistribution of the soil of their native land to its rightful owners.

This was the Ireland to which James II now, for the first time in his life, came in quest of his lost kingdoms. It may be said that practically all the Catholics were partisans of James or Jacobites, and that practically all the Protestants of whatever sect were partisans of William or Williamites.

Of the war which was now waged on Irish soil, so glorious in some of its aspects, so sad in others, this is not the place to

go into details. Its outstanding features are the siege of Derry and its heroic and successful defence by the Williamites (1689); the battle of the Boyne (1690), in which William gained a great but not decisive victory over James; the first siege of Limerick and its wonderfully brave and successful defence for King James by Sarsfield, Berwick, and Boisseleau (1690); the battle of Athlone and the capture of that town by the Williamite general, Ginkel (1691); the battle of Aughrim, in which Ginkel proved victorious over St. Ruth (1691); and the second siege of Limerick and its capitulation, which virtually brought the war to an end (1691). James had failed not only to recover England and Scotland but even to hold Ireland, and the subsequent attempts made by his son, the Old Pretender, in 1708 and 1715, and by his grandson, the Young Pretender, in 1745, were equally vain. The Jacobite cause was irretrievably lost.

It was only natural that a struggle, the on-carrying of which contained such potentialities, and the outcome of which resulted in such disaster, for the Irish nation, should have inspired Irish poets to chant its varying phases. Undoubtedly much of that poetry is lost to us; but enough remains to enable us to judge of its general character. Some of the writers were contemporaneous with the events of which they sang; others lived long after them. It is remarkable that although in 1708, when the Old Pretender made an attempt to land in Scotland, in 1715, when he actually did land there, or in 1745, when the Young Pretender made so valiant a bid for his father's rights, no answering military move of any consequence was made in Ireland, yet it was around these princes even more than around King James that the Jacobite poetry of Ireland was composed. Bonnie Prince Charlie in particular seems to have been a principal source of inspiration. All of these poems which belong to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were of course written in Irish, for it must not be forgotten that Irish was the language of the greater part of Ireland until well on in the nineteenth century. In the nineteenth century itself many of these Irish Jacobite poems were translated into English verse, and a few original Jacobite pieces were also composed.

A good idea is given of the feelings raised in Ireland on Tyrconnell's appointment as Lord Deputy by the *anti*-Jacobite ballad of *Lillibulero,* written in 1688 by Thomas Wharton (1648-1715), afterwards Marquis of Wharton. It was set to the music of an Irish tune by Henry Purcell, and had so great a vogue that Wharton boasted that by it he had sung a king out of three kingdoms. There is no doubt that it had a wonderful effect; and yet, as will be seen, it displays but little ingenuity, an extremely rudimentary wit, and a plentiful lack of poetry. The sentiments expressed are put into the mouth of an Irish peasant who speaks English brokenly: *Lillibulero* may be said therefore to be in a sense the first sample of that linguistically imperfect verse which in our day has blossomed forth so luxuriantly into what is known as Dago dialect poetry. The uncouth words in the refrain, *Lilli burlero* and *bullen a la,* are supposed to have been Irish watchwords during the rising of 1641:

LILLIBULERO.

Ho! broder Teague, dost hear de decree?
Lilli burlero, bullen a la.
Dat we shall have a new deputie?
Lilli burlero, bullen a la.
Lero lero, lilli burlero, lero lero, bullen a la,
Lero lero, lilli burlero, lero lero, bullen a la.

Ho! by Shaint Tyburn, it is de Talbote:
Lilli, etc.
And he will cut all de English troate.
Lilli, etc.

Dough by my shoul de English do prate
De law's on dare side and Creist knows what.

But if dispence do come from de Pope,
We'll hang Magna Charta and dem in a rope.

For de good Talbote is made a lord,
And with brave lads is coming abroad,

Who all in France have taken a sware
Dat dey will have no Protestant heir.

Ara! but why does he stay behind?
Ho! by my shoul 'tis a Protestant wind.

But see de Tyrconnell is now come ashore,
And we shall have commissions galore.

And he dat will not go to de Mass
Shall be turn out and look like an ass.

Now, now de hereticks all go down,
By Chrish and Saint Patrick, de nation's our own.

Dare was an old prophecy found in a bog:
"Ireland shall be ruled by an ass and a dog";

And now dis prophecy is come to pass,
For Talbot's de dog and Ja * * s is de ass.

On the other hand, Irish Catholic sentiment on the accession of King James is thus expressed by Diarmuid MacCarthy. The translation is by Dr. Douglas Hyde:

Thanks be to God, this sod of misery
Is changed as though by blow of wizardry;
James can pass to Mass in livery,
With priests in white and knights and chivalry.[1]

All the causes of Erin's hope in the Stuarts—race hatred and resentment of oppression, of spoliation, of religious persecution, and of the abolition of Irish laws and customs—are pithily summarised in the following song, attributed to Ellen Quilty, though that may be a *nom de guerre* adopted by the real bard to avoid detection. Shane Bui means Yellow or Orange Jack, and was the name contemptuously given by the Irish to the English followers of William III in Ireland. It is practically equivalent to the older and surviving appellation, John Bull. The translation is by John D'Alton:

THE EXPULSION OF SHANE BUI!

Ye daughters of loveliness! dim not your eyes,
By sorrow unclouded too seldom;
The days are at hand when your heroes shall rise,
And your foes be in trouble and thraldom.
No *Sassanach* band
Shall fling o'er the land
All the sufferings and sorrows that can be;
The chains of a slave
Shall not fetter the brave,—
With a blessing, we'll fit them on *Shane Bui!*

[1] *A Literary History of Ireland from Earliest Times to the Present Day*, by Douglas Hyde, LL. D., M. R. I. A., published by T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square, London. Second Impression, 1901, Chap. XLIII, p. 593.

Though spoiled of the land where our fathers have reigned;
Though bound to the plough and the harrow;
Though goaded to life we feebly sustained
The tasks of a hard-hearted Pharaoh;
Yet when Charles shall come,
At the beat of his drum
No Williamite more shall a man be!
When the Stuarts draw nigh,
The long pampered shall fly,
And Erin be lightened of *Shane Bui!*

Gadelians, my boys! shall then rule o'er the land,
And the churls shall be slaves as you now are;
Our armies will thrive under native command,
And our cities exult in their power.
The mass shall be sung,
And the bells shall be rung,
And bards to each Tanist and Clan be;
Fear and shame shall unite
To drive from our sight
Our heaven-cursed oppressors, and—*Shane Bui!*

Perhaps no more heartfelt or vigorous expression of the feelings of hatred inspired by the English colonists of Ireland is to be found than that contained in the concluding stanza of Conor O'Riordan's Aisling or Vision, as translated by Mangan:

My curse be on the Saxon tongue,
And on the Saxon race!
Those foreign churls are proud and strong,
And venomous and base.
Absorbed in greed, and love of self,
They scorn the poor:—slaves of the Guelph,
They have no soul except for pelf.
God give them sore disgrace!

The principal Irish writers of Jacobite poetry during the period from 1690 to 1770 are David O'Bruadair, whose life was drawing to a close at the time of the Williamite war in Ireland; Egan O'Rahilly, who wrote then and for several years afterwards; John MacDonnell, who lived through the whole of the exciting time covered by the invasions of the Old and the Young Pretenders; and Owen Roe O'Sullivan, to whom, writing when the Stuart cause was hopelessly lost, Prestonpans and Culloden must have been merely vague childhood recollections.

Besides these, there were Teige O'Duinin (fl. 1690); Niall MacKenna (fl. 1700); Peter O'Maolconiare (fl. 1701); Father Paul MacEgan (fl. 1708); Cathal O'Heislionan (fl. 1710); Fiachra MacBrady (fl. 1712); James MacCuairt (fl. 1712); John O'Neachtan (died c. 1718); William MacCurtain (1658-1724); Brian O'Reilly (fl. 1725); Father Owen O'Keeffe (1656-1726); William Cotter (fl. 1737); John O'Cunningham (fl. 1737); Andrew MacCurtin (died c. 1740); Teige O'Neaghtan (fl. 1742); William O'Heffernan (fl. 1750); John Murphy (1700-c. 1758); Conor O'Riordan (fl. 1760); Peter O'Dornin (1682-1768); John O'Tuomy (1706-1775); Henry MacAuliffe (fl. 1776); Father William English (died 1778); Maurice Griffin (fl. 1778); Andrew MacGrath (died c. 1790); Timothy O'Sullivan (died c. 1791); Thomas Cotter; Father Patrick O'Brien; Conor O'Sullivan; Donogh O'Sullivan; Brian O'Flaherty; James Considine; Diarmuid MacCarthy; and numerous others, whose works still survive, but some of whose names have not come down to us through the sure operation of jealous and obliterating time. Despite the loss and destruction of manuscripts and records, it is, I think, quite remarkable that Edward O'Reilly, writing in 1820, was even then, with the imperfect means of research at his disposal, able to enumerate the works and names of sixty-three Irish poets who flourished during the hundred years from 1690 to 1790.

In this paper I propose to deal only with the more important of the poets whose names I have given. For this purpose, in addition to O'Bruadair, O'Rahilly, MacDonnell, and O'Sullivan, I select, as representative, O'Neachtan, O'Keeffe, MacCurtain, O'Heffernan, O'Tuomy, and MacGrath.

David O'Bruadair (c. 1625-1698) belonged to a family which is traceable to the early part of the ninth century. He was born, probably, in the barony of Barrymore in the eastern part of the county Cork, about the year 1625. He had a poetical career of over fifty years, his verses covering the period from 1643 to 1694. His parents were fairly well-off, and gave their son a good education. His acquaintance with languages extended to Irish, English, and Latin. In Irish in particular

he seems to have been a sound scholar. English he could both speak and write; he could at least quote Latin appropriately; and he had a first-hand knowledge of classical mythology. He was also well-versed in history and in what for an educated Irishman of the seventeenth century was its indispensable adjunct, genealogy. With contemporary English literature he may have been slightly familiar, as there are indications in some of his works that he had read Butler's *Hudibras*. He was prosperous down to 1674; but in that year he fell into dire poverty, and he had to make out a miserable livelihood by working as an agricultural labourer. From this time forward until 1692 his poems are more numerous and very interesting. From 1682 to 1691 they deal almost exclusively with the stirring political and historical happenings of the day. Their importance may be judged when it is remembered that they are almost the only extant contemporary documents, written in Irish, which give us a picture of the sentiments of the native population of Ireland at that period.

Among the compositions of O'Bruadair bearing on the subject immediately in hand a few may be enumerated. In October, 1686, we have from his pen a poem, directed to a trooper who had enlisted in the regiment of Major-General Justin MacCarthy, which contains some wise counsel meant as much for the Irish army at large as for the friend to whom it was specifically addressed. In the same month he wrote a triumphal ode in honour of James II, reviewing his career and commemorating his naval exploits. When Tyrconnell was appointed Lord Deputy on March 18, 1687, his arrival moved O'Bruadair once more to song. As soon as the birth of King James's son, the Old Pretender, on June 10, 1688, became known in Ireland, it caused national rejoicing, and the great event was duly celebrated by O'Bruadair in a poem, into which, however, a note of personal sadness is obtruded. Six months later he dolefully chants the flight of the young prince from the land of his birth; and a fortnight afterwards the success of the Revolution inspires him to compose a piece on the vile and disgraceful disloyalty of the men of England to their lawful

King in favour of the prince of the Flemings. In 1690 he composed for the Irish army a stirring war-song, swelling with high hopes not destined to be realised. In 1691 he wrote a triumphal ode in honour of Patrick Sarsfield, in which the various exploits of the great Irish soldier are celebrated. Stress is laid on the rapidity of his military movements, and his dare-devil performance in capturing and destroying William's wonderful siege-train at Ballyneety on August 12, 1690, is singled out for special praise. This venturesome, hard-riding feat has been often since extolled. There is, for example, a spirited ballad on the subject by the late Robert Dwyer Joyce. After the surrender of Limerick in 1691 O'Bruadair composed two poems, one in 1691 and the other in 1692, on the "Shipwreck of Erin, occasioned by the sins and divisions of her children."

The years following the close of the Williamite war were sad ones for Ireland. Instead of the ratification of the treaty of Limerick, came its shameful violation; instead of the amnesty it promised, there were attainders and confiscation; instead of the toleration which was enjoyed by the Catholics during the reign of Charles II, and which was solemnly guaranteed to them by the Articles of Capitulation, there came the proscription of their religion, the banishment of their bishops and priests, and the enactment of that savage and disgraceful code known by pre-eminence as *the* Penal Laws. In the misery to which his country was thus subjected O'Bruadair, now in his declining years, had his full share. His life was a continual struggle against poverty and tyranny. He tells us himself that his many books were gone, that he was surrounded by spies, that he had to trudge each day to the forest to carry home loads of faggots which left his shoulders frayed and wounded, that he was in dread of having his home, humble as it was, plundered, and his rough quilt seized in lieu of payment of his hearth tax. In this unfortunate plight the poet wrote but few poems, and these were naturally tinged with melancholy. The end came in January, 1698, but where he died or where he was buried we know not. "May his soul rest in peace!" says his editor and biographer, Rev. John C. MacErlean, S. J. "Too

long has his name been consigned to undeserved oblivion in his native land. May his countrymen at length come to appreciate the poetic work and learn to honour the patriotic aspirations of one who, whatever his faults may be, was a learned and true-hearted Gael, who, in dark and evil days, did his part faithfully in keeping alive the spirit of Irish nationality, and whom nothing could cause to swerve for a moment from the loyalty and love due to Mother Erin." [3]

The sample of his poetry which I shall give is the concluding portion of a poem written when he was expecting the arrival of King James in Ireland. It is entitled " The Triumph of Tadhg "—Tadhg of course standing for " the Irishman." The English prose translation has been kindly supplied to me by Father MacErlean in advance of publication:

" Behold the tonsured friar back in his monastery, wearing his wooden sandals and his cornered hat, see how the mayor obeyeth his order now and judges bend down to the ground saluting him. Long mayest Thou, O King Creator of sea and plain, preserve from all fear and calamity him who under Thee by his power accomplishes wonders like these, namely, James son of Charles of Scotland. Hearken to the prayers of our saints and our church in unison with the prayers of our strong and our weak, and protect without fail, O loving God, Whose bounty is vaster than the ocean, James our high king of no ignoble pedigree, the delight of the clergy and a bulwark of help to them, true Gael of our own Cashel's royal stem and Frenchman sprung from Pharamond. Dear God, Who didst lead through the sea, with feet unwet, from the land of Egypt Moses and Israel, send James, son of Charles, safe and sound to his people, and humble to the dust all his enemies. I beseech Thee, O Ocean of clemency, that these events which, by one drop from the sea of Thy grace, have changed so suddenly and unexpectedly the face of this deceitful world, may turn out for the good of the Gael."

Egan O'Rahilly (c. 1670—c. 1734) was born at Scrahanaveal, near Meentogues, in the County Kerry, Ireland. His father and mother were comfortably off, but he himself ap-

[3] *Life of David Ó Bruadair* (p. xlvi) in *The Poems of David Ó Bruadair, Part I*, edited by Rev. John C. MacErlean, S. J., and published for the Irish Texts Society by David Nutt, 57-59 Long Acre, London, 1910.

In my account of O'Bruadair in the text I have closely followed Father MacErlean, accepting his opinion, as that of an authority, on all disputed points.

pears to have known dire poverty, especially towards the end of his life. He dwelt a good deal in and around Killarney, and a visitor to the Lakes of Killarney can still see in a corner of the nave of Muckross Abbey the tomb of the O'Rahillys, in which, according to tradition, the poet lies buried.

O'Rahilly lived in an even more terrible time than did O'Bruadair. "He watched his country, all torn and blood-stained, entering within the shadow of an inhuman persecution, and did not live to see her even partially emerge. He often connected his own hardships—notwithstanding his profession as *ollamh*—with those of his country, and traced both to the same source, and in his death-bed poem he bewails both together. He is beyond all others the poet of the ancient Irish nobility, who despises upstarts, and gives no quarter to any man who sacrifices honour and faith for wealth and power." [4]

O'Rahilly seems to have had an acquaintance with the classics and to have known English fairly well; but it is as an Irish scholar that he excelled. Some forty-five of his poems have come down to us. They are divided into lyrics, elegies, and satires. As a lyric poet, full alike of passion and pathos, he takes high rank. He pours his whole soul into his verse. His principal theme is the wrongs of his country. "Most of his lyrical pieces that have reached us are concerned with his country's sufferings and wounds then bleeding fresh, the decay of her strength, the usurpation of her lands by foreigners, and the expulsion of the old nobility." [5] The threnody, entitled "The Ruin that Befell the Great Families of Erin," has been, not wholly unjustly, likened to the mournful lamentation chanted by Jeremias over the prospective desolation of Jerusalem.

The elegies are death-songs for distinguished persons. Taken singly each elegy is beautiful and tender, but taken as a body there is a sameness in their mechanism which inevitably palls.

As a satirist, whether in verse or prose, O'Rahilly is fierce,

[4] *The Poems of Egan O'Rahilly*, edited by Dinneen and O'Donoghue (Irish Texts Society, vol. III, second edition, 1911, London, David Nutt), Introduction, p. xxvii.

[5] *Op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xxxii.

truculent, and unsparing. He pursues his victim not on earth alone but through the portals of death and beyond the gates of hell. Many persons think that the "flyting," or scolding-match, between Dunbar and Kennedy, which figures so prominently in Scottish literature, represents the acme of coarseness and personal abuse; but it is questionable whether in these qualities it is not entirely outdistanced by the altercation, real and not feigned, between Domhnall na Tuile MacCarthy and O'Rahilly. Each of these poets takes the whole person of the other, and in terms of mockery, derision, and contempt, goes over it from the hair of the head to the sole of the foot, leaving no limb or organ or other part of the body without making it carry its proper load of contumely and vituperation.

Among O'Rahilly's purely Jacobite poems the aisling, *Gile na gile,* or "Brightness of Brightness," is regarded as one of the most beautiful pieces in modern Gaelic. Another well-known composition of his is "The Prophecy of Donn Firinne." Donn was a celebrated Munster fairy supposed to haunt Cnoc Firinne, near Ballingarry, County Tipperary. The English version here given is by Henry Grattan Curran. It was published in the second volume of Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy* in 1831. Although not quite literal, it yet gives a fairly correct idea of the original:

THE PROPHECY OF DONN FIRINNEACH.

Does thy spirit despond that these wolves perfidious, forsworn,
Should banish God's priests and laugh his religion to scorn?
Feeble, exiled, is Charles, the son of the monarch we loved,*
Far, far from the hearts, that would bleed to sustain him, removed.

O foul is the treason, that bids us our truth abjure,
Our faith to our own regal race—oh! dark and impure
The breast that devised, and the traitor lip that proclaims
Our throne and our truth to belong to any but James.

*This is not an exactly correct version of the original Irish. The literal translation of the last two lines of the first stanza is:

"Oh woe is me! the son of Charles who was our king is lifeless,
Buried in a grave alone, while his noble son is banished."

The sun shall burst forth, and the clouds shall melt in his sight,
And Heber's proud race shall awake in their native might;
And the emperor shall weep, and Flanders writhe in the chain,
And the "Brickler"[7] exult in King James's chambers again.

Erin's soul shall be glad in the hall, at the festive board—
And in science and song her sweet language o'er earth be poured;
And the tongue of the churl shall in darkness and shame go down,
And James shall return, the full joy of our hearts to crown.

And the fables of Luther, that darken the holy word,
And the false ones that knelt not where God's own priests adored
That hour's retribution shall scatter from Erin's shore,
And Louis shall see what hearts our own prince adore.

John MacDonnell (1691-1754), who was born near Charleville, in the County Cork, is, according to Hardiman, known as Clarach or Claragh, from the residence of his family, which was situate at the foot of a mountain of that name between Charleville and Mallow.[8] He was a man of great erudition and a profound Irish antiquarian and poet, and was chief of the bardic sessions held at Charleville. At one time he had the intention of translating Homer into Irish. On his tombstone, in the old churchyard at Ballyslough, near Charleville, he is described as *vir vere Catholicus, et tribus linguis ornatus, nempe Graeca, Latina, et Hybernica: non Vulgaris Ingenii poeta.* Several of his productions still survive in the shape of songs, elegies, and *aislingi* or visions. Among many other poems MacDonnell is author of the excellent Jacobite song, *Clarach's Lament.* It was written to the air of "The White Cockade," the same as is known in Scotland as "My gallant braw John Highlandman." The translation that follows is by John Dalton:

[7] By the "Brickler" was meant Prince James Francis Edward, son of James II. He was so called by the Irish bards, from the many reports industriously spread throughout England at the time of his birth, that he was a supposititious child, and amongst others that he was the son of a *Bricklayer.*—Hardiman's note, *Irish Minstrelsy,* Vol. II, p. 137.

[8] See Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy,* Vol. II., notes, p. 140. The epithet, however, may be derived from the broad cast of MacDonnell's features, or from the fact that his family belonged to the County Clare, or that his mother's name was Clair.

Clarach's Lament.

The tears are ever in my wasted eye,
My heart is crushed and my thoughts are sad;
For the son of chivalry was forced to fly,
And no tidings come from the soldier lad.
Chorus.—My heart—it danced when he was near,
My hero! my Caesar!—my Chevalier!
But while he wanders o'er the sea,
Joy never can be joy to me.

Silent and sad pines the lone cuckoo,
Our chieftains hang o'er the grave of joy;
Their tears fall heavy as the summer's dew,
For the Lord of their hearts—the banished boy.
Chorus.—My heart—it danced, &c.

Mute are the minstrels that sang of him,
The harp forgets its thrilling tone;
The brightest eyes of the land are dim,
For the pride of their aching sight is gone!
Chorus.—My heart—it danced, &c.

The sun refused to lend his light,
And clouds obscured the face of day;
The tiger's whelps prey'd day and night,
For the lion of the forest was far away.
Chorus.—My heart—it danced, &c.

The gallant—graceful—young Chevalier,
Whose look is bonny as his heart is gay;
His sword in battle flashes death and fear,
While he hews through falling foes his way.
Chorus.—My heart—it danced, &c.

O'er his blushing cheeks his blue eyes shine,
Like dew drops glitt'ring on the rose's leaf;
Mars and Cupid all in him combine,
The blooming lover and the godlike chief.
Chorus.—My heart—it danced, &c.

His curling locks in wavy grace,
Like beams on youthful Phoebus' brow,
Flit wild and golden o'er his speaking face,
And down his ivory shoulders flow.
Chorus.—My heart—it danced, &c.

Like *Engus* is he in his youthful days,
Or *MacCein*, whose deeds all Erin knows;
MacDary's chiefs of deathless praise,
Who hung like fate on their routed foes.
Chorus.—My heart—it danced, &c.

Like *Connall* the besieger, pride of his race!
Or *Fergus*, son of a glorious sire;
Or blameless Connor, son of courteous *Nais*,
The chief of the Red Branch—Lord of the Lyre.
Chorus.—My heart—it danced, &c.

The cuckoo's voice is not heard on the gale,
Nor the cry of the hounds in the nutty grove;
Nor the hunter's cheering through the dewy vale,
Since far—far away is the Youth of our love.
Chorus.—My heart—it danced, &c.

The name of my darling none must declare,
Though his fame be like sunshine from shore to shore;
But, oh, may Heaven—Heaven hear my prayer,
And waft the Hero to my arms once more!
Chorus.—My heart—it danced when he was near,
Ah! now my woe is the young Chevalier;
'Tis a pang that solace ne'er can know,
That he should be banish'd by a rightless foe.

I now come to a writer whose very name to most of my readers will probably be unknown, as indeed it is to many of his own countrymen, but of whom, nevertheless, it is impossible to speak except in language that may seem hyperbolical, for, if the claims put forth on his behalf can be substantiated, he deserves to be ranked among the few really great lyric poets of the world. I mean Owen Roe O'Sullivan.

Owen O'Sullivan (c. 1748-1784), known as "Owen of the sweet mouth," was of high, even princely, lineage; but he fell on evil days, and his own position in life was but a lowly one. He was born at Meentogues, near Killarney, in County Kerry, and at Faha received a classical education in one of those academies for which Kerry has always been famous. Thus equipped, he opened a school of his own at Gneeveguilla; but his life was not of the most edifying character, and for one of his more glaring irregularities he was denounced from the altar and his school was broken up. He then betook himself to County Limerick, where he earned a living as an itinerant potato-digger. Later he became tutor in a family at Aghnakissa, but here again he misconducted himself, and he was ignominiously driven out by the enraged paterfamilias with a shot-gun. The terrified tutor fled to Fermoy barracks, and there, not knowing

what else to do, he entered the British navy. He saw active service in very quick time, and was in the great engagement on April 12, 1782, when Rodney after an eleven hours' contest inflicted a severe defeat on the French admiral, de Grasse, in West Indian waters. In 1783 O'Sullivan was sent to England, and there enlisted in the army; but becoming homesick and therefore anxious to secure his dismissal, he blistered his shins with spear-wort, and, as the doctors could not account for the strange disease, and his fellow-soldiers refused to mess with him, he was discharged. Returning to Kerry he opened another school, which, like its predecessor, had but a brief existence. In an ale house at Killarney he had a quarrel with the servants of a yeomanry colonel whom he had lampooned, and one of them struck him a savage blow on the head with a pair of tongs. The wound brought on a fever, from which the victim died in June, 1784. The student of the history of English literature will not fail to notice the similarity of some of the incidents of his career to those which are recorded of two other men of genius, Burns and Marlowe, both of whom, like the Irish poet, perished in their prime. He had a wonderful funeral, and, like O'Rahilly, was buried in Muckross Abbey, Killarney.

O'Sullivan was a great wit, and some of his clever sayings are still current in Ireland. His poetry consists of aislingi or visions, satires, elegies, and religious verses. He was celebrated for his skill in the formation of Homeric compound epithets, some of which, like those of Homer, are themselves poems in miniature. Although he had an undisguised contempt and dislike for the English language, he yet could and did write English verse. He was, however, much more at home in his native Irish. His mastery over the aisling or vision, which was at first a characteristic form and ultimately developed into a conventional type of Jacobite poetry, was undoubted. In essence the machinery of the aisling resembles that of the dream poem we are accustomed to find in so much of Chaucer's work, in Langland, and in the mediaeval Romance poets. The difference is that when the visitant is a woman—as it generally is—

the Irish poet plies her with a series of flattering questions, in which she is identified with this, that, or the other goddess or heroine of remote antiquity, until finally it is established that she is none of these, but simply the genius of Erin, who has an announcement or a prophecy to make to him to whom she appears. One obvious reason for the adoption of the aisling mechanism is that it allows the writer freely to parade to the hearer or reader his knowledge of "old, forgotten, far-off things, and battles long ago." The following specimen from O'Sullivan fairly illustrates the type. The translation is by Rev. William Hamilton Drummond:

BESIDE THE SUIR.

Despondent and sad by the Suir as I strayed,
I met a fair nymph in bright beauty arrayed;
Fair flowing her tresses and radiant her cheek
As the berries' bright bloom, and her looks mild and meek.

Benignant she hailed me, with rev'rence profound
My bonnet I vailed, and bowed low to the ground;
Emotions of wonder and joy filled by breast,
And, with rapture inspired, thus the nymph I address'd:

"Oh! art thou that fair one whose dear fatal charms
To the walls of old Troy led the Greeks in bright arms?
Or she who our princes has exiled afar,
And brought in the aliens, with rapine and war?

"Or that dame, most unhappy, whose love passing fond
For the *Finians*, dissolved the dear conjugal bond?
Or she who afar o'er the seas sped her flight
With *Naoise* renowned in the Red-Branches' fight?

"Or she that of old with the heroes of Greece,
Theme of many a song, brought the rich golden fleece?
Or the queen of King Connor deemed worthy alone,
When he lay in the tomb, to be placed on his throne?"

Then she answered me sweet, with a tear and a smile,
"None of these greets thee now—but the Queen of the Isle,
That once reigned thrice happy o'er mountain and vale,
The genius of Erin, the pride of the *Gael*."

To see Erin's genius what joy thrilled my frame!
But grief for her wrongs soon my spirit o'ercame;
Till she cried in sweet accents allaying my smart,
"My son cease to grieve, and with strength arm thy heart.

"For swift o'er the seas come armed ranks in their might,
Well trapped are their horses, their swords gleaming bright;
Led on by a hero, to sweep from the coast
The ruthless, false-hearted, heretical host."

In her own native strains, and with looks passing fair,
She accosted me thus, and then vanished in air—
I grieved lest my vision too soon I might deem
The work of enchantment—a flattering dream.

Thou, who man hast redeemed by dire suffering and toil,
This redemption, oh! grant to my dear native soil;
May the woes that o'er Erin her foemen would spread,
With vengeance alight on their own guilty head.

O'Sullivan was the darling of the peasantry of Munster. "Perhaps," says Father Dinneen, his editor, "there never was a poet so entirely popular—never one of whom it could be more justly said, *volitat vivus per ora virum.* His songs were sung everywhere. At the crowded fireside they brought tears to young and old by the intensity of their pathos; in the public street they drew a reverent and attentive audience; they waked the echoes amid the lonely hills. His words naturally melted into music. . . By the aid of songs like these the stream of Irish music flowed on through long ages of national decadence in undiminished volume, but purified and sadly sweetened in its course by fresh infusions of genius. Munster was spell-bound for generations; she forgot her troubles; her very bitterness was sweetened as she listened to the voice of the syren." [9]

In the course of a brilliant and sympathetic appreciation of O'Sullivan's many merits—an appreciation which bids fair to place the poet in his rightful position—Father Dinneen fearlessly asserts the following propositions:

"Our poet has solved the problem of the connection between words and melody more successfully than it has ever been solved before; and in this respect he has no rival in literature, ancient or modern.

"Eoghan Ruadh [Owen Roe] is entitled to a supremacy in Irish literature from which he cannot be dislodged. Lyric poetry never flowed with such life and motion and vigour as from his pen. . . His lyric range

[9] *Amhráin Eoghain Ruaidh uí Shúilleabháin*, edited by Rev. Patrick Dinneen, M. A., 2nd edition, published by the Gaelic League, Dublin, 1902, Introduction, pp. xxviii, xxix.

extends from the fierce war-cry of the clans to the softest strains of the lullaby. Gusts of fierce passion, terrible as Atlantic hurricanes, sweep over his lyre without disturbing its deep-set harmony. . . He is . . the literary glory of his country. His name deserves to be enshrined amongst the few supreme lyric poets of all time. What Pindar is to Greece, what Burns is to Scotland, what Béranger is to France . . . . that and much more is Eoghan Ruadh to Ireland." [10]

To John O'Neachtan (?—c. 1718), a native of the County Meath, a learned man, and a good poet, O'Reilly in his *Irish Writers* [11] assigns forty-two separate poems, beside prose tales and translations of Church Hymns. Among the poems are an elegy on the death of Mary of Modena, widow of James II, which has been highly praised; an ode on James's natural son, the Duke of Berwick, who became so celebrated as a general on the side of France during the War of the Spanish Succession; and several pieces bewailing the imprisonment and banishment of the Irish clergy, the weakness, dejection, and lamentable state of the Irish, and the pride and ostentation of the upstart race that was now occupying their ancient seats.

Owen O'Keeffe (1656-1726) was born at Glenville, in the County Cork. On the death of his wife in 1707 he took holy orders, and died parish priest of Doneraile, where the literary tradition still flourishes. Among his poems is a Lamentation, written in 1692, on the battle of Aughrim. This, or some other of the many Lamentations to which that battle gave rise, was the inspiration of two of Moore's most famous songs, "After the Battle" and "Forget Not the Field." The latter, written to the music of the Irish Lamentation of Aughrim, is a singularly beautiful piece. During the troubled times in Ireland in the early eighties of the last century, when many of the best men in the country were thrown into prison and kept there without trial, its stanza was used as a kind of profession of political faith, and at every popular meeting one heard shouted in defiant tones:

[10] *Op. cit.*, Introduction, pp. xxxiii, xxxvi, xxxvii.

[11] *Transactions of the Iberno-Celtic Society for* 1820, *Vol. I.—Part I., containing a Chronological Account of nearly four hundred Irish Writers, commencing with the earliest account of Irish History and carried down to the year of our Lord* 1750, &c., by Edward O'Reilly. Dublin, 1820.

For dearer the grave or the prison
Illumed by one patriot name,
Than the trophies of all who have risen
On Liberty's ruins to fame!

Such is the continuity of Irish national sentiment.

William MacCurtain (1658-1724) belonged to an Ulster family, though from long residence he is known as William of Doon, in County Limerick. He served as a cavalryman on the Jacobite side through the war. When the fighting ceased he settled down as a schoolmaster at Carrignavar. On the death of Diarmuid Mac Carthy in 1705, Mac Curtain became chief of the bardic school at Blarney. His poems are usually addressed to bishops and priests who had been banished overseas, or are concerned with the sad plight to which the native gentry had been reduced.

William O'Heffernan (fl. 1750), known as Dall or "the Blind," was of an old and respectable Tipperary family, and was born at Shronehill in that county. He wrote several beautiful popular songs, of which Caitilin Ni Uallachain is perhaps the best known. Mangan's great translation of this piece, with its wonderful mastery of internal rhyme and its passionate phraseology, is to be found in *The Poets and Poetry of Munster.* I prefer, however, to give here another version which he made of the same or a similar poem. It is contained in *The Ballads of Ireland,* collected and edited by Edward Hayes:[12]

KATHALEEN NY-HOULAHAN.

Long they pine in weary woe, the nobles of our land,
Long they wander to and fro, proscribed, alas! and banned;
Feastless, houseless, altarless, they bear the exile's brand;
But their hope is in the coming-to of Kathaleen Ny-Houlahan!

Think her not a ghastly hag, too hideous to be seen,
Call her not unseemly names, our matchless Kathaleen;
Young she is, and fair she is, and would be crowned a queen,
Were the King's son at home here with Kathaleen Ny-Houlahan!

[12] Pp. 218-219, Vol. I (Fifth Edition), published by James Duffy and Sons, Dublin, n. d.

Sweet and mild would look her face, O none so sweet and mild,
Could she crush the foes by whom her beauty is reviled;
Woollen plaids would grace herself and robes of silk her child,
If the King's son were living here with Kathaleen Ny-Houlahan!

Sore disgrace it is to see the Arbitress of thrones
Vassal to a *Saxoneen* of cold and sapless bones!
Bitter anguish wrings our souls—with heavy sighs and groans
We wait the Young Deliverer of Kathaleen Ny-Houlahan!

Let us pray to Him who holds Life's issues in His hands—
Him who formed the mighty globe with all its thousand lands,
Girdling them with seas and mountains, rivers deep and strands,
To cast a look of pity upon Kathaleen Ny-Houlahan!

He, who over sands and waves led Israël along—
He, who fed, with heavenly bread, that chosen tribe and throng—
He, who stood by Moses, when his foes were fierce and strong—
May He show forth His might in saving Kathaleen Ny-Houlahan.

O'Heffernan was also author of "Cliona of the Rock," an aisling, translated into English heroic couplets by Henry Grattan Curran, in Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy*.[13]

John O'Tuomy (1706-1775), known as "the Gay," was born at Croome, in County Limerick. He was proficient in Greek and Latin and was fairly well versed in the literature of his time. He succeeded John Mac Donnell as chief bard of the district of the Maig in County Limerick. He kept an inn first at Croome and afterwards in Limerick city. Over the door of his house he displayed a sign in Irish, which, translated, ran as follows:

Should one of the stock of the noble Gael,
A Brother bard who is fond of good cheer,
Be short of the price of a tankard of ale,
He is welcome to O'Tuomy a thousand times here!

Of course, under such conditions, his hostelry was much frequented and became a general rendezvous for the bards and tourists of Munster. Equally of course, his open-handedness resulted in disaster to his business, and he had at length to become a farm-servant. His productions consist largely of drinking and convivial songs, of poetical disputes carried on

[13] See Vol. II., pp. 25-31.

with different bards, and of poems to friends, to the Stuarts, and to Ireland. His "Lament for the Fenians," written, like so many Jacobite songs, to the air of "The White Cockade"; his "Moirin Ni Chuillionain" (Little Mary Cullenan); and his "Spirit of Song" are all aglow with his love of Ireland, his hatred of her oppressors, and his desire and hope to see her once more raised up from the slough of despond. I give the last mentioned poem, as translated by James Clarence Mangan:[14]

SPIRIT OF SONG.

O, Spirit of Song, awake! arise!
For thee I pine by night and by day;
With none to cheer me, or hear my sighs
For the fate of him who is far away.
O, Eire, my soul, what a woe is thine!

That glorious youth of a kingly race,
Whose arm is strong to hew tyrants down,
How long shall it be ere I see his face,
How long shall it be ere he wins the Crown?
O, Eire, my soul, &c.

Why, Bards, arise ye not, each and all;
Why sing ye not strains in warlike style?
He comes with his heroes, to disenthral,
By the might of the sword, our long-chained isle!
O, Eire, my soul, &c.

Kings Philip and James, and their marshalled hosts,
A brilliant phalanx, a dazzling band,
Will sail full soon for our noble coasts,
And reach in power *Inis Eilge's* strand.
O, Eire, my soul, &c.

They will drive afar to the surging sea
The sullen tribe of the dreary tongue;
The Gaels again shall be rich and free;
The praise of the Bards shall be loudly sung!
O, Eire, my soul, &c.

Oh, dear to my heart is the thought of that day!
When it dawns we will quaff the beaded ale;
We'll pass it in pleasure, merry and gay,
And drink shame to all sneakers out of our pale.
O, Eire, my soul, &c.

[14] In *The Poets and Poetry of Munster* (Fifth Edition, n. d.), published by James Duffy and Co., Ltd., Dublin, pp. 75-77.

O, Mother of Saints, to thee be the praise
Of the downfall that waits the Saxon throng;
The priests shall assemble and chant sweet lays,
And each bard and lyrist shall echo the song!
O, Eire, my soul, &c.

Andrew Mac Grath (?—c. 1790), known as An Mangaire Sugach or "The Jolly Pedlar," was born on the banks of the Maig in County Limerick. He was for a time a schoolmaster, but he lived a wild and irregular life, and was a very hard drinker. Expelled for his irregularities from the Catholic Church, he sought admission to the Protestant communion, but in vain, whereupon he composed his famous "Lament." He lies buried in the churchyard at Kilmallock. His poems are satirical, amatory, bacchanalian, and political. His wit was keen, and his satire dreaded. His "Farewell to the Maig" is one of his sweetest compositions. His best known Jacobite poems are "A Whack at the Whigs," which has been very spiritedly rendered by Mangan,[15] and the "Song of Freedom," in which he makes an appeal in favour of the exiled Stuarts and calls for vengeance on their enemies. The latter has been thus translated into English verse by Henry Grattan Curran in Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy:*[16]

CANTICLE OF DELIVERANCE.

Too long have the churls in dark bondage oppressed me,
Too long have I cursed them in anguish and gloom;
Yet hope with no vision of comfort has blessed me—
The cave is my shelter—the rude rock my home:
Save Donn and his kindred, my sorrow had shaken
All friends from my side, when at evening, forsaken,
I sought the lone fort, proud to hear him awaken
The hymn of deliverance breathing for me.

He told how the heroes wer fall'n and degraded,
And scorn dashed the tear their affliction would claim!
But Phelim and Heber, whose children betrayed it,
The land shall relume with the light of their fame!
The fleet is prepared, and proud Charles is commanding,

[15] *Op. Cit.*, pp. 93-99.
[16] Vol. II., pp. 33-35.

And wide o'er the wave the white sail is expanding,
The dark brood of Luther shall quail at their landing—
The Gael, like a tempest, shall burst on the foe!

The bards shall exult, and the harp string shall tremble,
And love and devotion be poured in the strain;
Ere "Samhain" our chiefs shall in Temor assemble—
The "Lion" protect our own pastors again:
The Gael shall redeem every shrine's desecration;
In song shall exhale our warm hearts' adoration;
Confusion shall light on the foes' usurpation,
And Erin shine out yet triumphant and free.

The secrets of destiny now are before you—
Away! to each heart the proud tidings to tell,
Your Charles is at hand, let the green flag spread o'er you!
The treaty they broke your deep vengeance shall swell:
The hour is arrived, and, in loyalty blending,
Surround him! sustain! Shall the gorged goat descending
Deter you, your own sacred monarch defending?—
Rush on like a tempest, and scatter the foe!

The dominant note of all these poets is their patriotism, their undying love for mother Erin. Of this theme they never tire. While they sing the praises of the Stuart line and voice ardent longings for its restoration, the subject really nearest their hearts is their beloved country, her wrongs, her woes, her hopes. She is figured under all sorts of allegorical representations; she is called by all sorts of endearing names. She is the Brightness of Brightness, the Little Black Rose, the Heart's Nut, the Secret Beloved One; or she is Grainne Mhaol, or Sheela O'Gara, or Little Mary Cuillenan, or Kathleen Ni-Houlahan.

When we remember the terrible condition into which the bulk of the population of Ireland was plunged on the conclusion of the Williamite war and under the diabolical régime of the Penal Laws, we shall not be surprised to find that throughout the greater part of the poetry of the period there is, as well as fierce resentment of wrong, a tone of pathetic sadness. Indeed, Dr. Douglas Hyde has gone so far as to say that he has "met nothing more painful in literature than the constant, the almost unvarying cry of agony sent out by every one of the Irish writers during the latter half of the seven-

teenth and the first half of the eighteenth century." But behind the melancholy there is present the undying belief that Ireland will not be always sad; through the gloom, dim and distant far, perhaps, but never entirely obscured, shines their star of hope. In aisling, or ode, or prophecy, or song, a bright future is envisaged, a time of peace and happiness and joy: Kathleen Ni-Houlahan will not for ever be in chains; Erin shall "shine out yet triumphant and free."

In this respect these Jacobite poets are truly representative of the deep-feeling but buoyant race to which they belonged. In their darkest hour of desolation the Irish people have never quite given way to despair, but, with sad hearts often and often with straining eyes, have ever looked forward to the dawning of a brighter day. The true motto of Ireland is *Resurgam.*

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FEUDALISM IN IRELAND.

When any people are oppressed, when they are deprived of the rewards of activity, they tend to become inert and ambitionless. Except they are a people of very strong character, they will give way under oppression. The results of oppression will not only tell on present but on future generations. Hence it will not be sufficient for the progress of such a people merely to remove the oppressor's yoke. Their case is similar to that of an ambitionless man. He will not be moved to action by merely placing rewards before him. You must convince him of the value to him of the rewards set before him. If he has been oppressed and deprived of the fruits of his labours in the past, he will be inclined to find therein an excuse for his present faults and shortcomings.

If this picture does not depict the true status of the Irish people before the last decade of the Nineteenth Century, it is because of the indomitable, irrepressible, unconquerable character of the Celt. We do not believe that persecution and oppression ever rendered the Celt ambitionless or inert. If he saw an opportunity he was as capable as profiting by it at the end of the Nineteenth Century as he ever was. But something seemed to cloud the horizon of success for him in Ireland. He would labor, if he only could see the rewards of labor, and he showed himself prepared to labor when the reward was set before him in America and Australia. But work in Ireland! What was there for it? Such was the tradition which was sung in our ears as children. "We would go to a land where we could get something for our labours" summed up the hopes and the resolves of the greater number of Irish young men and women until the last decade of the Nineteenth Century. The trials and difficulties which were first whispered into the ears of Irish children were mostly connected with the payment of rent, with landlordism, with boycotting, etc. And most of

the people with whom one associated, had a difficult time in eking out an existence after paying their rent to the landlord. The first desire of these poor people's hearts was freedom from the bondage of landlordism. With those who could not pay rents and who were ejected from their farms or in constant danger of eviction, opposition to landlordism manifested itself in boycotting and agrarian outrages. We can, therefore, easily see why landlordism should have excited so much opposition among the Irish people. It was simply a fight for bread and butter with the great majority of them. They all united against the common foe, who was spending the fruits of their labors on a foreign soil. The central theme of most of the political oratory was landlord oppression and the necessity of uniting to drive the landlord from the soil.

The social and political ideals of Europe, that striking contrast between upper and lower classes so noticeable in the older civilizations, have to a great extent been the result of that system of land tenure which sprang from the feudal system. That dependence of the lower on the upper classes may be traced back to the time when one man—the Lord of the Manor—was complete owner of the soil, and the other members of the community his dependants. They rallied to the standard of the lord in time of war, they were his support as he was the support of the Crown. In times of peace they were obliged to contribute so much labor to the cultivation of the lord's demesne. Until the English invasion the feudal system never found a footing in Ireland. The Celts resisted the inroads of Feudalism in Ireland as they did the Roman institutions in Britain long before. Theirs was the one civilization which outlived the civilization of Rome. "As a matter of fact the Romans never attempted to turn everything upside down at once. They actually recognized the land districts of the Celts, and the peculiarities of their grouping on the land, merely introducing the city as the head and centre of the land district." [1] In their tribal system the Celts had a common ownership of land for they were mostly a pastoral people. Their property consisted chiefly of herds.

[1] Vinogradoff, *The Growth of the Manor*, p. 47.

Hence an actual partitioning of land was not necessary. We can, therefore, see that the Celtic tribal system differed vastly from the Feudal system. In the Celtic tribe each man was an owner of land. In the Feudal system all the land was owned by the lord. In the tribe each man had to work for his own living. Unlike the Feudal system there was no set of persons depending for their upkeep on the labor of others. There was in other words no serfdom in the tribal system.

It was the sudden uprooting of this system by the English in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that started Ireland's tale of sorrow. But the abolition of the Irish tribal system and the confiscation of Irish rights were not sufficient of themselves to perpetuate those grievances under which Ireland suffered for three centuries. It was difference of religion that led to the confiscations in the first instance, and it was difference of religion that caused the consequent grievances to continue so long. The Irish refused to give up their faith at the beck of the English monarchs, and for their refusal their lands were confiscated. Elizabeth, James I, Cromwell, Charles II and William of Orange, deprived the Irish of their land to distribute it among their favourites or to sell it to English and Scotch colonists, always with two conditions: that they should do all in their power to drive out the native Irish and that they should not allow them under any consideration to recover possession of the land. The English sovereigns were even determined that the Irish should not be retained as mere wage-earners. But the colonists soon found out that Irish land could not be cultivated without Irish labor. The Irish were consequently allowed to operate the land as laborers, and in return for their labor they obtained possession of land for their own use. As time went on custom gave them certain property rights in the land. They had improved it, they had added to its value. They accordingly felt as they had a right to feel, that they should get a fair return from their labor on the land that they had a right to peaceable possession of the land so long as they discharged their obligations. If the new settlers had been of one faith with the native Irish, these rights would undoubtedly

have been recognized. They were recognized in Ulster where the landlord and tenants were of the same faith, but in other parts of Ireland difference of faith kept up the old animosity. The landlords hated the native population. They had no interest in the country except for the purpose of exploitation. Hence they violated the rights of the tenants without scruple. Here we have the beginning of Irish landlordism, which is associated with so many bitter memories in Irish history. The primary underlying principle of landlordism and of the confiscation that gave birth to it was religion and the cause of the many evils which followed on its trail were also religious.

Before the time of Elizabeth, the power of England did not gain a firm foothold in Ireland. Henry VIII tried to break the power of the quasi-independent Anglo-Saxon nobles of the Pale, and to replace them with an aristocracy of the Celtic race. After conquering the Desmond rebels Elizabeth confiscated the whole province of Munster. Her successor, James I, having subdued the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, pursued the same policy of confiscation in Ulster. The confiscated lands he gave over to thirty thousand Scotch Presbyterians. James then proceeded to abolish the tribal system throughout the whole island and to replace it by the English land system. Elizabeth and James I used every contrivable means to exterminate the Irish. The sword, the rack, starvation, were in turn their instruments for extermination. "The sword," writes the historian Lecky, "was not found sufficiently expeditious but another method proved more efficacious. Year after year over the great part of Ireland all means of human subsistence was destroyed." Religion was as much the cause of these atrocities as it was of those perpetrated later under Cromwell and William of Orange. The attempts of Elizabeth and James to impose Protestantism on the Irish naturally aroused the opposition of the princes and the people and caused them to rebel. Rebellion was punished by confiscation and attempted extermination. Still the Irish were not subdued. The planters were, to use the words of Lord Clare, "A motley crew of adventurers," who had no interest in Ireland except exploitation.

It was Cromwell that made the plantation of Ireland a permanent success. Cromwell made the Irish pay dearly for their support of Charles I and more so for their Catholic faith. Having reduced Ireland by the sword, he set out to accomplish his avowed object of completing the extermination of the Irish race. He confiscated the whole island with the exception of the province of Connaught. He sent thousands of Irish people as exiles to the Barbadoes and Jamaica. But there was still a reserve force in Ireland, which showed itself half a century later when they rallied to the standard of another unfortunate Stuart, James II. Here again their loyalty to the Crown brought down upon them the same penalty as in the time of Charles I. William of Orange once more confiscated the lands of those who had remained faithful to James II.

William entered into a solemn compact with the Irish people to grant them freedom in the exercise of their religious duties. Had he not granted them this pledge of freedom the twelve thousand men who marched out of Limerick to enter the service of France would have sacrificed their blood in Ireland's cause. But sacred promises were of no consequence to William. The Treaty of Limerick was torn up, its promises disregarded and a Parliament was established in Ireland of which no Catholic could be a member. The penal laws passed by this Protestant parliament between the years 1695 and 1709 are foreign to our study except in so far as they affected the property rights of the Catholic Irish people. Catholics were declared incapable of holding property in land, or of taking land on lease for a longer term than thirty years. If they engaged in any trade or industry, they were forced to pay a special tax. They could not own a horse above the value of five pounds. During the greater part of the eighteenth century, there were two Irelands engaged in a deadly conflict. The one superimposed by the English Government was urged on by cupidity and religious fanaticism, the other was fighting for its faith and fatherland. In the second half of the century the English government began to practice the same tactics towards the colonists as these had practiced towards the native population. Parliament

passed laws in 1763 and 1769 which were ruinous to Irish industry. This of course was not due to any special enmity towards Ireland. England adopted the same policy at the time toward all her colonies. Bounties were charged on the raising or export of raw materials in the colonies. The production of manufactured articles was forbidden outside the mother country. A community of interests soon united Protestants and Catholics of Ireland. The revolt of the American colonies in 1776 gave them a signal opportunity for asserting their rights. The forty thousand militia raised by the Government for the protection of Ireland became the providential means for the assertion of Irish rights. Against forty thousand men England was powerless at the time. There was no alternative except to grant the demands of Ireland. The results were the restoration of the independence of the Irish Parliament, the acknowlegment of the right of Catholics to hold property and the relaxation of the penal code.

During the French Revolution Ireland experienced a period of unusual prosperity. The demand for food increased. Prices went up. Agriculture became more profitable with the resulting increase in the demand for agricultural land. Ireland was therefore soon changed from a pastoral to an agricultural country. The landlords took occasion from the high prices and competition, to demand proportionately higher rents. After the defeat of Napoleon prices suddenly went down again, but rents still maintained the same high level, for competition for land still continued. The population of Ireland had in the meantime increased by two millions and the people had to find something to do. Then began the evictions and agrarian wars which enslaved and demoralized the Irish people through the greater part of the Nineteenth Century. The landlords began their "clearances" which they carried out on a larger scale after the Emancipation Act of 1829 had deprived the forty shilling freeholders of their votes.[1] The people continued to

[1] The disfranchising of the forty-shilling freeholders reduced the electorate of Ireland from about 200,000 to 26,000. *Contemporary Ireland*, L. Paul Dubois, p. 68.

compete among themselves for the remainder of the land. Evictions were of daily occurrence, and scarcely any year passed without a partial famine. It is only human to suppose that the tenants could not bear all this oppression with equanimity. They naturally used every means of avenging their wrongs. The English Poor Law was applied, in 1838, to relieve the distress which landlordism had brought on the Irish people, but it was powerless to relieve their extreme indigence. A report made in 1838 does not exaggerate when it tells us that for two months every year two and a half millions of the Irish peasants were on the brink of starvation.

Englishmen calmly looked on at this drama of suffering. "Why not apply the same economic principles in Ireland which we are applying in England. If free contract and *laissez-faire* do not work there it must be the fault of the stubborn Irish," so reasoned the English economists of the early Nineteenth century. They knew nothing of Irish character, they did not realize that tribal ideals were still deeply rooted in the Irish mind, they did not know of the rights which custom had given to the Irish tenant. "If Englishmen and Scots had given a fraction of the attention to the tenure and history of Irish land, that was . . . bestowed on the Sempronian laws in ancient Rome, this chapter in our annals would not have been written."[1]

In 1843 Peel became interested in the Irish agrarian question, and appointed a commission to report on Irish landed relations. This was the famous Devon Commission of which O'Connell said that "you might as well consult butchers about observing Lent as consult these men about Irish land tenure."[2] The report was one-sided, as most of the commissioners were landlords. The right of joint ownership was completely ignored, but it was suggested that a law be made to secure for the tenant future improvements made with the consent of the landlord.

[1] Morley's *Gladstone*, vol. II, p. 282.

[2] O'Connell's statement may not be exactly correct, but it is interesting, as it shows the general distrust of the English Government then prevalent in Ireland. The Irish evidently did not think that the English were capable of any honest intentions at the time.

A Bill based on the report was introduced into Parliament the next year, but the majority was convinced that it was destructive of the landlord's property and the Bill was shelved. A similar fate awaited all the other Bills favourable to tenant right during the following years. The Irish tenants might be on the brink of starvation, yet the landlord must continue to charge his competitive rent. A failure in the potato crop was sufficient to bring a famine in those days. In 1845 the potato crop was a partial failure and in 1846-47 it was a total failure. Then began the great famine which continued its ravages until 1849. Its death toll in Ireland is estimated at 729,033, and 200,000 perished on their way to America. As a result of the famine 1,240,737 emigrants left Ireland for America to be followed by another million between 1851 and 1860. The famine was undoubtedly the result of the high rent charges. Ireland had a plenteous supply of other foods besides the potato, but their value was taken in rent. In 1848 foodstuffs and cattle were produced to the value of 41,000,000 pounds and in 1847 foodstuffs and cattle to the value of 38,500,000 pounds. "Ireland exported," in those years "corn, barley, and oats in greater quantity than could have supplied the people." [1]

Two effects followed the famine, the one most detrimental, the other most beneficial to the cause of the Irish tenant. During the famine many landlords, as well as tenants, had been beggared. Their estates had become heavily encumbered. The English economists at the time thought that the sending in of new capital would be Ireland's salvation. They wished to see the encumbered landlords freed from their debts, and perhaps they thought that the English capitalist if he had an opportunity of investing in Irish estates might do much for the advancement of the country. The Government, therefore, passed an Act in 1849 throwing all these encumbered estates on the market. In less than ten years the Landed Estates Court created by the Act sold estates to the value of twenty millions sterling. And

[1] Dubois, *Contemporary Ireland*, p. 73.

between 1849 and 1890 the same Court sold about one-fifth of the land of Ireland. Most of the land sold passed into the hands of speculators. The new landlords were determined to get the highest competitive rent for the land, and wherever the tenant could not pay this high rent he was evicted without scruple. Most of the cases of harsh eviction during this period and for the next forty years were made by the purchasers under the Encumbered Estates Act.

The condition of the landlords in 1849 might have provided a magnificent opportunity for the passing of a land purchase Act. Such an Act passed at the time would have averted all those agrarian revolutions that characterized the latter half of the century. But the Government was not yet ready for any favorable tenant legislation. English statesmen had not yet acquainted themselves with real conditions in Ireland. They were persuaded that *laissez-faire* was good enough for the Irish. Hence "we cannot be surprised to see them inviting the purchase of the estates of an insolvent landlord upon precisely the same principle as governed the purchase of his pictures or his furniture." "The important legal rights given by custom and equity to the cultivator were suddenly extinguished by the supreme legal right of the receiver."[1]

Between 1829 and 1867 Parliament deliberated on the Irish land question no less than twenty-three times, but the only result was legislation strengthening the hand of the landlord. Throughout all this period the Irish had been fighting for the principle of dual ownership, but the landlords were determined that the principle should not have a legal sanction. They would compensate the tenant for future improvements if he could only get the idea of dual ownership out of his head. The landlord's ideal was finally expressed in the legislation of 1860, which declared that the tenant's occupation of the land was founded on free contract, and that in case of eviction the tenant was to receive some compensation. This was to be the last piece of thoroughly landlord legislation and the last application of *laissez-faire* to Ireland. A change was

[1] Morley's *Gladstone*, vol. II, p. 287.

soon to come. England must abandon her *laissez-faire* policy in Ireland. She must change her viewpoint from the landlord to the tenant or have a never-ending agrarian warfare on her hands.

Another force was now at work which gradually strengthened the cause of Irishmen. This we count the beneficial effect of the famine. The famine and the evictions which followed it forced great numbers of Irish to seek a home in another land. There they made their influence felt and for the future they were to be a great force in Irish politics. Henceforth when the Irish needed moral or material support, they invariably turned to America where they found a people of their own kith and kin ready and willing to help them. It is sad to think that the assistance of America should be required for the continuance of a political and agrarian revolution which undoubtedly has had a most demoralizing effect in many parts of Ireland. Yet nothing short of revolution was sufficient to change the attitude of the English mind on the question of Irish land tenure. The English had succeeded in suppressing the rebellion of 1848. It succeeded also in suppressing later uprisings, but the undercurrent of discontent was becoming stronger and stronger. It was common to the Irish both at home and over the seas; and finally broke out in the Fenian uprisings of 1866 and 1867. The English quelled these uprisings but the Fenian society still continued to exist. Its influence was felt even in English governmental circles. English statesmen were at last aroused if not by the love of humanity at least by the Fenian plots and they began to feel that something should be done to allay the discontent in Ireland.

The Fenian uprising was a protest against the unjust treatment of the Irish tenant by the landlord. It was like all the other outbreaks that demoralized the country since Whiteboyism was first organized in 1760; but it had the good effect of at last attracting English attention to the pitiable condition of the Irish people. The best English minds were to be engaged in the Irish land question for the next thirty-nine years, correcting the mistakes of the past. One can notice through all their efforts what a difficult question it was for them. It

required a great many mistakes to teach them that the Irish question had marked features of its own and that English institutions could not be applied to its solution. Pity it is that it should take so many demoralizing agrarian uprisings to attract the attention of the English legislature, that every step in reform legislation should require a revolution. The jealousies, outrages, and feuds occasioned by agrarian revolutions in Ireland in the nineteenth century are beyond counting. Were they justified, especially in their extreme form? Could as good results have been obtained by moral suasion, by placing the matter calmly and clearly before Parliament? We do not believe for a moment that they could. It was a case of either starvation or force. Of course like all other movements, the agrarian uprisings in Ireland were sometimes used for selfish and unworthy objects. Individuals sometimes used them to vent their private spleen. Agrarian revolution has indeed been a two-edged sword. While exacting useful legislation from the Government, it has left wounds on the social life of the people which will take years to heal.

In December, 1867, Gladstone "first raised his standard and proclaimed an Irish policy along Irish lines . . . the Church, the land, and the college had to be dealt with in turn." His harangues on these questions during the elections of 1868 led to the downfall of the Conservative Government. Next year the Act of Dissestablishment was passed and then Gladstone was free to turn his attention to the land question. The year 1870 was indeed a crucial year in Irish affairs. Mr. Gladstone felt that the state of Ireland "after seven hundred years of tutelage was indeed an intolerable disgrace."[1] For three months preceding the opening of Parliament he devoted all the energy of his great soul to the study of the land question. Many schemes of reform were set before him. John Bright proposed the creation of peasant proprietorship. John Stuart Mill, then at the height of his power, proposed the buying out of the landlords. These schemes were too advanced for English minds, yet there was a vast change in their attitude towards

[1] Morley's *Gladstone*, vol. II, p. 293.

the Irish land question. It was admitted on all sides that the improvements were the property of the tenant, and that he should be compensated for them in case of eviction. It was also admitted that the tenants' tenure should be made more permanent. A good precedent was found in the Ulster custom. It was thought that the extension of that custom to the remainder of Ireland would make the tenants' interest more stable, would put an end to evictions and thus go a great way towards solving the agrarian problem. In Ulster the tenant was allowed to retain possession of the land provided he paid his rent. He also had the right of selling his interest, if he did not wish to remain in possession of the land, or was unable to pay his rent. The extension of this custom and the compensation of the tenant for his improvements were the principal features of the legislation of 1870.

As an Act of social reform, the legislation of 1870 was a positive failure. As an indication of tendency of English legislative thought it was epoch-making. The legislator at last was coming to the aid of the Irish tenant. If his assistance was still ineffectual in relieving the distress of the tenant, it was because he had not yet perfectly acquainted himself with the exigencies of the case or because he had not been able to bring public opinion in his direction. In Ireland compensation for disturbance had little practical value for the tenant. The Irish tenant had to cling to his land because there was nothing else for him to do. In England, the man who could not pay rent could go to the factories, but in Ireland there were no factories. The Irishman had therefore to pay any rent that might be imposed upon him. The landlord naturally took advantage of the competition for land to get the highest rent that could be paid. If one tenant could not pay it, he got another who could. This essential defect of the Irish land system was not met by the legislation of 1870. The landlord might still secure the highest competitive rent, with the result that a number of people had to be evicted from their lands. The number of evictions during the six following years amounted to 14,080. It seems to have been an exceedingly difficult thing for a tenant to establish his right to improvements in case of

eviction, for out of 6,163 applications for improvements made between 1871 and 1880 only 1,808 were granted. This was a very small number when we consider that according to the testimony of the Devon Commission nearly all improvements in Irish land had been made by the tenants. The contracting out clauses were not very favorable to Irish conditions. In the agreement between the landlord and tenant we do not find all the conditions of a free contract. The tenant was practically bound to accept the conditions which the landlord saw fit to impose. If the landlord suggested the taking out of a lease for thirty years we doubt not but that the tenant would have to accept it in very many instances. According to the Act of 1870 the taking of such a lease by the tenant deprived him of any further right to compensation. In this way 30,000 tenants excluded themselves from the benefits of the Act.

"According to official statistics issued by the Irish Registrar General the total value of Irish crops in 1876 was estimated to be worth 36,000,000 pounds, in 1877, 28,000,000 pounds, in 1878, 32,000,000 pounds, and in 1897, 22,000,000 pounds. The year 1876 was by no means a good year in the matter of prices but taking it as an average year, the actual loss by Irish farmers in the three following years, as compared with the produce of 1876 amounted to a total sum of 26,000,000 pounds, or over two and a half years rental for all the agricultural land of Ireland."[1] The tenants were obliged to pay the same rents as in the preceding period of prosperity and when they could not pay, the usual process of eviction ensued. An outcry against excessive rents went up all over the country. This led to the organization of the Land League, in which the more moderate surviving members of the Fenian Brotherhood united with the agitators, who were dissatisfied with the parliamentary tactics of Butt and his successor Shaw, in pressing the demands of the Irish tenants. Parnell was made first president of the Land League and his selection for that office registered the triumph of his principles. He was now in a position to control the more radical members of the movement including Davitt, and to win them over to more practical methods of agitation.

[1] Davitt, *Fall of Feudalism*, p. 187.

The Land League determined upon a new method of agitation, which was far more effective than mere physical force. It adopted what has been known in Irish agrarian agitations as the "boycott." When a landlord refused to grant the demands of his tenants, the tenants were encouraged to pay no rent. They used every moral force to make life as miserable as possible for him—physical force being ostensibly contrabanded. The League tried to make eviction as unprofitable and as unpleasant as possible for the landlord. It held him up to the gaze of the world as an outrager of all the rights of human justice. It put a embango on evicted farms. Those who should dare to rent them were ostracised socially. The members of the community were to have nothing to do with the hateful "land-grabbers." Storekeepers were induced not to sell to them. Artisans were induced not to work for them. The policy of ostracism was even carried into houses of religious worship. This was justifiable in itself, but unfortunately the Land Leaguers did not always confine themselves to moral force. The more conservative leaders were unable to keep the members of the League under control. Hence many outrages were committed which we cannot defend. It was these extreme acts of violence which drew down upon the League the condemnation of several members of the Catholic Hierarchy. As a permanent and final solution of the land question, the Land League advocated the creation of peasant proprietorship to be brought about by a law compelling the landlords to sell their lands to the tenants. The Government, it was understood, should advance the money to the tenants which they would be obliged to pay back in terminable annuities. This was a nearer approach to the true solution of the agrarian question than any law passed by the English Government. It could not, of course, be considered a complete solution, for that would require a system of internal constructive reform, which, we must admit, has never been properly attended to by the Irish politician. The policy which was actually adopted will be discussed in a later paper.

JOHN O'GRADY.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF CICERO.

The importance of Cicero in the history of philosophy is due not so much to the inherent merits of his philosophical writings as to the use that was made of those writings during a critical period in the development of human thought. There are men of that stamp in the present as well as in the past. They seem to give more than they have, and to exert an influence altogether disproportionate to their real worth as thinkers. They popularize the thoughts of others, or translate philosophy into the language of their own age and country. They are purveyors of philosophical lore who seem not to have drunk very deeply at the source of wisdom itself. If the comparison were allowed, they may be said to be like the so-called carriers of typhoid, who, without suffering from the disease, have the power of communicating it to others. Philosophy of course, is not a disease, although it sometimes ceases to be an altogether healthy state of mind. The comparison holds, nevertheless, in so far as a writer, who hardly deserves to be ranked among the great philosophers, may yet be placed in the first rank of those who influenced the trend of philosophic thought. It will be the purpose of this paper to show to what extent this is true of the Cicero whom all of you know as an orator and a literateur, but to whom you are now perhaps introduced for the first time in his role as a philosopher.

Cicero represents very well the attitude of the best of the Romans towards the study of philosophy. You know that the Roman genius was not suited to prolonged or profound meditation on abstract subjects. In a well-known passage of the Sixth Book of the *Æneid,* Virgil very graphically describes the peculiar strength of the Roman mind and just as graphically conveys to us his notion of its shortcomings. Let others, he says, delight to portray the human countenance and breathe as it were the likeness of the spirit into marble and bronze. Let them study and describe the courses of the stars. Let them ex-

cel in the art of eloquent pleading. But thou, O Roman, remember that thy talent is for government. To frame laws for the nations, to wage war successfully, "to spare the conquered and to bring the haughty low." The fine arts, then, are for the Greeks; for them, also are literature and science. For the Roman there remain the "arts of war," and among the "arts of peace," that of legislating and ruling with wisdom and moderation. The division is a fair one and more just than many another generalization of the historian. The Greeks did excel in the plastic arts, in the sciences, in the finer kinds of writing, in the cultivation of the beautiful. The Romans did excel in the practical arts and left on the theory of law and government an impress which time cannot efface.

The attitude of the Roman mind towards philosophy, the most abstract of the sciences, was originally one of distrust and contempt. As late as 161 B. C. all philosophers and rhetoricians were, by decree of the Senate, banished from the city. Later, of course, the severity of the measure had to be mitigated, and a more moderate estimate naturally prevailed. Greek culture invaded Rome and it was impossible altogether to withstand its influence. It was then that the Roman mother advised her son to study wisdom, that is, philosophy, but warned him not to acquire more wisdom than was becoming in a Roman citizen. The *Ne quid nimis,* originally a Greek maxim, was here given an application never dreamt of by the Greeks. Of wisdom the Greeks could not obtain enough. But, now the Roman warns not merely against that excess of wisdom against which the Apostle admonishes Christians, but also against any degree of wisdom incompatible with the practical duties of public life. "Be wise unto sobriety" is, indeed itself a profound philosophy. But it is evident that in the Roman mind wisdom, even in moderate measure, is less desirable than practical efficiency.

When, therefore, the Roman came to choose his philosophy this same appreciation of the practical determined his choice. He had long ago learned to discipline his imagination by the dominance of reason. This was at once the source of his political power and the chief result of the exercise of that power. This was in itself a philosophy, the stern subjection of impulse

and feeling to the rule of reason. It was, however, a philosophy of conduct and not a complete philosophy of life. He had still to find a speculative foundation for it, a reason in the nature of things, or at least, in human nature, to justify it. This was what the Greek Stoics had done. They had defined philosophy as the art of attaining happiness; they had defined happiness in terms of self-discipline; they had gone back to physics and to theology to find a foundation for these definitions, and they preached a way of life that not only made conduct a matter of principle, not of feeling, but also justified those principles in a theoretical way. Stoicism, consequently, appealed to the Roman mind. In its details, too, it was acceptable according to the Roman standard. It inculcated patience, endurance of pain, serenity of mind, and, above all, a certain *gravitas,* a dignity of demeanor and an air of superiority which were, indeed, more Roman than Greek and appealed at once to the Roman sense of propriety.

On the other hand, the Stoics, as everybody knows, set up the most extravagant claims for the typical Wise Man, the "Stoic Saint," as we may call him. The wise man is above the common herd in every respect. He alone is free; he alone is wealthy; he alone is happy; he is a sage, a saint, a king, a citizen of the world, at home in every country, a wizard, with extraordinary control even over natural phenomena. These claims are the so called "Paradoxes of the Stoics." They offended the common sense of the Romans. You know how Horace ridicules them in the person of the Cobbler Chrysippus. So that, while it suited the Roman to be a Stoic, it did not suit him to go the whole distance and travel with a Stoic guide to the end of the chapter of life. Besides, there was too much severity in the Stoic Code of Conduct. It was unreal and in a sense inhuman. It presumed a heroic strength of character, and the Romans, especially in the last century before Christ, were not the stuff of which heroes are made. Flesh and blood could not stand the strain of Stoic discipline, and the "Paradoxes" were not the only "hard sayings" in the writings of the Stoics.

There happened to be at hand an alternative that appealed to men of less than heroic stature, a more worldly philosophy, a milder code, an ethics better suited to weak human nature, the pleasure-philosophy of the Epicureans. These had started, like the Stoics, by defining the scope of philosophy as the quest of happiness, but they had ended by defining happiness in terms, not of virtue but of pleasure. In substance, they said that conduct is a calculus of enjoyment. Remark that there is still the notion of discipline. The Epicureans did not advocate unbridled and unrestrained pleasure. If you are to be happy, they said, you must moderate your enjoyment of life, you must subordinate the lower to the higher, and use moderation in all things, lest pain, the only evil there is, bring you unhappiness. To some Romans, as to Horace, for example, this facile philosophy of life made a strong appeal. At least, it was a pose easily assumed. It gave a man the name of being a philosopher without interfering very much with his inclinations or imposing too great a burden on human nature. The weakness of Epicureanism was its lack of seriousness, its superficiality, its tendency towards materialism and the facility with which some of its representatives ran it, literally, to the ground, and made it a mere excuse for flippancy, worldliness and worse.

But where, one may ask, were the schools of Plato and Aristotle all this time? Did they make no appeal to the Roman mind? Had they no corrective to offer for the severity of Stoicism and the laxity of Epicureanism? None, so far as Aristotle was concerned. His philosophy, destined one day to be the dominant force in medieval Latin Europe, never deeply impressed the mind of the pagan Roman. It was too scientific, too abstruse, too Greek, too much inclined to put the theoretical above the practical, the contemplative above the active virtues. Aristotle was known only as a logician, a rhetorician, a literary critic. With Plato, it was somewhat better. Still, Plato as officially represented, was no longer the Plato of the *Dialogues*. His school, the Academy, while still claiming the name and authority of the master, had yielded to the general relaxation

that characterized the times and had gone very far in the direction of skepticism. It is impossible, said these Platonists, to attain full certitude about anything. The most we can hope for is a high degree of probability. And that is sufficient for all practical purposes, since, as we say, "Probability is the guide of life." This was acceptable to the Roman both because it put the practical above the theoretical as a test of usefulness, if not of truth, and because it offered an easy way out of the subtleties of philosophical speculation. Many whom the arguments of the philosophers merely perplexed were well satisfied to learn that in the most important matters rigorous proof is not needed, but only a high degree of probability. One is forcibly reminded of the judicial impartiality of Sir Roger de Coverley: "Much might be said on both sides."

What, then, was left for the Roman to do? Stoicism, Epicureanism, this modified Platonism—all had their claims on his attention, and each seemed to suit his temperament in one way or another. He did what a practical Roman might be expected to do. He picked and chose from each system what seemed to him to be best and left the remainder to the zealous adherent of each school. In other words he became an Eclectic. Of course, every philosopher should be willing to admit truth wherever he finds it, and, surely, no philosopher can claim that he has all truth in his philosophy. To that extent we are all Eclectics. Eclecticism, however, is applied to the philosophy which, admitting that all systems are equally or almost equally true, adopts the truth of each without caring to harmonize, reconcile and articulate those truths into a system. It is this negative phase, this refusal to systematize, that is peculiar to Eclecticism. And this is once more, what appealed to the Romans. They were individualists. They would be "no man's man." They would submit to no master, they would adhere to no school in the strict sense of the term. "Every man his own master in philosophy" would be their motto, so as to allow the utmost freedom of choice.

Cicero was a true Eclectic. If, as he claimed, he was above all things a follower of the Academy, a Platonist, he was none

the less truly a disciple of the Epicurean Phaedrus and of the Stoic Diodotus. His philosophy has been aptly described as "an eclecticism founded on Scepticism." His scepticism is professed over and over again, especially in the *Academica*. It rests on two considerations. The first is the lack of agreement among philosophers. When one school asserts and another denies, the perplexed student is tempted to exclaim "A plague on both your schools," but, when he finds that the disagreement is among all schools and in regard to all truths, his inclination is to despair of attaining certitude about anything. That was Cicero's case, as it was, in a sense, Descartes', long afterwards. In the second place, if probability is enough for reasonable conduct, why waste time searching for anything beyond probability? This, as was said, is Skepticism, the modified Skepticism of the New Academy. As to the Eclecticism of Cicero, it is very evident indeed. Not only does Cicero take over the teachings of the Greek Stoics, Epicureans and Platonists but he uses the one to refute the other, and borrows arguments and explanations with a freedom that is astonishing. Indeed, for each of his works on philosophy there exists or existed, a model in Greek literature, which he copied so faithfuly that he may almost be said merely to have translated. And he confesses as much. It is no exaggerated modesty on his part, when he writes to Atticus (xii, 52) "'Απόγραφα sunt; minore labore fiunt: Verba tantum affero, quibus abundo. They are mere transcriptions; they do not cost much labor; I merely supply the words, of which I have an over supply." He presented the philosophy of the Greeks in Latin garb. That was what he claimed to do, and that was what he did.

Cicero's services to philosophy may, therefore, be arranged under two titles. First, he was a historian of Greek philosophic thought, and second, he expounded and defended in elaborate treatises those doctrines of the Greeks which appealed to him as true.

As a historian, he did not, indeed, compose a work dealing professedly with the succession of schools and systems. He did not write a history of Greek philosophy. Nevertheless, as oc-

casion offered, he reviewed the opinions of those that went before him and used, in many instances, sources which are now inaccessible to us. What is, then, his authority as a historian? The answer of the modern critic must be "None, or almost none." He is most unreliable when he speaks of the opinions of the earliest philosophers of Greece. The reason is that he adopts as his own the absurd habit of the Stoics, by which, "accommodating," as they expressed it, the words of a text to their own system, they "read into" an ancient philosopher's works a meaning which he never dreamt of. Thales, for instance, taught that the primordial substance from which all things sprang is water. Whereupon Cicero interprets "Thales said that God is that mind which formed all things from Water." In point of fact, it was two hundred years after the days of Thales before Anaxagoras for the first time taught that Mind presided at the origin of the Universe. And it is the same in other matters. The unsupported authority of Cicero as a historian of doctrine, instead of being a proof, is presumptive evidence against that doctrine having been taught.

But, lest this judgment of Cicero appear to do him less than justice, let us turn now to his works on philosophy and see how he expounds and defends his Eclecticism. Cicero's view of the aim of philosophy is the first thing that strikes us. He freely admits that knowledge is a good in itself, and worthy of being sought for its own sake. Still the supreme aim of philosophical enquiry is not knowledge itself but the effects which knowledge has on life. His definition of philosophy is well known: "*Sapientia autem est. . . rerum divinarum et humanarum causarumque quibus eae res continentus, scientia*" (*De Off.*, II, 2). This, apparently, defines philosophy in terms of theoretical knowledge. It is plain, however, that, since, as Cicero teaches, knowledge is perfected in action, the theoretical must, in final resort, be subordinate to the practical. At first one is astonished to find Cicero lending support to the pragmatists, for these most recent philosophers also subordinate the theoretical to the practical and make action the test of knowledge. Cicero does not do this. Far from it, he assigns to theoretical knowledge

a value of its own, but considers that the chief use of theory is to lead to the question of the Highest Good. In so far, therefore, as he makes Conduct to be paramount, he is a Stoic. He is a true Roman in this: for him conduct, happiness, God, immortality and freedom are the only problems of philosophy that deserve the attention of a serious man.

Cicero's proofs of the existence of God are among the most popular of his contributions to philosophy. They are the arguments now known as the teleological argument, or arguments, from Design and the argument from the Universal Consent of mankind. In order to understand this second argument it is necessary to know how Cicero accounted for our knowledge of God. He is, indeed, the first to formulate a definite theory of Innate Ideas. Plato, it is true, had held a kind of innatism. He had said that we bring into this life vague and indistinct traces of a higher and purer and more definite knowledge which we had in a previous existence. It requires but the stimulus of the exercise of our imaginations to bring these intimations of ideas to the perfection of actual knowledge. Borrowing this notion without adopting all that it implies, Cicero taught purely and simply that we bring into this life the germs of some important ideas which we develop by experience into fullfledged ideas. "Sunt enim ingeniis nostris semina innata Virtutum; quæ si adolescere liceret, ipsa nos ad beatam vitam natura perduceret" (*Tusc.* III, 1, 2). Cicero strongly insists on the fact that nature, human nature, if we would only listen to its prompting, is our best teacher. And in this context he has a saying that comes with pleasing freshness from the pen of the dignified and somewhat egotistical Roman statesman. "In children," he says, "we see as in a mirror the lessons that nature teaches us: Indicant pueri in quibus ut in speculis natura cernitur." (*De Finibus,* v, 22). Perhaps this, after all, is not so unexpected in the writer of those letters in which the playful tyranny of his daughter "Tulliola" and the tender affection of her father are so delightfully portrayed.

Nature, then, teaches us that God exists. How, otherwise, could we explain the universality of the belief in God? That

this universality is a fact is undeniable. The Roman, it is true, had not explored the remotest regions of the earth in quest of anthropological lore. Still his conquests had brought him into contact with many peoples of different race, language, customs, and so forth, and he felt justified in considering his survey of mankind to be an extensive view. Therefore, he pronounced unhesitatingly that no people, no matter how barbarous, had yet been discovered who did not worship some kind of a Deity. Having satisfied himself as to the fact, Cicero explains it by reference to human nature, in which is implanted the idea of God.

In a well-known passage of the work *De Natura Deorum* (II, 37) Cicero elaborates the argument from design, having in mind, not the atheist in general, but the materialist of the Epicurean school who accounted for the origin of the Universe by Chance. If, says Cicero, the twenty-one letters of the alphabet were thrown on the floor, would any reasonable man expect that they could by mere Chance (*fortuna*) form the words and verses of the poem of Ennius? And he adds a passage from Aristotle which, descriptive of the beauties of the celestial world, would surely deserve the tribute Cicero pays the Stagyrite for "golden eloquence."

The nature and destiny of the human soul claim Cicero's attention in a special manner, and are treated by him in a manner almost Platonic. He had, indeed, a full sense of the dignity of man. He could find no terms too severe to stigmatize the degradation of human nature in the philosophy of Epicurus. "Animarum nulla in terris origo inveniri potest" (*Tusc.*, I, 27). Immortality follows as a natural consequence. At the same time, Cicero condescends to offer considerations why death should not be feared, even if the soul dies with the body. Was this merely a rhetorical device, as the famous disjunctive of Socrates' argument was merely a dialectical requisite? Cicero, it seems, was determined to silence the fear of death, and to do it adequately he was obliged to make many hypotheses, some of which were inevitably assumed for the sake of argument.

Cicero's ethical treatises are taken up to a large extent with

the apparently interminable discussion about the *bonum,* the *utile* and the *honestum.* The last is his equivalent, the Roman equivalent, for the Greek τὸ καλόν and should, perhaps, be translated by the word "honorable." His comparison of the two great ethical systems of his day is, on the whole, just and reasonable. It seems to him that the Epicurean doctrine of pleasure contradicts the natural destiny of man and lowers the dignity of human nature. On the other hand, the Stoic demands are too severe and exigent to be practical. The "Paradoxes" are well enough, as Paradoxes, but no one, Cicero thinks, could live up to them without being either a fool or a fanatic. Therefore, in Ethics as in every other department of philosophy, he is an Eclectic. He considers that, all in all, the Platonists and the Peripatetics offer the best code of conduct for the average man. Their demands are more consonant with nature, more sane and reasonable, and, when all is said, what is natural and reasonable is right, Cicero thinks.

Such, then, was Cicero as a philosopher: not very original, nor profound, nor always as concerned as a philosopher should be about systematic consistency and the logical articulation of truths into one another. At the same time, it should never be forgotten that Christian philosophy owes a deep debt of gratitude to Cicero. Philosophy in general owes him a debt, that of having given to the discussion of philosophical problems a grace, an eloquence, a charm of style which, so far as the Latin world is concerned, made the study of wisdom an easy and a pleasant task. It is a mistake to underestimate the value of style in philosophy, a mistake often made by professed philosophers. Yet style is a power, for good or for evil, for truth or for error. Witness the charm of Berkeley's *Dialogues,* the force of John Stuart Mill's writings even on logic, the enduring charm of Newman and his influence on English religious thought. We should, therefore, give Cicero due credit for having, as he claimed, clothed Greek philosophy in Latin garb, and done it gracefully, artistically, attractively. To make wisdom attractive is no mean service to the cause of truth.

But Christian philosophy owes a larger and a more particu-

lar debt to Cicero. At a time when Greek was comparatively an unknown language in Latin Christendom; when even translations from the Greek of Plato and Aristotle were few and inadequate; when books of any kind were scarce and the spread of philosophical culture was beset with many difficulties, Cicero was read and appreciated. To many a philosopher during the early Middle Ages, Tully, as they called him in those days, was a source of information and of inspiration.

Moreover it should be recorded to the credit of Cicero that it was his book, *Hortensius,* now unfortunately lost, that led St. Augustine to the study of Platonism and thus indirectly to the serious consideration of the claims of Christianity. "Amongst those mad companions," he says, "in that tender age of mine learned I the books of eloquence, wherein my ambition was to be eminent, all out of a damnable and vainglorious end, puffed up with a delight of human glory. By the ordinary course of study I fell upon a certain book of one Cicero, whose tongue almost every man admires, though not his heart. This book of his contains an exhortation to philosophy, and 'tis called *Hortensius.* Now this book quite altered my affection, turned by prayers to thyself, O Lord, and made me have clean other purposes and desires. All my vain hopes I thenceforth slighted, and with an incredible ardor I desired the immortality of wisdom, and began to rouse myself up so that I might turn again to thee. For I made not use of the book to file my tongue with. . . . nor had it persuaded me to affect the fine language of it, but the matter of it" (*Confess.* III, 4). St. Augustine is, indeed, a long way from his conversion to Christianity; it is many a day and many a trial ere he hears the voice in his Garden "take up and read." And this time it is Paul not Tully that he takes up. But the beginning has been made by the study of Cicero. The book *Hortensius* changed him from a rhetorician to a philosopher, from a student of style to a student of the content of the work, and that was the first stage in the conversion of one whom the whole Christian world acclaims as the greatest of Christian thinkers, the Divine Augustine.

Finally to Cicero's graceful pen we owe two popular treatises

on philosophy, which are known to many who never concern themselves about technical philosophy at all. They are the work *On Friendship* and that *On Old Age*. It is quite possible that for some of us, at a certain stage in our academic career these works were not exactly popular. They were not intended for children, and do not appeal to children at all. They are for the mature student of human nature, who values Friendship as only he can who has tried it, and for him who, having passed the "mezzo del cammin" as Dante calls it, is learning how to grow old gracefully, beautifully, and with a full appreciation of the compensations which come with declining health and strength. In these Cicero is most successful. He has at hand a fund of common sense that is entirely Roman, and has at his ready command a wealth of literary allusion that he has learned from the Greeks. There we take leave of him, as he sits with his friends in his Tusculan villa and reads them the imaginary dialogues in which Laelius and Cato the Elder discourse in Roman fashion about Friendship and Old Age. The charm which his own friends experienced has fallen upon the centuries of Latin Christendom and inspired the medieval and the modern lover of wisdom.

WILLIAM TURNER.

THE CLASSICISM OF WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR.

"The constant service of the antique world" appears, with a difference, in Walter Savage Landor as in no other English writer. His life and writings were altogether pagan, and were fashioned on the model of classic ideals of thought and feeling. It was, however, mostly an innocent paganism:

> "Were imaginary classicality
> Wholly devoid of criminal reality"

as Hookham Frere said. His works have, in turn, become classics, and time seems to add a mellow autumnal tint to the lineaments of the personality which they outline for us. His character, at once strong and tender, impulsive and generous, unruly, ardent, willful, recalls the type of Greek sensibility of which Achilles is the best parallel. Yet the vehemence of his life appears in his writings touched to issues of delicate artistry by the restraint and sculpture of his style. The result is an impression of a rich, sensuous temperament cast in the mould of serene classic form. This quality constitutes the special appeal of writings in the large manner of the ancients which will ever appeal to lovers of gracious thought in beautiful form. "I shall dine late," he said, "but the dining-room will be well-lighted, the guests few and select."

Walter Savage Landor was born of wealthy parents in England, in 1775, lived for the most part in his Italian villa at Fiesole and his residence at Bath, and died self-exiled at Florence in 1864. His life, which spans a century illustrious in English literature, connects the age of Cowper with that of Tennyson. Keats, Shelley, Byron, Lamb and Wordsworth were his compeers. The English masters on whom he modelled his writings were Milton and Southey. Of Southey he was a life-long admirer, their strangely unequal friendship remaining unbroken to the end. Though hopelessly contentious, the foe of all comers, he seems to have had the classic genius for

friendship, and in later days retained the fidelity of Browning, Carlyle and Swinburne. To the work of all those writers he brought a discriminating criticism, and an appreciation which made honorable amends for occasional misjudgments. Nor were his interests merely literary; though harking back to the olden times of which he was a familiar, he touched all the living issues of his age in politics, law, and militarism. He numbered among his acquaintances Pitt, and Fox, and Napier. To the end, however, he remained an overgrown schoolboy, passionate and wrong-headed in the conduct of life. But beneath this external fierceness there lay a core of gentleness, chivalry and humanity which revealed him to Dickens as Boythorn, and endears him to many as a picturesque personality. The softer aspects of his life are presented in the occasional poetry which records his love-affairs—the playful or pensive verses to Ianthé, or the wistful tribute in his "carved perfect way" to Rose Aylmer. The latter, so loved of Charles Lamb, is one of the unforgettable things in literature, as are his tender lines on flowers which illustrate the delicate strength of his genius:

> "I never pluck the rose; the violet's head
> Hath shaken with my breath upon the bank
> And not reproach'd me; the ever-sacred cup
> Of the pure lily hath between my hands
> Felt safe, unsoil'd, nor lost one grain of gold."

That he took all Doctor Johnson's delight in the company of "a knot of little misses," as he resembles him in his dictatorial manner, the reminiscences by Miss Kate Field and Mrs. E. Lynn Linton—the Leontion and Ternissa of his later years—remain to testify. The latter gives a singularly life-like account of his appearance as she first met him: "a noble-looking old man, badly dressed in shabby snuff-coloured clothes, a dirty old blue neck-tie, unstarched cotton shirt, and 'knubbly' apple-pie boots. But underneath the rusty old hat-brim gleamed a pair of quiet and penetrating grey-blue eyes; the voice was sweet and masterly; the manner that of a man of rare distinction." It is a quaint picture which both ladies draw of the mannerisms and oddities of the leonine old man: his old-world cour-

tesy, his fits of abstraction, his tenderness and irascibility, his instinctive scholarship and taste for worthless prints, his indulgence of his canine pets, Giallo and Pomero, his passion for trees and flowers, his over-generosity in giving, his stormy intolerance, and the loneliness and final desolation of his life.

Landor's work embraces both prose and poetry, and in both his sense of form is supreme. This lucidity and grace of expression is the salt which preserves the savor of his writings. And not only their manner, but their ethos also is classic. His lines on "The Genius of Greece":

> "Greece with calm eyes I see
> Her pure white marbles have not blinded me,
> But breathe on me the love
> Of earthly things as bright as things above"

are an interpretation of his temperament, and strike the keynote of his genius. Pagan ideals of conduct; love of the finite in Nature and Art; a vision of life bounded by the merely human view; delight in the young, in children, animals and flowers—these inform all that he said and thought and wrote. These traits of mind and heart enable him to enter intimately into the old world and move naturally among the ancients; they become his limitations in the realm of Christian thought, philosophy and mysticism. They constitute the special appeal of his art which is a return in spirit to "the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome." For, while his inspiration is Hellenic, his manner is Roman. The themes on which he dwelt with most feeling and insight were the myths, the gods, the heroes of Hellas, but the expression is the stately oratorical, or the succinct and sententious Roman style. Of all English writers, then, he best illustrates the pagan genius, and recreates the manner and semblance of that by-gone time. So his writings afford a means of escape from modern life, and make us free of that early world before the dawn of Christianity.

Of his prose-works the "Imaginary Conversations" which purport to be dialogues between the personages of antiquity, or the worthies of the modern world, are best known. They range

over all periods and display Landor's immense stores of knowledge of times and characters the most diverse. Some of them represent the heightened moments of history, others the spirit of an age as depicted in a special circumstance or situation, others the large discourse of poets and statesmen and philosophers on the eternal themes of life and thought and conduct. While not strictly dramatic in character, they reveal a splendid historic sense and a power of realizing imagi- converse between the greatest minds of the world. To the sense of reality which they convey is added the personal charm of Landor's ever-present individuality. While the discourse is sustained on a plane in keeping with the character portrayed, it is often made the vehicle of Landor's own opinions and predilections. Hence the artistic value of his work which gives a living, breathing interest to the scenes and incidents represented. He is happiest in the colloquies of those persons with whom he is most akin, in the dialogues "through which breathes the mellow wisdom of the antique world." The conversation of Epicurus, Leontion and Ternissa, and of Epictetus and Seneca are a triumph of realism because they are informed by the easy, temperate philosophy of life, the frugal simplicity and naturalness of the author who walked "with Epicurus on his right hand and Epictetus on his left." Those of Metellus and Marius, of Marcellus and Hannibal, are convincing because the militarism of Rome was reflected in the martial spirit of Landor. "Do you think the grand old Pagan wrote that piece just now," asked Carlyle. "The sound of it is like the ring of Roman swords on the helmets of barbarians? An unsubduable old Roman." The discourse of Marcus Tullius and Quinctus Cicero is a grave and tranquil retrospect on the hazards and vicissitudes of human life and destiny. That of Scipio, Polybius and Panaetius contains the splendid estimates of the genius and glories of Greece and Rome. The meeting of Peleus and Thetis, of Achilles and Helena, expressed in his daintiest prose, is conceived by the shaping imagination of one to whom the old Greek myths were intensely real and vital. These with the dialogues of Lucullus

and Cæsar, of Aesop and Rhodope are the choicest of the classic conversations. Landor is quite at home in this pagan world and moves among its heroes as one of themselves with his own individuality. We learn for example his preference for Diogenes and Phocion and his imperfect sympathy with Plato and Demosthenes. Sometimes the historic truth is marred by the intrusion of these idiosyncrasies into the dialogue in which, as Emerson says, Landor "imposes his English whim on the immutable past." But in general his fidelity is striking, and no other English writer could have recreated that vanished life, or sustained its characters on such an ideal plane of thought and utterance.

The rediscovery of Periclean Athens in his longer work, "Pericles and Aspasia" is singularly intimate and familiar. It is a vivid picture of the ways and manners of life, the actions and chief actors—Pericles, Sophocles, Anaxagoras, Alcibiades, Aspasia, etc.,—of that eventful time. The book, which is full of luminous comment on Greek life and literature, is starred with maxims of gnomic wisdom, and poetic gems in the manner of the Greek lyrists. It contains among other things the exquisite "Death of Artemidora" in which a scene of domestic bereavement is delicately pencilled in the Greek manner, the imitative ode of Corinna to Tanagra, and the splendid "Agamemnon and Iphigenia" which might be taken for a fragment of the Greek dramatists. Altogether this revival of the past might be aptly illustrated, at least in his happier aspects, by the paintings of Alma Tadema, which have the atmosphere, radiance, clear outlines and wide horizons of the spring-time of the world. For do not Leontion and Ternissa and the portrait of Thelymnia: "there was something in the tint of tender sprays resembling that of the hair they encircled; the blossoms too were white as her forehead," recall the painter's shapes of girlish beauty, riant and flower-wreathed; are there not many glimpses as in a dream-world of some youth and maiden, fixed in plastic beauty, outlined on a marble terrace against a blue background of sea?

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And is not the "Reading from Homer" instinct with the very spirit in which Landor's classic work was conceived?

"Poetry," writes Landor, "was always my amusement, prose my study and business." The most notable part of his poetry, valued nowadays for its severe beauty of form, is the "Hellenics," which were composed by him first in Latin. Their emotional content is marmoreal, statuesque—the "passion recollected in tranquility" of Wordsworth. These poems are idyls in the true sense of the word with the homely particularity of detail to be found in Theocritus. Of these the best are the touching "Hamadryad" and "Acon and Rhodope" which was a favorite of the late George Gissing. But Landor will be remembered chiefly as a writer of prose of which he is one of the great masters in our language. It is a noble prose which rises placidly to the level of the thought, and brims it with the quiet plentitude of grace and beauty. Its manner is unobtrusive in contrast with the showy effects of rhetoricians, and poetic with the special rythm of prose as distinct from the so-called "prose-poetry." It has at its best the movement and balance of Latin prose. In its flute-like note and virile harmony it has been matched with the prose of Cardinal Newman. It lends itself equally to stately disquisition, and to terse and pithy aphorism in which his writings abound. It contains passages of grave and tender beauty which haunt the ear with their cadences:

"There are no fields of amaranth on this side of the grave: there are no voices, O Rhodope, that are not soon mute, however tuneful: there is no name, with whatever emphasis of passionate love repeated, of which the echo is not faint at last." Are not these lines on mortality as absolute in expression as the famous words of Theseus in Sophocles' "Oedipus Coloneus"? This original expression of noble thoughts and images constantly delights us in Landor. They light up every page of his prose which is weighty with a wise thoughtfulness, and "full of a veined humanity." Is there not a pathetic charm all its own, for instance, in this digression in his critical essay on Theocritus:

"We often hear that such or such a thing 'is not worth an old song.' Alas! how very few things are! What precious recollections do some of them awaken! what pleasurable tears do they excite! They purify the stream of life; they can delay it on its shelves and rapids; they can turn it back again to the soft moss amidst which its sources issue."

His works must be read in the same large spirit of leisure in which they were written ere they will yield up their full content. For they are the ripe product of the wide-margined life of one who "walked along the far eastern uplands, meditating and remembering."

FLORENCE MOYNIHAN.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Virgil's Aeneid, Books I-VI. With Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary. By P. F. O'Brien, M. A., LL. B., B. L. Schwartz, Kirwin and Fauss, New York, 1913. Pp. ciii + 316 + Vocabulary pp. 110.

It may at once be said of this publication, which has been long looked forward to and eagerly expected, that it is probably the best school edition of an ancient classic author that has appeared in English-speaking countries in many years. Here Father O'Brien pours out, alike for our delectation and instruction, the full treasure of that abundant store of Latin learning of which he laid the foundations in far-away days in Rockwell College, Cashel, which he wonderfully increased in Trinity College, Dublin, and which he has since matured and polished by long and arduous study in many lands.

Great pains have obviously been taken with the Introduction, with the double object of making it interesting as well as informative to the youthful minds to which it is specifically addressed. To the Life of Virgil thirteen pages are devoted; to the Poem, seven; to Pius Aeneas, three; to the Influence of Virgil, five; to Virgil's Indebtedness, six; to the Tale of Troy, three; to the Legend of Aeneas, two; and to the Story of the Aeneid, seven. Under these eight headings there is grouped everything that the most inquiring youthful mind could be supposed to seek or require, and the narrative flows along so easily and so smoothly that it conveys in the pleasantest way imaginable the information which it is its business to impart. Then follow valuable Hints for Translating; a section on the Reading of Virgil; a few useful paragraphs on Manuscripts and on Orthography; and a most lucid explanation of the Supernatural in the Aeneid. Two practical sections on Points of Prosody and Points of Syntax conclude a really fine Introduction.

The notes cover 148 pages, and everywhere they show a careful adjustment of the means to the end, coupled with the delicate touches of a ripe scholarship. The explanation of the exact meaning of *profugus* in Book I, l. 2; of the plural *irae* in l. 11; of

exaudire vocatos in l. 219; of *instar montis* in Book II, l. 15; of *animi* in l. 61; of *a Tenedo* in l. 203; of *Vario certamine* in Book III, l. 128; of the imperfect subjunctives *crederet, moveret* in l. 187; of the hendiadys in *pestis et ira* in l. 215; of the meaning and form of *magnanimûm* in l. 704; of the present subjunctive *dignetur* in Book IV, l. 192; of the abnormal intransitive use of *expectat* in l. 225; of the dative *thalamo* in l. 392; and of *spem fronte serenat* in l. 477, are illustrative specimens taken almost at random.

The vocabulary, as the number of pages assigned to it would suggest, is comprehensive and full. A specially praiseworthy feature is that, in addition to the usual meaning borne by a Latin word, every unusual meaning, with a reference to the passage in which it so occurs, is also given.

With a sigh for the disappearance of the old-fashioned drastic methods of teaching the Rules of Quantity and for the enforced abandonment of their application to "the happy-go-lucky pupil of today," the editor, in order to mark to some extent and in some emphatic way, the difference between long and short syllables, has introduced an innovation, which is at first sight startling. This consists in placing a dot over every vowel long by nature. A necessary result is the removal of the dot from the vowel *i* and the quasi-consonant *j*, which latter is of course printed purely vowel-wise. Under this typographical system such familiar words as *dısıecıt, subıit, prôıecıt* look rather strange. It is a somewhat doubtful experiment, and it remains to be seen whether it will be generally adopted. It appears, however, to be an honest attempt to lighten the student's load, and in this book it is persistently and logically carried out.

There are thirty-three splendid illustrations, all chosen, as is rightly claimed, "for textual appositeness rather than for promiscuous effect." In the reproduction of these pictures, as well as in the letter-press and binding, the publishers have done their part to make this edition of Virgil a handsome as well as a useful volume.

P. J. Lennox.

The Signification of Berākā, a semasiological study of the Semitic stem B-R-K, by Thomas Plassmann, O. F. M. A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Philosophy of the Catholic University of America in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (pp. xi + 179; Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1913; New York, Joseph F. Wagner, 9 Barclay St., 1913.)

The predominance of triconsonantal roots and the importance attached to vowels in the interior of words are two of the chief characteristics of the Semitic languages. Thus the Arabic verb qatala (stem Q-T-L) signifies "he killed," qâtala "he sought to kill or he fought" aqtala "he caused to kill," qatl "the action of killing" considered in an active or passive sense. Such changes in the meanings of the simple stem are not the result of chance but have developed according to certain laws and been influenced by many psychological factors. In this dissertation Father Plassman seeks to ascertain the origin and meaning of the Hebrew word Berākā *blessing* and its cognate forms in the various Semitic languages ancient and modern. After a thorough critique of the previous opinions on the matter, he outlines his own method of investigation. Without neglecting the historical, logical and ethical factors in the problem, he lays special stress on the psychological point of view, and rightly, for, after all, as Ribot expresses it, language is petrified psychology. But as psychological speculation easily leads to subjectivism, he is guided in his inquiry by the correlative morphological evolution of the words themselves. He naturally begins his investigation with the Arabic group for the Arabic is exceedingly rich in derivatives of the stem B-R-K and, according to some, has best preserved the structure of the protosemitic tongue. He shows that the most ancient, if not primitive, meaning of the verb Baraka in Arabic is "procubuit camelus," *i. e.*, "the camel lies down upon its breast," and that the meaning *to kneel* as applied to man is only secondary. He points out, with great psychological acumen, how this idea has influenced all the simple derivatives of this form and how the noble figure of the camel, the Bedouin's constant companion and chief means of support, has gradually developed into a perfect picture of strength, firmness, stability and continuance. This evidence is substantiated by a comprehensive study

of the same stem in the other Semitic languages, and thus the Hebrew word *Berēkā pool* naturally explains itself as a lasting, continuing mass of still water. The most important result of the evidence gathered in the first part of his dissertation is that the Semites, before their dispersion, possessed the stem B-R-K in the sense *to lie down, to be firm, to continue, to endure,* along with the category Berākā *blessing.* This conclusion is further strengthened by following the evolution of the concept *blessing* in the nomadic and settled life of the Semite. The idea of the camel lying down upon its breast develops into " continuance in rich pastures, peace and prosperity," and the word Berākā takes on abstract elements such as abundance, fecundity, felicity, which elements result, through the operation of the Deity, into an abiding propitious force or blessing. The last chapter is devoted to an examination of the nominal, participial, and verbal forms—active, passive, reflexive—of the stem B-R-K by which the Semites express the many nuances of the ideas: blessing, to bless, to be blessed. The study of these different forms not only corroborates the main thesis, that the idea *blessing* is derived from the original *procubuit camelus,* but throws a great deal of light upon many obscure passages of Holy Scripture. Thus, as regards the Arabic form barûk, Hebrew Bārûk, the author shows that in the expression Berûk Yahweh (Gen. xxiv, 31; xxvi, 29) the relation of the Berûk to Yahweh is one of possession, and the phrase really means: the (truly) blessed (bondsman) of Yahweh. Again in the expression Bārûk le Yahweh (Gen. xiv, 19), the force of the Lamed is to introduce Yahweh as the Lord and Protector to whose tutelage the felicity of the blessed one is commended. Under the Arabic form barraka (Hebrew bērak or bērēk=to bless) he contends that this Piel form is sometimes used in an euphemistic sense with the meaning *to curse.* Hence he claims that there is no reason for supposing with König and others that in some passages of the Old Testament (v. g. Ps. x, 3) the word was introduced at a later date to soften the meaning of the following term ni'ēs *to despise.* According to him, there is no doubt that the word bērēk was in the original text and thus Ps. x, 3 may be rendered as follows: For the wicked man has sung praises at the desire (which was evil) of his soul, and the covetous man has blessed (but inwardly) despised Yahweh.

The examination of the Niphal and Hitpael forms of B-R-K (Hebrew nibrak and hitbārēk) leads him to investigate the true im-

port of the Abrahamic blessing which has always been a *crux interpretum*. He shows that in Gen. xii, 3; xviii, 18; xxviii, 14, the Niphal form has the meaning *to become a barûk, a blessed one,* and that in Gen. xxii, 18 and xxvi, 4, the Hitpael signifies *to obtain a blessing*. Hence the true signification of these passages is not that all nations shall take Abraham as a type of felicity (Rashi), or that they all shall feel themselves blessed in him (Strack), but that the blessing of Abraham and his seed shall diffuse itself over the whole world and benefit all nations; in other words, that all nations shall receive a blessing through Abraham. This interpretation is in harmony with the testimony of Versions and Christian exegetes and enables us better to grasp the meaning of the words of St. Paul: That the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles through Christ Jesus.

Father Plassmann's dissertation is deserving of the highest praise and reflects great honor on The Catholic University of America. The author does not merely give us the most comprehensive study ever made of the stem B-R-K, but points out an excellent method for similar investigations. We earnestly recommend his work to those who are interested not only in Semitic languages but also in Philosophy and the Biblical Sciences. The psychologist will find in it a beautiful illustration of the axiom: Nihil est in intellectu quod non fuerit prius in sensu, and the student of Holy Scripture will become firmly convinced that some knowledge of Semitic languages, at least of Hebrew and Aramaic, is an absolute necessity for a sound and thorough interpretation of the Word of God.

A. VASCHALDE.

De Sanctissima Eucharistia, Auctore Daniel Coghlan, S. T. D. Eccl. Cathedral. Corcagien. Canonico; Sacrae Theologiae in Collegio Maynutiano S. Patritii Professore (Gill and Son, Dublin, 1913).

Dr. Coghlan's name is not unknown to professors and students of theology. His treatises, *De Deo Uno et Trino, De Deo Creatore* (1909), *De Incarnatione* (1910), have been favorably received and have reflected no small honor on the great Seminary of Ireland. His volumes follow the order of the Summa of St. Thomas, being a helpful commentary, though not merely a commentary, on the An-

gelic Doctor's great manual of Theology. The fourth volume, a complete treatise on the Holy Eucharist, will be valuable both as a solid and clear exposition of Catholic doctrine on the greatest of all the sacraments and as a mine of information for controversialists. As might be expected from a professor of Maynooth Dr. Coghlan writes of the Real Presence and of Transubstantiation with special attention to the various and varying opinions of the Anglicans, who, after all, are trying to retain or regain much of the doctrine and many of the practices of the one, true, holy and apostolic Catholic Church.

On domestic disputes, *i. e.,* questions debated among Catholic theologians, he omits nothing of importance, boldly and clearly expressing his own opinion. With Cardinal Billot and others he interprets the words of St. Thomas, "Et ideo relinquitur quod non possit aliter corpus Christi incipere esse de novo in hoc sacramento nisi per conversionem panis in ipsum" (3, Qu. 75, A. 2) as declaring that there is a necessary connection between Transubstantiation and the Real Presence (pp. 132, seq.). In this, however, and in another discussion on the formal essence of the sacrifice of the mass, he is careful to state two canons of great importance: first, We must carefully distinguish between what the Church has defined and what theologians teach, even though their doctrine be generally accepted. Secondly, A fact or doctrine may be certain and yet men may not know precisely how the fact or doctrine is to be explained. We know, for instance, that God created the world, but do not know how creation was effected; we know that in one God there are three persons, but do not see clearly how this can be. Applying these canons to the Real Presence and the sacrifice of the mass, Dr. Coghlan reminds his readers that the diversity of opinions among theologians relates to the manner of explaining these doctrines, there being unanimity in accepting and asserting the doctrines themselves; and the teaching of the Church, the doctrine defined, is not bound to the scientific theories of any one theologian or any group of theologians. On the question of the formal essence of the sacrifice of the mass faith teaches, and the Church has defined, that in the celebration of the mass a true sacrifice is offered to God. The Church has not defined what action constitutes the essence of the sacrifice. Theologians generally teach that the essence of the sacrifice consists in the separate consecration of the bread and wine: they do not agree in explaining how and why this separate

consecration is an immolation (*mactatio*) or change sufficient to constitute a real sacrifice. There is only a shade of difference between the De Lugo-Franzelin theory, the Lessius-Billuart theory, Cardinal Billot's explanation and the opinion defended by Dr. Coghlan. Even Vasquez will not be far separated from the others if we do not interpret too strictly the words "relative sacrifice." Cardinal Billot (De Euchar. Th. LIV., par. 1) proves clearly from the Council of Trent (Sess. XXII., Cap. 1) and from St. Thomas that the essence of the sacrifice must be an act which from its nature represents the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross: "In quantum in hoc sacramento repraesentatur passio Christi . . . habet rationem sacrificii" (S. Th., 3, Qu. 79, A. 7). This seems to exclude as less probable the modified De Lugo-Franzelin theory proposed and ably defended in the May 1913 number of the *American Ecclesiastical Review*. Dr. Coghlan joins with the Lessius-Billuart group, Billot and a host of others in combating the De Lugo explanation. Reducing Christ from a glorious state to a lower condition on the altar, to the state of food, bears no analogy to Christ's death on the cross, and does not imply more of a destruction or change in Christ Himself than do the other theories.

But enough of this: such a serious question cannot be settled in a few words: read Dr. Coghlan and the others, and then "unusquisque abundet in suo sensu." Fine distinctions and close arguments have no terrors for the Maynooth professor: he will lead the reader safely through all these intricate windings, whence he will emerge with his faith strengthened and devotion to the Eucharist increased.

D. J. KENNEDY, O. P.

When He Dwelt With Us. By Margaret B. Downing. Boston, Gorham Press, 1913. Pp. 64. Price $1.00.

The author of this little volume, daintly covered in old Italian blue paper with rich black lettering, says in her Preface that she makes no attempt to add anything of value to the vast literature on the Natural History of the Holy Books. *When He Dwelt With Us* sketches in shadowy outline a picture of the fields and meadows of Judea as they looked in the days of the Divine Ministry. Modern scientific investigation has definitely identified nearly all the trees and flowers which appear so frequently as symbols used by Our

Lord Himself, the prophets, the psalmist and the evangelists to portray the glory of heaven and of earth. These the author has woven into a slender story which centers about the Tree of the Redemption. There is a description of the tree itself, of the place where it grew and of the thorns which grew among the hills about Jerusalem, from which the Crown of Thorns was woven. The book has been compiled with great care. Each reference to flower and tree is accompanied by the modern botanical name, and to each is affixed the appropriate Scriptural text according to the Douay Version. The frontispiece is a lovely picture by Luca Giordano "A Tale of Angels Whispered," rarely reproduced in this country but familiar to all lovers of the later Neapolitan school, in which the colors and the symbolism are less startling than those used by the earlier masters. The cover shows in deep black a sombre Pine, the limbs of which form a cross. The booklet ought to be popular as a devotional Christmas present.

WILLIAM TURNER.

Commentary on the Psalms. By Rev. P. V. Higgins. B. D. Dublin, M. H. Gill and Son, 1913. Pp. VII—257. Price 6 s.

We hail with pleasure the timely publication of this very useful volume. Previous to Pius X's legislation, many of us, as the author remarks in the Preface, had begun to look on the Psalms in the *Commune Sanctorum* as our stock-in-trade; and so seldom were we asked to go outside them that we hardly thought it worth our while to study the others. Now, however, the entire Psalter is read every week, and any book that gives a short, succinct, but reliable account of these beautiful songs of Sion will be welcomed, especially by the clergy. Of such a nature is the present commentary. In the introductory portion we are treated to four most interesting and useful articles on "The Poetry of the Psalms," "The Psalms in the Vulgate," "The Theology of the Psalms" and "The Biblical Decisions on the Psalms." Then comes the commentary proper. The Vulgate and the English Versions are given side by side. To each Psalm is prefixed an introduction giving an exact analysis of its subject-matter, and the author, time and circumstances of composition, as far as these are known. There are added notes and explanations of each Psalm. And we may say at once that they are as clear, concise and to the point as could be wished. There is no

trouble taken to explain the text where "he who runs may read;" at the same time, no labor is spared in explaining the difficult and intricate places. The author seems to have made a special study not only of the Septuagint, but also of the Hebrew text. Evidences of this appear on every page. We offer our heartiest congratulations to the author, and we are confident that those who make use of the book will get an insight into the meaning and beauties of many of the Psalms which heretofore they may have entirely missed.

WILLIAM TURNER.

The Genius of the Gael. A Study in Celtic Psychology and its Manifestations. By Sophie Bryant, D. Sc., Litt. D. (London, Fisher Unwin, 1913). Pp. 292. Price 5 s.

This is a very important contribution to race psychology. The subject is admittedly complicated. The individual Celt is sufficiently elusive, when it comes to psychological analysis. How much more so the "Composite Irish Nation," as the gifted authoress styles it. Her success in analysing and delineating the genius of the Gaelic race is all the more meritorious by reason of the difficulty of the task. She brings to her task apparently, the psychological gift *par excellence,* the gift of insight. It is still more to her credit that she has done this in spite of the fact, as she tells us, over and over again, that she is "only" an Anglo-Celt. The most interesting chapter in the book is that on "The Psychology of the Celt." The Celtic characteristic *per se* is, we are told, "facility of consciousness," by which we are to understand "the characteristic of the Gaelic mind to become easily whatever it has in it to become. You may describe it in metaphor so far as metaphor is helpful. The mind of the Gael is as a phosphorescent sea, most part obscure, but all parts ready to break into radiant light. In dry psychological terms the best phrase I can think of is *facility of consciousness.* "Mobile," "closely knit," and "concrete" are also good descriptive words." (P. 60). Farther on we are told that by "concreteness" is meant the ability of the mind to act and react "as one whole." This is at the root of emotionality, because the incidents of life, as perceived by a rapidly moving, closely knit nature, must necessarily produce more disturbance of self-consciousness than the same incidents acting on one less susceptible. To the same facility of con-

sciousness are to be subordinated the positiveness of the Celt, his sociability, his innate courtesy and hospitality—his instinctive power of feeling the feelings of others—his adaptability, his loyalty, and, of course, the faults of all these qualities. The book is interesting reading for the non-Celt as well as for the Celt, for the latter more especially, because it is part of the mental make-up of the Gael that he likes to analyse his own genius. There are a few blemishes in matters of detail that should be eliminated in the next edition. Is the statement on page 130 that "In the Civil War (in the United States) there were Irishmen prominent on both sides—Generals Meade and Sheridan for North and South, respectively," merely a printer's error?

WILLIAM TURNER.

Criteriologia, vel Critica Cognitionis Certae. Auctore Renato Jeannière, S. J. (Paris, Beauchesne, 1913.) Pp. XVI—608.

This is a volume of the series of text-books on philosophy brought out by the Jesuits at their College in Jersey, the Channel Islands, and published by Beauchesne and Company, Paris. In the Preface, the author, with characteristic modesty, proposes to follow the volume by Cardinal Mercier on this subject. This he does, in the main, but it would be quite unjust not to call attention to the original matter in the volume, generally of an informational character, and to the helpfulness of the abundant quotations given in the footnotes. The method of treatment, too, is the author's own. The arrangement is methodical, orderly, clear and adequate. For example, pages 269-293 are devoted to the exposition and criticism of Pragmatism. There we find a bibliography of the subject, a historical sketch, a thesis with an orderly demonstration *per partes*, a "Scholion" on the Scholastic use of the argument *ex consectariis* and a paragraph entitled *Difficultates*. We can only echo the author's hope that the volume may be found useful by Seminarians. It will, if it is given a trial.

WILLIAM TURNER.

Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell' Oriente Francescano. Per il P. Girolamo Golubovich, O. F. M. Tomo II. Quaracchi, Tip. del Collegio di S. Bonaventura. 1913. Pp. VIII—641.

The first volume of Father Golubovich's Biblioteca appeared in 1906 and immediately took rank as a standard work of reference. The qualities that won for its author the highest critical commendation are still more conspicuous in the second volume which is now before us. To deal adequately with this volume in a brief notice is impossible. Let it, then, suffice to say that it deals primarily with the history of the first period of the Franciscan missions and missionaries in Palestine, and that it is divided into two sections. The first of these (pp. 1-274) deals with a certain number of thirteenth and fourteenth century documents which may be regarded as "general sources" of the history of early Minorite activity in the Orient. The second section of the volume (pp. 277-540) presents, in ordered sequence, a varied collection of *Addenda* which tends to throw additional light on the period covered by volume I (1215-1300) to which the present volume is largely in the nature of a supplement. But Father Golubovich's book is not merely a biographical and bibliographical repertory of the Franciscan Orient; it is a collection of early documents of great intrinsic value together with a commentary and notes of the best quality. Incidentally Father Golubovich has much to tell us that is of considerable import even for those who are not especially students of Franciscan sources and origins. Indeed, the present volume is a contribution of the highest value to Oriental history in the thirteenth century as well as to the history of the Crusades, and the author is to be congratulated on the success with which he has accomplished the difficult task of sifting and condensing the enormous amount of matter bearing upon his subject. Although the volume is made up in great part of extracts from different mediaeval writings scattered through a hundred different records, yet it is obviously in the main the result of the author's own conscientious researches and painstaking labor. His virile yet sympathetic touch is felt throughout the work and keeps it alive. As an Appendix the author furnishes a Geographical Dictionary to illustrate the three maps which are a most important feature of the work and which cannot but be of great value to all who may be interested in tracing

the evolution of geography. A very full and informing Index, both analytical and chronological, completes the volume which is emphatically one for the student, teeming as it is with names, dates and references. Father Golubovich is a trained Orientalist. His knowledge is thorough, his scholarship ripe and his expository method clear and systematic and his present volume is, taken as a whole, an achievement of a very high order.

WILLIAM TURNER.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Letter of His Eminence the Chancellor.

CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE,
No. 408 North Charles Street.

BALTIMORE, MD., *November* 1, 1913.

REVEREND DEAR FATHER:

As the First Sunday in Advent draws nigh, the day on which our Catholic people are wont to contribute to the annual collection for the Catholic University of America, I am moved to appeal most earnestly to the members of our American hierarchy, and to our clergy and people, for a continuance of the support they have so generously given us in the past. This support has made it possible for the University to live through the trying period of infancy and to reach the present conditions in which it has become an honor to our Catholic people, a visible source of public benefits of the highest order, an evidence that American Catholics appreciate the practical uses of a higher education given under the auspices of our venerable religion, and are willing and anxious to make great sacrifices for it in the interest of both Church and State.

Our Holy Father Pius X is most deeply concerned for the present growth and the future development of our University, in which he recognizes one of the principal agencies of Holy Church for the formation of a highly cultivated priesthood and a great body of laymen properly trained in all departments of learning, and deeply devoted to the interests of the Catholic religion in our beloved country.

In his beautiful Pontifical Letter of last year, he says: "We clearly understand how much a Catholic university of high repute and influence can do toward spreading and upholding Catholic doctrine and furthering the cause of civilization. To protect it therefore and to quicken its growth, is, in Our judgment, equivalent to rendering the most valuable service to religion and country alike." And he adds the inspiring tribute that "in this noble seat of learning the finest culture is thoroughly united with purity of faith, in

such wise that the students, both clerical and lay, are trained in the truths and practice of religion and in the various branches of science as well." He rejoices that through the faith and generosity of American Catholics it has won for itself an honorable name and place among the foremost institutions of our country, and he trusts that even those whose good-will is greater than their means will nevertheless gladly contribute their share toward the support of the University as " the source whence may rightly be expected all those advantages for Christian education which flow out through our Catholic schools to enrich the intelligence with knowledge and to strengthen the heart in the practice of virtue."

In the short period of twenty-five years the University has attained a remarkable growth, when we reflect that it is almost entirely dependent on the affectionate patronage of the Catholic people and that so far it has succeeded without the colossal gifts that are showered on non-Catholic schools. Its professors have increased to seventy-four, and its male students to nearly six hundred, while as many more Catholic women enjoy its advantages in the various institutions connected with the University, making in all a total of about twelve hundred to whom its professors regularly impart instruction. About five hundred ministers of God have gone through its halls, and within a few years five hundred of our Teaching Sisters have carried back to our parochial schools, and to our convents, academies and colleges, rich treasures of learning acquired at this great centre of Catholic education. It has filled with new hope the hearts of our Catholic teachers in all parts of the country, for they rightly see in it the natural means of unifying, elevating and perfecting our Catholic educational system. Its rich library of over one hundred thousand volumes is only the nucleus of the vast deposit of books and allied treasures that will one day attract men and women from every part of the country, while the solid growth and varied activities of its laboratories and its equipment raise it to a very high rank among our principal schools. Its five large and modern buildings and its noble site of one hundred and forty-two acres make it conspicuous at the National Capital. Its professors have generously helped great Catholic enterprises on their way to success; the Catholic Encyclopedia, in particular, that monumental work of Catholic learning, confesses freely its obligations to the University, while the growing movement in favor of a closer organization of American Catholic charities arose there and still draws from there its strength and its direction.

It may be truly said, in a general way, that the Catholic University now represents our most solid and varied educational work; that it has entered many fields of educational opportunity hitherto uncultivated by us; that its reputation for genuine scholarship of many kinds is henceforth assured; that in its halls ecclesiastics and laymen enjoy equal advantages, and that the secular clergy and the religious orders and congregations feel equally at home within its broad limits. Finally, it represents in a satisfactory way, despite its youth, the noble ambition of the Catholic Church to reproduce in the United States, according to our national genius and conditions, the splendid triumphs of the past in every province of intellectual endeavor.

For the present, however, it is our Catholic people who reap, and will reap on a larger scale, the chief benefits of the University. Its professors are, in large majority, laymen, so that a great share of the annual collection returns directly to Catholic families. Its lay schools have greatly developed in the last four years, and henceforth each year will see an increasing procession of graduates from the Schools of Sciences, Law, Letters and Philosophy—engineers, lawyers, teachers, journalists, orators and authors—the raw material of that new and higher public life to which our people are now called under Divine Providence. In this respect it is not easy to overestimate the value to Holy Church of a great central school, strongly equipped with all that modern education calls for, so that our Catholic youth shall have no sufficient temptation to seek institutions where every day confirms the loss or weakening of that Catholic faith for which our ancestors suffered so long and so grievously. Every decade adds to the social power and influence of such an institution, while its countless activities remain constantly within the control of ecclesiastical authority. It is in this way that Catholic Paris, Bologna and Oxford grew up through long centuries and affected profoundly the life of Europe. In this way Louvain now interpenetrates and guides the Catholic life of Belgium, and enables that brave little Catholic State to withstand and defeat the adversaries of religion and order. In view of these facts and arguments it is my earnest conviction, after a long life spent in the service of the Catholic religion, that the development of our University is the supreme educational interest of the Church in the United States, and therefore a matter of urgent importance.

Catholic generosity toward the University is particularly wel-

come at present, when, owing to the great increase in students, we are obliged to put up several buildings, among them a Dining Hall for six hundred students, and a Chemical Laboratory, not to speak of a Library and a Gymnasium, all edifices of primary utility.

While this appeal, in my own name as the Chancellor of the University, and in the name of the Board of Trustees as co-representative of the authority of the Holy See, is directed to the Catholic faithful in general, we earnestly pray our wealthier Catholic people to consider seriously their duty toward this great central school of the Catholic Church in the United States, and by endowments, scholarships and special gifts to encourage and develop it for the common welfare. And if they cannot aid it during their lives, as they would like, at least let them remember it in their final disposition of the goods of this earth.

In the noble Pontifical Letter already quoted, our Holy Father calls the University "the fruitful parent of knowledge in all the sciences both human and divine" and a "newly established home of Christian wisdom." Let us all co-operate in preserving and developing this new and splendid home of learning that is making such rapid progress, is already our consolation and our pride, and, as I have said on another occasion, will be eventually not only the intellectual fortress of our holy faith, but also a glorious site of all the arts, a home of letters, and an inspirational centre for all that the Catholic religion can accomplish in the cause of humanity.

Yours faithfully in Xto.,

JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS,
Chancellor of the Catholic University.

Constantine the Great.

The following is a resumé of the lecture on Constantine the Great and the Foundation of Constantinople, delivered at the Catholic University by Very Reverend Doctor Healy, Professor of Ecclesiastical History.

Constantine the Great was in two senses the founder of a New Rome. He gave Rome a new constitution and a new capital. He transformed the pagan Rome into a Christian State, and he set up a Christian city on the Bosphorus to take the place of the pagan city on the Tiber. The glorious architectural creation which bears his name was the concrete symbol of the other Rome, which has

come into being through his reforms political, social and religious. The City of New Rome could not have met the exigencies of the situation it was created to cope with nor could it have long survived its creator had not a new spirit of order, of justice and of law been infused into the decaying institutions of the old Empire. Constantinople, the new Rome, was the embodiment of the ideas of government and administration which Constantine among the rulers of men was the first to make effective. It was an answer to the failures of the past and a challenge to the unrevealed riddles of the future. The career of Constantine the Great brings to a close one period in universal history. With him ended the ancient world. When he made the fundamental law of universal love and brotherhood operative as a principle of statesmanship and politics, human affairs entered on a new stage of progress and civilization. By a strange coincidence, or perhaps because of a more intimate conection, the city which he established passed from the hands of the last of the Constantines when another great epoch in the affairs of men was drawing to an end. Constantinople fell, the mediæval age, the age of faith, was already passing away.

In all, therefore, that concerns the higher things of life, the fundamentals of law, order and civilization, culture and religion, Constantinople held a place of pre-eminence for a thousand years. From that time in the fourth century, when its walls rose beside the rapid waters of the Bosphorus and when it was made the depository and guardian alike of the treasures of Greece and Rome through a thousand years and more, Constantinople stood aloft, an organized state in the midst of disorder and anarchy, a home of culture in a sea of ignorance, a highly developed civilized community in a flood of barbarism. It maintained its place and its power by force of intellect rather than by force of arms. It was, within certain restrictions, the enduring embodiment of the life and purposes of Constantine.

Constantinople passed from oecumenical history when it became the prey of the Turks. It gave them much, but received little in return. It remains today a Christian captive in the hands of the infidels. It is inconceivable that its destiny ended in the fifteenth century, and that its eleven centuries of usefulness are to be crowned with a slow death of inanition in Moslem hands. It is not without the bounds of possibility that changes

may come. Constantinople is a European city. Its face is to the Orient. Its life may be renewed, it may once more be joined to the pulsing life behind, but it must have new masters. The happiness of a larger number of human beings, the fortunes of more nations are bound up with the possession of that hilly promontory on the Bosphorus than with any spot on the habitable globe. Constantinople had the thousand years of glory, it has had its centuries of eclipse, but whether in glory or in eclipse, it remains, and will remain, the Gordian knot of the world, the key to world politics.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Gibbons Memorial Hall. The Cardinal Gibbons Memorial Hall has been greatly improved by two beautiful electric standards erected at the main entrance. They are of exquisite Gothic design, in bronze, and set off the great edifice in a pleasing way. A solid macadam road has been laid from the main entrance in front of Gibbons Hall, serving also Albert Hall. With the broad new granolithic pavement finished both Halls are now provided with comfortable and elegant access.

Registration. The registration shows a notable increase in the lay student body, which has reached the figure of 310, from nearly every State of the Union. The ecclesiastics attending the University number 240, making a total of 550 male students. Trinity College, now affiliated to the University, has 170 students, and Teachers' College 50, while the Summer School was attended by 383, making a total of 603 women students, and in all 1,153 students receiving instruction from the professors of the University. The Marist and Paulist preparatory schools nearby have an attendance of about 76. The Freshman registration has reached 160, the largest class that has yet entered the University. The students come quite equally from about forty States, though there is a large contingent from New England. A good number come from the city, and among them a few non-Catholics, including one Mormon student.

The Leo XIII Lyceum for the study of social questions has taken on new life, and rejoices in a greatly increased membership. Its quarters in Albert Hall have been renovated, and at the recent smoker given in honor of the Freshman Class the capacity of the little hall was severely taxed. The Lyceum has an ambitious program for the winter, including addresses from

distinguished senators and representatives, and also social and literary events.

Holy Name Society. It is very gratifying to announce the formation of a Holy Name Society among the lay students, with a membership of 160. It is hoped that this Society will grow until it includes all the lay students of the University.

Albert Hall. A new entrance has been made for Albert Hall, the old grade lowered, and the dining hall renovated, awaiting the completion of the new dining hall, which will accommodate six hundred students, and provide in its two upper stories eighty rooms, besides convenient quarters in the two towers for the recreation of the students, among other conveniences a common room, suitably furnished, for smoking, music, conversation, etc.

McMahon Hall. The granite walls of McMahon Hall have been re-pointed to a great extent, the massive steps reset, and the rotunda thoroughly renovated, thus giving a proper setting to the colossal statue of Leo XIII, which looks down benignly on the many hundreds of students who now throng about its base.

Gift to Gibbons Hall. New Statues of Our Blessed Mother and Saint Joseph have been donated to the chapel of Gibbons Hall, also a new sanctuary lamp and Stations of the Cross, so that it is now quite well equipped with the necessary religious furniture. A kind benefactress has donated a handsome ostensorium and another has given a beautiful ciborium.

The Department of Architecture has grown in three years from four students to thirty, and this has necessitated the fitting up of larger and more convenient quarters in the basement of Gibbons Hall, including a room for easel drawing, a lecture room and a small library. When the new Dining Hall is finished in February, the old dining room in Albert Hall, with

other rooms in the basement, will be turned over to the Department of Architecture.

The Athletic Field has been lengthened notably by the cutting of a long strip of bank, and a new running track is being laid out by the students of the Engineering Department. The outlook for baseball is very promising, and a choice schedule is already arranged. Basket-ball exercise attracts many students to the gymnasium, and the football record grows more encouraging.

The University Library now holds over one hundred thousand volumes, among the new accessions being a complete collection of works on Maryland history and biography, given by Michael Jenkins, Esq., of Baltimore, and an exhaustive collection of books and pamphlets on the Monumental Brasses of England, fully illustrating that beautiful chapter of mediæval ecclesiastical art. The Library receives at present about 350 periodicals, most of which are complete, forming a valuable nucleus of research and investigation. From the Rev. Fr. Hyvernat was received recently the new edition of the Babylonian Talmud in two huge folios. The University is grateful to Dr. Chas. P. Neill, ex-Commissioner of Labor, our former Professor of Political Economy, for the gift of a complete set of the Reports of the Immigration Commission in 41 volumes, one of the most important of our recent government publications.

Gift of Remarkable Painting. John D. Crimmins, Esq., of New York, a Director of the University, presented it recently with a very fine painting of " The Last Moments of Leo XIII," by the celebrated portrait painter the Marquise de Wentworth. This fine canvas now hangs in the parlor of Divinity Hall, and is much admired by the numerous visitors to the University. Mrs. Margaret Ryan Bowen, has presented to the University a life-size portrait of her brother, Archbishop Ryan. It is a speaking likeness, and was unveiled on the occasion of the meeting of the Board of Trustees, November 19th.

The Annual Collection for 1912 amounted to $96,666.70, about seven thousand more than the previous year, for which generosity on the part of the Catholic faithful the University is deeply grateful. It is the support on the part of our people which aids the University in these years to meet the heavy demands made upon it by the great increase of students and professors, and the equally great need of new buildings and new equipment.

The Teachers College has opened its third session with 50 student Sisters, representing 30 different religious Orders and Congregations. Fourteen of the University professors give instruction in the College, that is conducted on the grounds of the Benedictine Sisters in Brookland. It is hoped that ere long the Teachers College may be transferred definitely to its own large site of 57 acres within a half mile of the University grounds.

New Paulist Novitiate. Cardinal Gibbons blessed and laid the cornerstone of the new college of St. Thomas Aquinas, the novitiate and house of study of the Paulist Fathers, at the Catholic University, on Wednesday, November 19, in the presence of a distinguished assemblage.

The blessing of the stone by the highest dignitary of the church in America, was a short but very impressive ceremony, and was followed by an address delivered by Cardinal Farley.

Gathered for the ceremonies, in addition to the cardinals, were Archbishop Prendergast, of Philadelphia; Archbishop Moeller, of Cincinnati; Bishops Canevin, of Pittsburg; Harkins, of Providence; Maes, of Covington, Ky., and Mgr. Lavelle, rector of St. Patrick's Cathedral, of New York City, Franciscans, Dominicans, Marists, Sulpicians, and many communities of women were represented.

Headed by the prelates of the church, a procession of several hundred formed at the Chase mansion about 3 o'clock and marched across the grounds to the center of the 24-acre tract, upon which the new novitiate is to be built.

Deposited in the cornerstone were the following articles: Copy of *The Washington Post,* of November 19, 1913; United States coins of the issue of 1913; parchment which read, "Laying of cornerstone of Paulist novitiate, His Holiness, Pius X, Pope, and Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States"; copies of the Paulist magazine and the *Catholic World.*

The new college is to be a splendidly appointed structure, fireproof throughout, and will cost $100,000. The contractors have assured the university officials it will be ready for occupancy within eight months. The building will have accommodations for 60 students, and ample provision will be made for classrooms, dining hall, library and faculty quarters. In design the building will be of the Tudor-Gothic style of architecture.

The site adjoins the Catholic University grounds, and is only a short distance from McMahon Hall.

The trustees participated in exercises attending the unveiling of a portrait of the late Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia. The portrait was presented by Mrs. Margaret Ryan Bowen, of Philadelphia, and the presentation speech was made by Dr. Ryan Devereaux, of Chevy Chase. Cardinal Gibbons received the portrait on behalf of the university, and it will be hung in the divinity hall parlors.

Meeting of the Board of Trustees. The Fall Meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Catholic University of America took place on Wednesday morning, November 22nd, at 10 a. m., in Divinity Hall. The following members of the Board were present:

His Eminence, James Cardinal Gibbons, Baltimore, Md., President of the Board and Chancellor of the University.

His Eminence, John Cardinal Farley, New York City, Vice-President of the Board.

Most Reverend Henry Moeller, Archbishop of Cincinnati, Ohio.

Most Reverend Edmond F. Prendergast, Archbishop of Philadelphia.

Right Reverend Camillus Paul Maes, Bishop of Covington, Ky.

Right Reverend Matthew Harkins, Bishop of Providence, R. I.

Right Reverend John S. Foley, Bishop of Detroit.

Right Reverend J. F. Regis Canevin, Bishop of Pittsburg.

Right Reverend Monsignor Michael J. Lavelle, New York City.

Right Reverend Monsignor Thomas J. Shahan, Rector of the University.

Hon. John D. Crimmins, New York City.

Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte, Baltimore, former Attorney-General of the United States.

Hon. Richard C. Kerens, former U. S. Ambassador to Austria.

Hon. Thomas Kearns, Salt Lake City, former U. S. Senator from Utah.

Opening prayer was offered by the President of the Board, Cardinal Gibbons.

The Report of the Right Reverend Rector, as well as the Report of the Treasurer, Mr. Michael Jenkins, of Baltimore, Md., was presented and accepted by the Board.

The Rector likewise presented a report of the Summer School of 1913, and of the work of Teachers College, and also of the work so far accomplished for the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception.

The Trustees expressed themselves as greatly satisfied at the completion of Gibbons Hall, and particularly at the increased attendance of the lay students.

The Right Reverend Rector laid before the Board the pressing needs of the University, a new Chemical Laboratory, a new Gymnasium, a University Library and more residence halls. These needs were taken under consideration and the earnest wish was expressed that some generous donor would be forthcoming to relieve these urgent necessities of the University.

The Trustees expressed great pleasure at the general improvement noticeable in the buildings and the grounds of the

University and were all of the opinion that a new era of prosperity was opening before this great central school of the Catholic Church.

Among the Trustees who came from a great distance, was ex-Senator Thomas Kearns, of Utah. Prominent among the lay Trustees present were Hon. John D. Crimmins, of New York City, Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte, of Baltimore, and Hon. Richard C. Kerens, of Elkins, W. Va.

Public Lectures. The following is the list of the Public Lectures given in MacMahon Hall this term:

October 23—"Constantine the Great and New Rome."
V. Rev. Patrick J. Healey, D. D.

October 30—"Zoroastrianism and Christianity."
V. Rev. Charles F. Aiken, D. D.

November 6—"The Philosophy of Cicero."
Rev. William Turner, D. D.

November 13—"St. Catharine of Siena and the Papacy (1347-1308)."
Rev. Thomas M. Schwertner, O. P., S. T. L.

November 20—"The Russian Schismatics."
Rev. Sigourney W. Fay, S. T. L.

December 4—"The Jacobite Poets of Ireland (1690-1770)."
Dr. Patrick J. Lennox.

December 11—"Charlemagne in Weber's *Dreizehnlinden*."
Dr. Paul Gleis.

Courses in Practical Charity have been started in Chicago under the auspices of Loyola University, with Father Francis Seidenburg, S. J., as Director, and in Boston under the patronage of His Eminence, Cardinal O'Connell, with Father Michael J. Scanlon, as Director.

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